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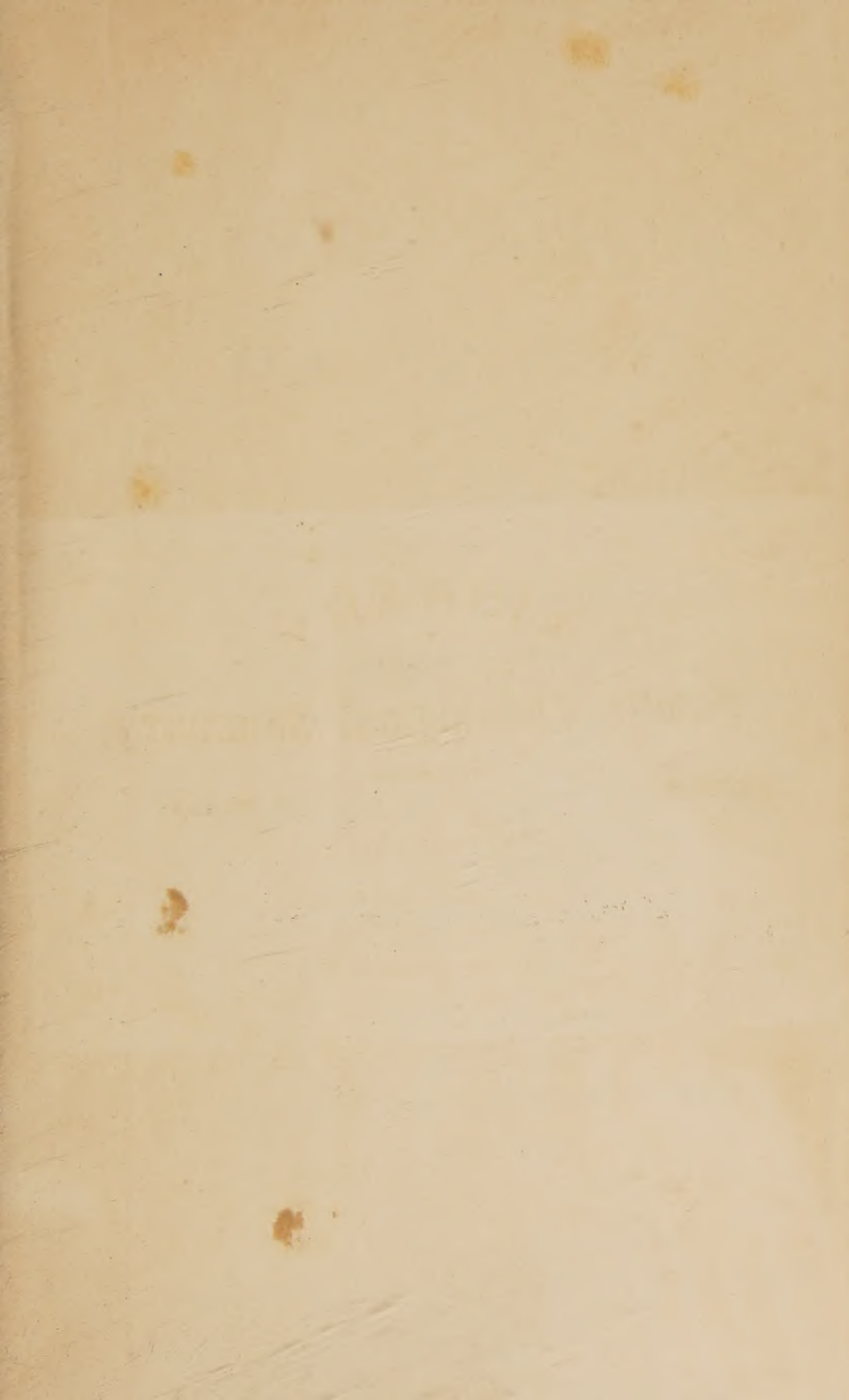
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THE CLAIMS
OF
BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION
ON
BAPTISTS:
BEING
THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF
Rev. C. H. TOY,
ON HIS INDUCTION INTO THE PROFESSORSHIP OF
OLD TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION
IN THE
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THE GAZETTE

JOURNAL OF THE

PARLIAMENT

OF THE PROVINCE OF

NEW BRUNSWICK

AND OF THE

COUNTY OF

ST. JOHN

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THE CLAIMS

OF

Biblical Interpretation on Baptists.

AFTER so many centuries of doubt and conflict, it would almost seem as if Biblical Exegetics had reached its proper position in fully developed character and strength, and was henceforth to advance triumphantly to certain conquests. Not that the adversaries of the Bible are silenced, or its friends always at one in the interpretation of particular parts of the inspired Text. Perhaps, in the present weakness of our spirituality, such accord would not be desirable. The condition of all growth on earth is conflict. As we may regard the earnest, pure-hearted Christian emulation of brethren of different names as supplying the best conditions now attainable for the spread of the Gospel, so do differences of opinion as to the meaning of words, phrases, texts, books of Scripture, lead to more thorough investigation, and so have the various systems of interpretation induced examination of the fundamental principles which must underlie all our exposition of the Bible. The opponents of Inspiration still maintain, and probably always will maintain, their opposition; but its advocates have come to some tolerable understanding among themselves as to modes of procedure, and have settled with some unanimity on the grammatico-historical method of interpretation—which may be described in general terms as that which is practiced in our Sunday-schools and pulpits, and found in the commentaries in common use.

Yet it has taken many generations to establish this simple method, and while we are thankful for the inheritance, we must

remember our obligation to carry on the work. All is not yet accomplished. We have not yet come to a full understanding of the word of God. Read various commentaries, and note the more or less important differences in views. Examine your own opinion at different periods of life, and you will be astonished at what seems the vacillating, shifting character of your method and its results; for method you must have, whether you will or not—right or wrong, safe or unsafe, or, as is commonest, of mixed character, partly right and partly wrong.

We may be astonished that, after 1800 years of study, we have not yet learned the Word of God. Yet it is not so surprising when we reflect that it is hard to understand, and that it has not always been studied in the right way—each student, indeed, having to learn the way by long and hard experience, the history of the individual being in the main the history of the world. What gropings and stumblings are we all not conscious of, what wanderings into by-paths, and lingerings in places of false enchantment; and though the Spirit of God be our guide, his guidance is always in accordance with the law stamped at the outset on our life—the law of labour, which makes all acquisition the product of toil. It is the spirituality of the Bible, the fact that it is spiritually discerned, that makes it hard. This is one element of difficulty, and it resides properly in us. There is then further in the Book itself the characteristic so well stated by Augustine, that it was written for all the world and every age; and its particular parts, though based on or suggested by passing occurrences, and adapted to the circumstances of the moment, have an application as wide as human life and thought in their utmost development. And for us, besides, there is the difficulty of strange languages, of strange peoples with manners and customs different from our own, and modes of thought which it is not always easy for us to comprehend.

So, alongside of the simplicity of the central truth of salvation and the plainness of moral precepts, stands the difficulty of understanding the Word of God as a whole and in its fulness. It is the revelation of the Divine attributes and providence as well as of the Divine will. We have thankfully to accept its

simplicity, and earnestly to labor at its difficulties. This is the duty of every Christian and of every man.

But on Baptists there rests a special obligation in respect to the Scriptures. We say this in no spirit of denominational arrogance, with no desire to under estimate the sincerity of purpose or the value of the labours of our non-Baptist brethren. What they produce we accept right gladly, and we rejoice always to recognize the kindred Christian spirit. Christ's followers are not so many that we can lightly speak of any who name His name; and this catholicity of fellowship is perfectly consistent with the consciousness and avowal of greater obligation to develop the true sense of Scripture. The obligation in question is a necessary result of our faith—first, from our complete dependence on the Bible. We profess to make it, and it alone, our religion. We accept all that it teaches, and nothing else. In doctrine and practice, in ordinances and polity, we look to it alone for instruction, and no wisdom or learning of men avails with us one iota, except as according with the inspired Record. If we could lean on the decisions of Councils, Convocations, or Assemblies, if our uncertainties could be made certain, our doubts dissipated, our wavering faith supported by royal or episcopal decrees, by array of patristic, scholastic, and other lore, or by examples of saints, martyrs, and doctors of divinity, it might not be so needful for us to cling close to the Word of God as our sole guide; but now we have no other resource. It is our pole-star. Without it we are on a boundless ocean, wrapped in darkness. And though we have the Book in our hands, it is sealed with seven seals unless we know its meaning—and that not merely in this or that part, in the use of a word, in the enjoining of a duty—but throughout, in its whole extent; for we must learn that all its truths are connected, and none of them unimportant. For our own sakes, then, for the sake of our denominational existence, it behooves us to act on this obligation.

And not less for the sake of others, since we would have them equally with us the recipients of divine truth.

The second ground of greater obligation is our more favorable position, with regard to which two things are to be noted. One of these is the freedom from human control, already adverted to, which gives us a singular advantage. We are not free from

human prejudice. We are doubtless sometimes warped by blind partiality for our own system; but, at least, we are saved from what has always been a fruitful source of error—submission to human authority. Without now calling to mind examples of Rabbis and Schoolmen, our own experience and observation teach us how destructive of sincerity in investigation such submission may be. We, happily, draw our inspiration from no man; pledge ourselves for no man's infallibility; admit no obligation to give account of ourselves to man. We are not under the dominion of Articles of Faith, which settle beforehand principles of interpretation. We are not awed into stagnation by the opinions of our forefathers. We hold ourselves accountable to God alone, and suffer no man's individuality to be swallowed up in the impersonal mass of the body to which he belongs. It is easy to see what advantage we herein have; what capacity to bring all our intellectual and spiritual strength to bear immediately on the truth, instead of expending it on a *tertium quid*, an intermediate something, which has been fashioned for us by the hands of men. That old metaphysical error has indeed struck deep into the roots of our intellectual life. As man is externally a "bundle of habits," so he is mentally a "bundle of prejudices"; things come to him so bundled up in the trappings of unconscious biases and accidental associations that it needs all his force to disrobe them, and see them in their naked proportions. If we can get rid of the additions of human authority, we have accomplished something, to use Carlyle's phrase, in "clothes-philosophy."

Our second advantage consists in the greater purity in which we hold the truth of the Scriptures. We cannot stop here to demonstrate this, and we must again disavow everything like arrogance. It is rather with the deepest humility that we declare our conviction that we are, to a greater degree than our brethren, in accord with the spirit of the Inspired Word, seeing, as we must see, how far short we have come of the glory of God. Without some such oneness of feeling, correct understanding is not possible, and he is best interpreter, other things being equal, who has most of it. If we misapprehend the central truth of a book, all its parts will seem distorted. If we miss its spirit, its separate declarations will be unintelligible. We trust that, by the mercy

of God, we have made some approach to such a grasping of the fundamental truth of the Bible, and such a sympathetic reception of its spirit as may make us worthy, under God, to be its interpreters.

If this view of our position be correct, what it now most concerns us to think of is our special obligation, and how we have met it. We have a great work committed to us. How have we performed it? Wherein is the world farther advanced in knowledge of the Bible by our efforts?

To which it must be answered that, in respect of learning, the Baptists have not made any great figure in the world. We cannot lay claim to the Fathers, or to many leaders of Reformations. We have not produced many makers of dictionaries, grammars, and commentaries. Scarcely one of the worthies of the past, who frown on us in parchment and leather from shelves of old libraries, was a Baptist, and hardly one of the creators of modern Biblical philology. We have a very few names of note. Milton can hardly be called a theologian, but there are scattered through his prose works many valuable exegetical remarks, as in "The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty," "Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church," and others, to say nothing of his *Tetrachordon*. The unlearned Bunyan has given us, in the "Pilgrim's Progress," one of the profoundest of commentaries on Scripture. We have a Talmudical scholar in Dr. Gill, whose pages bristle with rabbinical lore in such a way as to make the path of the adventurous student a rugged and thorny one. Later, besides the massive simplicity of Andrew Fuller, we have linguistic attainments in Carey, Marshman, and Judson, attested by their translations of the Bible into Hindi and Burmese; classical scholarship in Carson; and, in our own day, at least two men in this country of unsurpassed excellence in Biblical exegesis, besides the brethren in China, Africa, and elsewhere, who are rendering the Scriptures into the languages of the heathen.

But this list of names does not represent the sum total of Baptist contributions to the interpretation of the Bible. There is a power distinct from that of books, and just as lasting. There is not simply the oral instruction communicated from the pulpit, or

in the family—which is, in fact, nothing more than unsystematized, unprinted bookmaking—beyond this, and of deeper significance, is the living out a principle; the establishment of truth by undeviating, simple-minded, and generally unscientific obedience to it. Isaac Taylor, in his “Restoration of Belief,” has beautifully shown how the grand truth of the religious obligation of belief was introduced and maintained, not by labored disquisitions or in philosophical theories, but rather against these—by the silent testimony of the men and women, often unlettered and obscure, who chose to enter the arena of the amphitheatre rather than abandon or deny their faith in the crucified Jesus of Nazareth. Of course it is principle, and not science, that is thus established, that must be thus established. We do not expect a dictionary or commentary to emerge directly from the sufferings of martyrs, or the consistency of Christians; but rather a profound conviction, a law of procedure, which underlies, often unconsciously, the ordinary life. Such result we can see in Baptist history, as we hope will appear in the following discussion. There is the collateral principle that the authority of the Scriptures is supreme, which, formally rejected by Romanists, is not always even now practically received by orthodox Protestants; and, in respect to Biblical interpretation, the fundamental fact that the interpreter of the Word of God must be spiritually in sympathy with it, and that not merely in the way of a general recognition of its truth and excellence, but in consequence of a supernatural change wrought in him by the Spirit of God. It may be that, in laying stress on this, they forgot other things; but it is impossible too highly to value any lives which, even partially or remotely, have resulted in the expression and embodiment of a principle which is of essential moment to the world in its contact with the Divine Word.

Yet we have by no means done all that was possible; and a slight review of what the Christian world has accomplished may help us to know our past omissions and our present duty. Before, however, entering on this, it will be well to state distinctly the elements of correct exegesis, which have been taken for granted in the preceding remarks. These elements are two—an external and an internal.

As the Bible is a record of fact, thought and feeling, written by men for men, it is necessary to learn the grammatical and logical significance of its sentences, and for this we must have learning and thought. And as it is a revelation by the Spirit of God, given through men filled with a divinely engendered love for God, it is necessary to have the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit. Both of these are essential to the fullest knowledge of the Scriptures, but either alone will give a knowledge consonant with its character. He that has learning without the Spirit may be master of the human side, but will be a stranger to the divine; he that has the Spirit without learning will have acquaintance with the fundamental saving divine facts of the Scripture, but will fail to comprehend these as he might, and will be ignorant of much that it behooves him to know. The word "learning" is used in its widest sense of all acquaintance with facts which illustrate the Bible. It is obvious that for us it is in one respect absolutely necessary. For, since the Bible was originally written in languages strange to us, we could never read it but for the skill which translated it into English; and even now the translation would be useless if we were unable to read English; and many passages in the Life of our Lord convey little meaning unless we know something about the geography of Palestine and the customs of the people. There is not a Sunday-school teacher or a preacher in the land who, in the course of his instructions, does not produce bits of knowledge strange to his audience, and who therefore is not, in respect to them, learned. It is only a question of degree, of a little more or a little less, differences possibly insignificant in the eyes of the angels. He who tells his hearers some little about Herod the Great gotten from Josephus or the Comprehensive Commentary, is as really learned as his brother who writes a long and hard dissertation on the Epistle to the Romans, with a full examination of all the commentators from Chrysostom to Hodge—that is, he as really depends on book-knowledge for the elucidation of the Scriptures.

These two elements of exegesis will be found in every age of Christianity—first one, then the other predominating; the history of their conflicts and union is the history of exegesis. So long as they are severed, one-sided results are obtained; their real union

is the condition of the discovery of the truth. Only, they must be genuine; the learning, a patient and honest accumulation of facts for the explanation and illustration of Scripture; the spirituality, a hearty reception of Christ, as He is revealed, and of His doctrines in their nakedness and fulness. Exegetics is a science, partly pure, partly historical. It is a science because it is a collection of facts arranged according to definite laws; *pure*, inasmuch as it rests on principles universally acknowledged as primary data of consciousness; *historical*, in so far as it depends on the gradual evolution of the relations and applications of those principles, and on local facts of language, style, and national customs. It belongs on one side to the Inductive Sciences—has a history and a progress. As merely inductive, a review of its history would be useful, for it would set forth more fully the character and extent of its present principles. But it is also mathematical, and its method, as well as its material, has always been to some extent the same. Through all diversities and vagaries we can see this, and therefore all the questions of the past have an interest for us. And, independently of this, they are interesting because they are the record of man's efforts to comprehend the revelation of God. We occupy ourselves a great deal with history, sacred and profane. It is usually thought necessary to know how Athens became the mistress of Greece; how the Roman plebeians succeeded in crushing the aristocracy; how Mohammed founded one false religion and Luther crippled another; how bluff King Harry dispensed at once with an antiquated wife and an inconvenient hierarchy; republican and Protestant Geneva burnt the heretic Servetus, and imperial France rose to greatness on the ruins of the Revolution. These and a thousand other things relating to the progress of the race in philosophy, science, and art, it is well to know. But surely none of them are better worth knowing than men's long-continued efforts to work out the problem of revelation and master its truths. The spectacle of the struggle will inspire and nerve us—its shifting scenes will interest and instruct us. We mean the spectacle, not as it is presented in the pages of an Address or a Review, but as it shows itself in the works and words of the actors themselves. All helps to a comprehension of its nature and progress are to be accepted and used. But, so far as possible, we must go

to the original authorities, and force ourselves on their acquaintance, if need be. But this will not be necessary. The old authors come to us now, most of them, in English dress; their spirit and method may be learned from comparatively small portions of their writings, and their study will not only bring us into sympathy with their intellectual and spiritual condition, but quicken our minds into more original action, and, if we mistake not, minister to the growth of our personal piety. We must master them one by one, then compare them one with another, and with their modern successors, and finally judge them by the Word of God. Then we shall be able to understand our own position better, knowing through what errors and conflicts we have come to it. It will be no waste of time to study Chrysostom, Luther, and Owen. Of course it is not intended to endorse them wholly and absolutely. They are like all other writers: full of truth and error. We must take the truth and discard the error. But it is worth while to reflect whether it will not be advantageous to give a moment to ancient truth and error while we are devoting days to the modern—not merely to rejoice in our superior knowledge, but also to learn our ignorance. This is not a plea for the ancients as against the moderns, but only a protest against utter neglect of the former. The writers in our own day who have added most to our store of knowledge have been most diligent in the study of their early predecessors. And if these latter were altogether inferior and almost worthless as to correctness, pointedness and forcefulness, there are, we repeat, still two good reasons for application to them. The first, that we may be able to trace the history of the science of Biblical interpretation. The second, that we may be quickened and spurred into activity by the strangeness of their views and by the interest with which we must look on the mental achievements and spiritual experiences of our brethren who lived centuries ago.

The first record of authoritative exegesis is in the Gospels, and the interpreter is our Lord himself. But he appears in many cases as the opponent of a previously existing system, the code of the Scribes and Pharisees, which he denounces as a perversion of the Divine Word, coming from undue deference to human authority. Even in his time the Rabbis had almost perfected that im-

mense common law of Hermeneutics, which was afterward embodied in the Talmud, and of whose abuses the instances cited by the Evangelists may serve as specimens (see Matt. 23, Mark 7). Of late considerable attention has been paid to the Talmud, and its stores made available for the illustration of the Bible, chiefly in regard to national customs and legal ceremonial, while it has been attempted to sift the treasures of ethics and philosophy from the useless mass of fable and trifling. Referring those who wish to pursue the study to books on the subject, we think it important to make two remarks. The first is that this gigantic mass of error has arisen from what we must consider a lawful and pious purpose, and a correct view. The Jews hold that the true meaning of the Law was communicated by Moses to Joshua, by Joshua to the Seventy Elders, by them to the Judges, from whom it passed through the Prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and so was transmitted by the Rabbis to the learned men who committed it to writing. In this account there may be a basis of truth, and undoubtedly the principle is correct that the Scriptures need interpretation. This is self-evident. The purpose, then, to set forth their meaning is a good and godly one, so far as it is sincere. The Rabbis of the first generations after Ezra may have been earnest, sincere students of Scripture, worthy followers of David and the Prophets and Levites. But it needed only four centuries to turn their study into a mockery, which is denounced in no measured terms by Christ. Whatever its excellencies in some directions, it had utterly failed in the prime excellence—the evolving the spiritual saving truth of the Word of God. Here we can see quite clearly the cause of the failure, and take warning by it. The rabbinical schools lost sight of the Inspired Word itself in their devotion to the explanations of the interpreter. The Talmud is a catalogue of opinions of the masters, balanced sometimes one against another, but still authoritative, and fatal to independence of thought. In China, Confucius taught his countrymen the lesson of implicit submission to the sages of the past, and it is to this partly that China owes its crystallized civilization. The Jews in the same way got a crystallized religion, that has exhibited life only in those changes of interpretation which their rejection of Jesus of Nazareth has forced on them.

It is one of the saddest of the pages of history, this passage of the nation from one form of idolatry to another, from the grosser to the more refined, from the open and obvious to that which lay concealed in truth. Saved from the worship of heathen gods, they bestow all their affection on the Law, and so, by a natural association, transfer their devotion to the expounders of the Law, expend all their energy on the investigation of its meaning, descend to trifling—just as the superfluous intellectual ardor of the Schoolmen and of modern Germany has been forced into absurdity—and so sink into hopeless formality. It is a failure which demonstrates at once the necessity of a free, untrammelled national life to justness of religious opinion, the inadequacy of the Mosaic Law to give life to a people, and the deadly results to Biblical interpretation of resting in human authority.

The second remark is that we may see in the Jewish interpreters a tendency to two opposite errors, an undue literalness, and an irrational allegorizing. The first is found in the instances given by the Evangelists, and the second in the strange and ridiculous fancies of the Kabbalah and Talmud, in which recondite truths and mysteries are elicited from the words and letters of the Bible. The authorities are at a loss to decide whether the Kabbalah originated among the Jews, or was borrowed by them from Persians and Greeks. But so widespread is the disposition to this superstitious veneration for the letters of the Inspired Word that we can hardly go astray if we refer its beginning to the schools which produced the Talmud, though its later form, like some of its technical terms, may have been derived from Alexandria. However this may be, the two extremes, in the direction of literalness and allegorizing, come from the same cause—want of spirituality. The Pharisee believed that he actually fulfilled the command of God when he wrote the Decalogue on parchment, and bound it on his forehead, just as now a literal washing of one another's feet is believed to be the highest obedience to the Christian law of brotherly love, or the manipulation of a string of beads, or whirling of a water-wheel, a full discharge of the obligation to pray. But he believed this because he had no proper conception of the character of God and of His Law. It is only a spiritual blindness and deadness that can hope to pro-

pitiate or satisfy the Omniscient by a merely external service. The same deadness led, on the other hand, to the childish playing with the letters and numbers of Scripture, and extracting from them philosophical truth. For it was an unspiritual ignorance of particular passages of the Bible, and of its whole scope, which permitted the mind to torture words into whatever significance the fancy dictated. There was, however, in this sort of interpretation something else worthy of notice—namely, the underlying idea that there is in the Scripture a hidden, nobler meaning, which it is not permitted the common mind to perceive; but which is reserved for great intellect or special spiritual illumination. This we shall encounter again presently, and shall have occasion to point out the truth and error in it. Then, again, the grammatical sense was often neglected. The philology was of a very low order.* Spiritual blindness was allied with scientific trifling. Not that it is necessarily or universally so; but there is a connection between them, because the first induces excessive regard for externals, and so naturally leads to too great emphasizing of non-essentials.

This, then, seems to us a not unfair account of Jewish Exegesis, according to the specimens accessible in translation. Very little justness, acumen, profoundness, breadth, though in the first-named quality it is not wholly lacking—constant disposition to go to the extremes indicated. We cannot but see that Jewish interpretation has been in some respects wonderfully like Christian, except that it has rested in the embryo state, instead of advancing in the line of natural development. For it is now nearly what it has always been. While the Jews have taken part in the social and scientific advance of the world, it is to be feared that they have made no essential improvement in the interpretation of the Divine Word (even with the labors of such men as Maimonides), except in so far as they have laid aside belief, and worked simply as grammarians and lexicographers. A veil has rested on their

* Thus Abarbanel, a celebrated Spanish Rabbi of the fifteenth century, in his commentary on the First Chapter of Genesis, gives the following etymologies, which the Hebrew student will appreciate: *bohu* = *bo* + *hu*, "in it," because it expresses a receptacle; *hoshak*, from *hoshak*, "to deny," darkness being the negation of light; *shamaim* = *esh*, "fire," + *maim*, "waters," the true constitution of the heavens being thus indicated.

faces; they have been without the essential element of religious vitality.

Yet, when we come to the first era of Christian exegesis, we may expect to find considerable similarity in results. We enter now on the true history of the science. Its Jewish form, as has been remarked, is embryonic, but here we can trace the gradual evolution of the germ. In the New Testament there is no trace of a system save the authoritative utterances of the inspired writers and the rabbinical errors already referred to. Nor do we find anything like a systematic arrangement of principles in the church-teachers of the second century. They had rather an untutored simplicity that was much better than the comparative systematized error of their immediate successors. They had not yet come under the influence of an independent philosophical system which could force rules on them. They were struggling for life against Jews and heretics; they were not likely to adopt the hermeneutical system of the former, and they made their simple rules to guard against the attacks of the latter. Thus Irenæus (*Adv. Hæret.*, 2, 27) says that the healthy, truth-loving mind will zealously search out what God hath put in man's power and subordinated to man's knowledge. And this, he explains, is what falls immediately under the eye, and what is plainly and unambiguously read in the sacred oracles. He denounces the Gnostic method of resting in obscure, figurative passages, instead of explaining them by such as are clear, and has also to combat even thus early the theory of Accommodation, according to which Christ and His Apostles accepted or tolerated the errors of their contemporaries. Against this he maintains the absolute truth of the Scriptures.

These are precisely such errors as we meet with to-day; and the ground taken by Irenæus, and the principles maintained by him—the Scriptures absolutely true, and furnishing their own basis of interpretation—are worthy of all commendation. But at the same time, another and somewhat dangerous principle was asserted by Irenæus and Justin Martyr—namely, the binding character of the *regula fidei*, the rule of faith, which was in substance the tradition handed down from the Apostles. To this the unlearned were bidden hold fast in their controversies with

heretics, and this might be used to decide a point of doubtful interpretation. The tradition did indeed seem to come with sufficient directness. Irenæus had sat at the feet of the venerable Polycarp of Smyrna, who, with Papias and Melito, had received the word from the lips of the Apostle John himself. "The lessons we receive in childhood," says Irenæus, "grow up with the soul, and become one with it, so that I could tell you the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he taught, his going out and coming in, his manner of life, his face and figure, his discourse to the people, how he told us of his living with John, and with others who had seen the Lord; how he repeated their words, and what he had learnt from them concerning the Lord, His mighty works and His doctrine. For Polycarp, having received all from eye-witnesses of the Word of Life, uttered everything in harmony with Holy Scripture. These things, by the grace of God, I diligently listened to, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart; and ever, by the grace of God, I feed upon them again and again." So Tertullian, in his "Prescriptions against Heresies," and in the fourth book of his Treatise against Marcion, relies on the *regula fidei* against Gnostics and others, and seems to say that the opinions—that is, the interpretations—of the Apostolical Churches, must express the mind of the Spirit. Here was the beginning of a great evil—substantially identical with the rabbinical principle—putting man in place of God. The unreliability of tradition was apparent in the first generation. Papias reported things as coming from Christ and the Apostles which are inconsistent with the written records. Justin Martyr declares that the oral accounts were conflicting and confused. Yet they were set up as of equal authority with the written word, and thus one of the blessings of these early times became the nucleus of a curse.

The interpretation of the time was not free from allegorizing tendencies, which, however, were not so well marked as they afterwards became, and which we must refer partly to the unscientifically pursued attempt to establish the identity of the Old and New Testaments.

The 2d century was mostly unsystematized, unscientific in its hermeneutics, and not free from error. In the 3d century we

come on the first regular attempts to devise a system, and it was at Alexandria, the city which the wisdom of Alexander the Great had founded, that the first effort was made—a city remarkable for the way in which it almost monopolized the science of the world. A Greek city, in Egypt, closely connected by commerce with Rome, on one side, and Persia and India on the other, and the refuge of the Jews—it had, more than any other metropolis, the elements of manysidedness. Here Grammar began, and Criticism, and ancient authors were edited and furnished with commentaries. Here Hebrew theosophy was united to Greek philosophy, and here the spirit of this philosophy made itself felt in the interpretation of the Bible. The impetus to exact exegesis seems to have come wholly from Alexandria, as the history of exact construction of dogmas begins there. Indeed, the two movements toward systems of Hermeneutics and Dogmatics may be said to advance side by side, and with somewhat similar results; only the former, as is natural, precedes the latter by a half-century, and does not early reach so great completeness of form. The school of Alexandria gave rise to that of Antioch, and from both of these went forth influences which called into being and affected that third centre, which we may call the school of North Africa. In a general way, it may be said that these three represented the exegetical thought of the Christian world up to the 7th century, when the West appeared as an independent scientific Power.

Let us look, for a moment, at their hermeneutical labors, beginning at Alexandria. The tradition is, that the church in this city was founded by the Evangelist Mark, who might have found there not only flourishing schools of philosophy, but also a very noteworthy system of exegesis in the writings of Philo-Judæus. The philosophies in vogue were Stoicism, which made human virtue everything, to the neglect of God, and a species of Platonism, which laid stress on the Soul of the World, and on certain high truths which ordinary intellect could not perceive, but only those minds that had thrown off the trammels of sense, and could see the Divine reality hidden under the material or intellectual seeming. This philosophy was embraced by a Jew, named Philo, a contemporary of our Lord, and applied in a very consistent way to the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures,

with results which we cannot but call absurd, and yet which bear a real resemblance to some modern, as well as ancient expositions. Philo had the profoundest respect for Moses as a great Lawgiver and Theosophist, and could not tolerate so degrading an opinion of him as that which regarded the details in Genesis as mere historical facts. Under all of them, he thought, were couched great moral truths. The Mosaic Law is introduced by the account of the creation of the world, to show that the two, the law and the world, are in harmony, and that the law-abiding man, who is also a cosmopolite, regulates his actions by the decrees of the nature in accordance with which the whole Cosmos is governed. The number of the days of creation, six, does not represent time, which then had no existence, but sets forth the order observed by the Creator, and is the product of three and two, which numbers represent, respectively, the male principle and the female. The giving of woman to man is the addition of irrational sense to the intellect. This sense is led astray by pleasure, set forth under the form of the serpent, and between these there is ever afterward hostility. Pleasure bites like the serpent, and, in the travels of the Israelites, we are taught that its wounds are cured by temperance—for such is the significance of the brazen serpent which Moses set up. Abel, a keeper of sheep—that is, one who rules his passions—is slain by Cain, who is the type of the wicked, self-sufficient man. The similar names of the descendants of Seth and Cain, though identical in meaning, are to be interpreted diversely, as: Enoch is “for his sake.” The Enoch of Seth is the man who lives for the sake of others; the Enoch of Cain, he who lives solely for himself, and esteems himself sufficient for everything. The Lamech of Seth is “humility” in a pious devotion to duty; the Lamech of Cain is “humiliation” which comes from the man’s own wicked deeds. This Lamech had a double evil in the shape of two wives; the one, Adah—that is, “the witness” against him—was the mother of Jubal, the “changer” or “perverter” of all things, and Jubal, the inventor of music, “he who inclines”—turning from the safe middle way to the right or left; the other, Zillah, “a shadow,” a vain and unsubstantial something, was the mother of Tubal-Cain, the smith, whose name means “abundance,” and who represents a man given up to

pleasure—beaten out on the anvil in all evil directions—while his sister Naamah, “fatness,” is the insolence which comes from the indulgence of vain fancies, and the gratification of unworthy desires.

From these specimens is seen what an unbridled allegorizing Philo indulged in. More important is it for us to notice that his system of interpretation was evidently the product of his system of philosophy. He had embraced those views which afterward took shape in Neo-Platonism, and he treated Moses as the Greek Commentators treated Homer, when, in the tender interview between the departing Hector and Andromache and the young Astyanax, they made the fright with which the child starts back from his helmeted father, to mean the timidity which the soul feels when it first gazes on the face of nature. He had beforehand fixed in mind what he believed to be an outline of truth, and, since Moses had the truth, with this outline Moses must agree—if not obviously, then occultly. At the basis of this sort of interpretation lay the feeling, to be met with in all ages, that the Divine Word, as perfect, must contain all truth, but only in its loftiest, most transcendental form. It is here that we see the need of a thoroughly evangelic, spiritual, Christlike feeling, which detects the Divine in the reality of the simplest facts.

It was a century after Philo that the first theological school seems to have been established in Alexandria, by Pantænus, who was a Stoic, and whose teaching was a sort of Christian Stoicism. He was succeeded by Clement, whose method of teaching was substantially identical with that of his distinguished pupil Origen. Origen is undoubtedly the greatest name in the early history of Exegesis. He has been made the subject of much contention—has been lauded as the best, and stigmatized as the worst of the Fathers. His alleged Arianism was the occasion of a grievous general quarrel not long after his death, and there is uncertainty about the details of his hermeneutical principles. We must, however, carefully distinguish on the one hand between his method of interpretation and the doctrines he held, and, on the other, between the errors of his method and the impulse which it gave to true progress. His heresies were innumerable, and, looking at his exposition of his system, it is hard to see anything of

Christianity in it. But the evil results of his Dogmatics were diminished by the highly scientific form in which they were presented, and were discarded by his successors. And his life bears testimony to his truly Christian spirit. As a mere youth, he boldly stepped forward to take charge of the School of Catechumens, whose head was removed by the persecution then raging under Severus, and, in his old age, endured manfully the cruelties of the persecution set on foot by Decius. We may hope that, through all the clouds of his false philosophy, he saw and held fast to Christ. Here we are concerned to know how he treated the Scriptures. Of his numerous works (he is said to have written six thousand), very little has come down to us; but there remain some Commentaries and Homilies, and a treatise on Interpretation, called *Scholia*, *σημειώσεις*, and in these we find a double tendency—toward a strict literal interpretation, and toward excessive allegorizing. Probably he began with the latter very much as Philo did, and there are such resemblances between these two men as would suggest a study of the older by the younger, unless, indeed, the resemblance is sufficiently explained by the similarity of the intellectual surroundings. For, as with Philo, so with Origen, the Hermeneutics seem to come from the Dogmatics, and the latter from Platonism. Origen was dissatisfied with the meagre details of the Old Testament, and wished to discover in it the abstract speculative truths which he loved in philosophy; or, he found in the Bible what seemed absolutely to contradict his preconceived views, and then he proceeded, not as some modern philosophers and theologians do, to reject the Scriptural account, but to extract from it his own ideas. This could be done only by a process of allegorizing, which was conducted without regard to well-defined laws. But, in order to fix the allegorical meaning, it was necessary for him first to determine exactly the literal signification, which he was enabled to do by his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. And so he was obliged to distinguish between the two classes of meanings, and to bring out the grammatical into clear relief. More exactly, he founded his system of interpretation on the threefold division of man's nature which then generally obtained (and is adopted by the Apostle Paul), into body, soul, and spirit. "In every passage of Scripture," he said,

"there is, first, the literal meaning, which is plain to the meanest capacity; and then the moral, which requires an exertion of intellect to comprehend it; and, finally, the spiritual, which presents itself to him only who is in communion with Christ." He could not carry out this method with perfect consistency, but felt himself obliged, sometimes, to stop at the literal sense; it was, therefore, a matter of fancy to a great extent. Nor was it always certain whether he regarded the Scriptural narrative as true, or as a myth or symbol designed to convey a higher truth.

As an illustration of the arbitrariness of this method, we give an example cited by Fairbairn, in his *Treatise on Typology*. Take, first, Clement's treatment of the history of Abraham and Sarah: "Abraham is the image of a perfect Christian, Sarah the image of Christian wisdom, and Hagar the image of philosophy, or human wisdom. Abraham lived for a long time in a state of connubial sterility, whence it is inferred that a Christian, so long as he confines himself to the study of Divine wisdom and religion alone, will never bring forth any great or excellent fruits. Abraham, then, with the consent of Sarah, takes to him Hagar; which proves, according to Clement, that a Christian ought to embrace the wisdom of this world, or philosophy, and that Sarah, or Divine wisdom, will not withhold her consent. Lastly, after Hagar had borne Ishmael to Abraham, he returned to Sarah, and of her begat Isaac; the true import of which is, that a Christian, after having once thoroughly grounded himself in human learning and philosophy, will, if he then devote himself to the culture of Divine wisdom, be capable of propagating the race of true Christians, and of rendering essential service to the church."

Next, from Origen's Homily on Abraham's marriage with Keturah, which, he says, contains a sacramental mystery, namely, that there is no end to wisdom, and that old age sets no bounds to improvement in knowledge. The death of Sarah, he says, is to be understood as the perfecting of virtue. But he who has attained to a consummate and perfect virtue must always be employed in some kind of learning—which learning is called, by the Divine Word, his wife. Abraham, therefore, when an old man, and his body in a manner dead, took Keturah to wife. "I think" (Origen proceeds) "it was better, according to the exposi-

tion we follow, that the wife should have been received when his body was dead and his members were mortified. For we have a greater capacity for wisdom when we bear about the dying of Christ in our mortal body. Then Keturah, whom he married in his old age, is, by interpretation, *incense*, or sweet odour. For he said, even as Paul said, 'we are a sweet savour of Christ.' Sin is a foul and putrid thing; but if any of you in whom this no longer dwells have the fragrance of righteousness, the sweetness of mercy, and, by prayer, continually offer up incense to God, ye also have taken Keturah to wife." And forthwith he proceeds to show how many such wives may be taken. Hospitality is one; the care of the poor, another; patience, a third; each Christian excellence, in short, a wife; and hence it was that the patriarchs are reported to have had so many wives, and that Solomon is said to have possessed them even by hundreds, he having received plenitude of wisdom like the sand on the seashore, and, consequently, grace to exercise the greatest number of virtues.

So far the citations of Fairbairn. Now compare the teachings of Philo in the same passages. In regard to the sterility of Sarah, after giving literal and moral explanations, he declares the intention of the author to be to represent the man who is advancing in knowledge, pressing on to the highest point, near to that light which is said by some to be given over to oblivion; as just setting out, he produces neither good nor bad, because he is not yet perfect; he is like one who is neither sick nor perfectly well, but is passing from long sickness to health. Hagar, by interpretation "wandering," or "peregrination," is the slave of the perfecter nature, aptly called an Egyptian, for the study of encyclical learning ministers to abundance of knowledge, and abundant knowledge is the servant of virtue. "For the embrace of the arts and sciences is useful to him who knows how to profit by their acquisition in acquiring virtue. Virtue has the soul for its habitation; but the embrace of science needs corporeal instruments, and the body is symbolically an Egyptian. When, therefore, it is impossible to produce great and praiseworthy deeds by the exercise of virtue, it is allowable to have recourse to the *via media* of science. Yet the soul, in its devotion to learning, is always mindful of virtue, its true mate; and the former, though it take

on itself the form and adornment of a wife, has really only the power of a concubine." A comparison of these three expositions shows certainly a sameness of method, and at the same time a gradual advance in evangelical distinctness. Philo has nothing more than ethics, Clement has a more distinctly religious hue, and Origen brings us to Christ. But we are obliged to see that it was philosophy in all three cases which gave the principles of interpretation. And here we come on a fundamental fact in the science of Hermeneutics, namely, that the impetus to the construction of systems, as well as their foundations, has come from without; that it has been secular science which has supplied the material which, with modifications, has been worked up for its own purposes by sacred science. Further on, we shall have occasion to consider more at length the actual influence of Science on the details and principles of Biblical Interpretation. Here we contemplate the beginning of Sacred Hermeneutics, and see that it originated in the effort to harmonize philosophy and Scripture. True, from the attempt came many evils; but the fundamental advantage was gained of a beginning, of the establishment of an idea, which was gradually with many struggles to work itself into form, and to come down to us as an inheritance of good. We must be struck by the way in which the Divine Providence, guiding the intellects not less than the bodies and souls of the followers of Christ, has used science, even in the moments of its greatest apparent hostility, as an auxiliary; and from the fierce contests, which the combatants thought threatened to swallow up truth, has emerged a beautiful, symmetrical unity. It is not to be supposed, however, that learning was at Alexandria merely an opponent of Christianity. It was, on the contrary, in spirit, and often in immediate results, a minister. But it had not reached the point of holding itself simply for the illustration of the Sacred Text. There was not much investigation of History and Geography as aids to the understanding of the Bible. The best specimen of criticism, perhaps the sum of the critical labours of the period, is found in the Hexapla of Origen, in which he sets down in six parallel columns four Greek versions of the Old Testament, and the Hebrew text in Hebrew and Greek letters. Philology was as yet unknown. There was no thorough study of Hebrew,

and indeed very little of any sort. The outer aids to Bible study were few, and a subjective character was impressed on the leading public expositions of the Word.

At Alexandria, then, emerged the two principles which give shape to Hermeneutics—grammatical criticism and spirituality of view—the body and the spirit, and it is the development of these which we are to trace in succeeding periods. The way in which the latter, spirituality, is treated, depends largely on the view taken of Inspiration. In a sense, we may say the Allegorizers and the Rationalists belong to the same school, in so far as they determine beforehand what the spirit of the Scriptures must be, and then force the text to accord with it—the one simply putting a false signification into the Divine Word (acknowledged by them as divine)—the other charging it with error, and modifying or rejecting it. This may seem a harsh statement to make of a class of Christians, many of whom are our own brethren; yet it is nothing more than the facts warrant. Underlying Origen's mystical interpretations is the principle, capable of becoming dangerous, that the highest meaning of the Word is perceived by a special spiritual sense, which comes from communion with Christ. This is an error nearly allied to a truth. Spiritual sympathy, we repeat, is an essential element of sound interpretation. Only the Christian can properly understand the Bible, and expound it in the pulpit, in the Sunday-school, or in the printed book. But there is a spurious spirituality, based on conceit of knowledge or piety, which affects a superiority of essence, which claims almost the possession of a new sense, but which really sees only those things which its own fancy supplies. Such was the communion with God claimed afterwards by Mystics and Quietists, especially by Boehm and Swedenborg. This was the great error made by Origen. Connected with this, a consequence of it, indeed, was the failure to attempt an orderly scientific treatment of the typical and allegorical parts of Scripture, which would have been of essential service.

After Origen's death (A. D. 254), his successors pushed the allegorizing interpretation to such an extreme that there naturally sprang up a school whose basis was a protest against these extreme views, and which relied chiefly on the grammatical exposi-

tion. This was the second great school, established at Antioch towards the latter part of the third century, and numbering among its adherents Theodore of Mopsuestia, Basil the Great, the two Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzum, and Chrysostom of Constantinople. These writers are characterized by a logical, reflective application of the grammatical exegesis which was set on foot by Origen. And though the school is said to have fallen into a barren literalness from paying exclusive attention to grammar, yet it is among its celebrated men that we find the most satisfactory expositors of the time. They are far from meeting our wants, but they have usually nothing absurd or revolting. They fail in defect rather than in excess. Read the Homilies of Chrysostom on Genesis, for example. You will find a very different sort of exposition from that already referred to—of Clement and Origen—no false, strained allegorizing, but very practical and judicious and just remarks. It is a pious man bringing a well-balanced mind to the interpretation of the Inspired Word. In Homilies we do not expect such laboured criticism as in regular Commentaries; but in neither the one nor the other do we find at this time much more than remarks, simple or involved, on the text. The School of Antioch contributed hardly anything more than its example to the science of Hermeneutics, and that example principally negative. It avoided a great many bad habits and principles of the Origenists, but it gave no system. It made no attempt to teach what portions of Scripture are to be regarded as typical and allegorical, and according to what rules they are to be explained—except in the occasional expositions of the Song of Solomon, for example—as in the case of Gregory of Nyssa, whose comments, if not always in place, are yet not strikingly in violation of the laws of interpretation. There were no important additions to philology, not even among the Syrians, who had a flourishing school at Edessa. Ephraem Syrus was a devoted Christian and useful writer, and his knowledge of Syria might have aided in understanding Hebrew. But he seems not to have known anything of Hebrew. He and his contemporaries were content to read the Scriptures in their own language, without consulting the original, and we have to deplore our losses consequent on their neglect. So the Antiochian School was rather the exponent of the sound

Christian sense of the age, disgusted by the absurdities of the Alexandrians.

The third of the great schools, the North African, came into existence somewhat later, toward the close of the fourth century; for Tertullian, in the preceding century, is hardly to be considered as having definite exegetical form, but belongs to the unconscious criticism of the second century. Culture showed itself first among Greek-speaking and Greek-writing races, and gradually made its way to the Latin, represented by Augustine and Gregory the Great. And the same general difference is to be observed in the Hermeneutics as in the Dogmatics of the two classes. The Greek fathers were more speculative—the Latin more practical; the two having nearly the same relation, as Neander remarks, as the German and English writers of the present day. The former developed those theological questions which had a specially speculative interest, such as the relations of the Persons of the Trinity—Theology, properly; the latter were principally occupied with Anthropology—the relation of man to God. It was Athanasius who fought Arianism, and Augustine who annihilated Pelagianism. So, in Hermeneutics, the Latin Fathers avoid, usually, nice distinctions, and lay stress on general exposition, falling into many errors from the indisposition to scientific sharpness of hermeneutical distinction, and inheriting, also, errors from their brethren of Alexandria. The Presbyter Jerome best represents the blending of the two schools. Eminently unspeculative in character, the opposite of a great original thinker, the defender of the superstitions which have come down to Romanism, and, therefore, the pet of Rome, he was yet an admirer of Origen, and a translator and student of his writings. The most learned of the Fathers, he is the first who merits the name of Biblical scholar. He studied Greek and Hebrew carefully, translated the Bible into Latin, made investigations in Biblical geography and the meaning of proper names, and wrote commentaries. Yet, he is chiefly interesting as being the pioneer in these general studies. He cannot be considered an authority in Hebrew exegesis, partly because a bad system led him astray, partly because his knowledge of the language was unscientific. It might be supposed that the writers of these times had peculiar advantages in studying the languages of

the Bible—living so near their native lands, and with persons around who actually spoke them. This would offer facilities, it is true, especially for knowledge of manners and customs, for geographical information, and for colloquial acquaintance with language. But this sort of acquaintance is far from satisfactory. The Hebrew of Jerome's time was very far from being the Hebrew of Isaiah and Moses. It was not properly Hebrew at all, but an Aramaic dialect, with admixture of Greek and Latin. And, if it had been, there was no such thorough study as was necessary to explain the obscurity of poetical form and thought—to determine accurately the laws of syntax and the significations of words; somewhat as a very excellent colloquial knowledge of English now, would not enable a man, foreigner or native, to expound the meaning of Shakespeare. True, the Hebrew, like other Oriental languages, was subject to less change than modern languages; but there *were* changes in form and meaning of words, and necessity for serious study to make the signification clear. We have some examples of exposition of the Bible by Jews. There is the Septuagint version of the Old Testament into Greek, done at Alexandria by the most learned of the nation. The Greek of this version is by no means good, and the renderings differ very much from those of the English authorized version—so much that it is supposed there must have been a different Hebrew text from ours. But where the text seems to be the same we do not rely on the Septuagint, because the translators apparently indulged in such fanciful renderings, and had so little conception of the proper method to be followed in searching for the meaning of words, that we can never feel safe in following them. We consult them, weigh their opinions, allow it a certain value, but are careful to look to other sources before we agree with it. Still worse are the Targums, or Chaldee Paraphrases of parts of the Old Testament. They are of little hermeneutical value. They are consulted, as able possibly to suggest a proper sense, but no one thinks of adopting a view simply because they favour it. Then still later, some time after Jerome, a body of learned Hebrews undertook to furnish the Hebrew text with accents and vowels, for before only the consonants had been written, and there had been no divisions in the various books. These learned

men, called Masorites, must have spent a great deal of time on the sacred books, for they not only divided them into verses, and marked the middle verse of each book, and noted the repetitions of the same verses and the different significations of the same word, but also what letters are pronounced, and which are inverted, together with such as hang perpendicular, and the middle letter of the Pentateuch and the middle clause of each book, and the number of times each letter of the alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures.* Their vowel-points and accents were of exegetical importance, for they determine the meaning of words and sentences, and were matters of tradition—especially the former. With the accents—that is, the punctuation—the case is somewhat different. Though there have been great debates about them, and persons who contended strenuously for their Divine origin, modern scholars set them aside when the sense seems to require it. As a part of the reading of the inspired Word, the Rabbis held that the punctuation was revealed by God to Moses, and handed down finally to them; but now it is regarded rather as exhibiting the opinions of the Masorites, and is dealt with as any other ancient commentary.

These examples show how little reliance is to be placed on merely colloquial knowledge of a language for purposes of exact exegesis. In Jerome's time there were no Hebrew grammars, and, though he is entitled to credit for having learned the language at all, he could not have gotten a thoroughly satisfactory acquaintance with it. Yet he made a step in the right direction, and his Latin version, the "Vulgate," was a great improvement on the old Italic version which had been in general use. Having lived

* Bishop Horne gives the following data of the English authorized version from an anonymous publication of the last century, which is said to have occupied three years of the compiler's life!

	OLD TEST.	NEW TEST.	BIBLE.
Books	39.....	27.....	66
Chapters.....	929.....	260.....	1,189
Verses.....	23,214.....	7,959.....	31,173
Words.....	592,439..	181,253.....	773,692
Letters.....	2,728,800.....	838,380.....	3,567,180
Middle Chapter.....	Job 29.....	Rom., betw. 13 and 14.....	Ps. 117
Middle Verse.....	2 Chron. 29 : 17-18	Acts 17 : 17	Ps. 118 : 8
Least Verse.....	1 Chron. 1 : 25.....	John 11 : 35	

a long time in Palestine, he was useful in hunting up Scripture-localities, and is good authority in these matters; but it must be said of him, as of the others, that he made no addition to hermeneutical science. He is less given to allegorizing than the Alexandrians, belongs rather to the school of Antioch, and his Commentaries are valuable as the mature opinions of any student of the Bible must be, yet deficient in breadth and directness. Luther said of him, that his occasional expositions are more valuable than his labored efforts: a remark worthy of note, applicable to other commentators, and pointing to the evil effects of a bad system.

If Jerome was learned without breadth and depth, Augustine was broad and deep without learning—a man of profound thought and experience, who dealt with things in the mass, and was of an unscientific turn of mind. A great thinker and attractive, inspiring writer, he is one of the least satisfactory of commentators. His exegesis frequently bears no sort of relation to his text. Profusely mystical and allegorical, he not only has no method, but increases the already existing confusion by his reckless disregard of philological and grammatical principles. He will take the title of a psalm, relating to musical or other details, interpret it in the most fanciful and arbitrary way, and make it the text of the whole psalm. Ignorant of Hebrew, he deals in a shocking way with the Latin translation: and yet he preached admirable sermons; and people were willing, as they are now, to listen to his eloquent denunciations of error and expositions of divine truth, in spite of his intolerable perversions of the meaning of the text; or perhaps, as now, they suffered his eloquence to seduce them into admiration of his perfectly false exegesis. He must have done harm in this respect. His people at Hippo were devoted to him, and justly thought there was no such preacher in the world; and the young men who thronged to hear his discourses would very naturally carry away what was easiest to lay hold of—namely, his errors—while they would not in all cases imbibe his eloquence, his grandeur of thought, and breadth of view. And succeeding commentators were injured; for Augustine, by his masterly defence of the “Doctrines of Grace” against Pelagius, and in general by his intellectual superiority, became a leading mind, and so

continued for centuries. It is melancholy to reflect that a man so great in one direction should be so weak in another.

But, though thus deficient in the learning and scientific culture requisite for an expounder of Scripture, it is interesting to note that his spirituality, his profound insight into the spirit of the Word, his profound sympathy with it, often carried him over the errors of his false method. He explained best when he did not set himself to explain at all—when he suffered his soul to rest in communion with the truths of the Bible—when individual texts interwove themselves with his meditations; then he was capable of seeing and setting forth their depth of meaning, as we have all sometimes had occasion to observe in men of devoted piety but without culture. Yet he was a loser, and his influence was bad, by reason of this individualness of his expositions; for he himself missed much that he might otherwise have gained, and set an example which others might follow to their hurt, being less blessed by God with power of insight. In his *Confessions* we have examples of this sort of interpretation. In this wonderful book, unique (with one exception) in biographical literature, in which he lays bare his spiritual being with the calmness of an anatomist and the passion of a penitent, he has the Word of God always before him. His confession is directed to God, not to man; it is the sorrowful outpouring of a son who comes to the father that he has long looked to, and whose promises and commands he has pondered with the deepest solicitude. It is, no doubt, in the light of his own experience that Augustine reads the Bible. In the *Confessions* the applications of Scripture are in a sort interpretations, but with the presupposition that the grammatical sense is already known, and with the design to unfold the spiritual signification. Sometimes he gives more direct exegesis, and the three last books are devoted to the exposition of the first chapter of Genesis. Sometimes he seems to avoid an expression of opinion, as in the ninth book, where, speaking of a departed friend, Nebridius, he says that he is now living “in Abraham’s bosom;” and adds: “Whatever it is which is signified by that bosom, there Nebridius ‘lives.’” But in another work he says distinctly: “Abraham’s bosom is a remote and secret seat of quiet, where

Abraham is; and it is called Abraham's, not as being his only, but because he is there placed as the father of many nations, to whom he is to be an exemplar."

In the last part of the *Confessions*, however, treating of the Creation, he does assert a general and a special principle of interpretation, which are worthy of note as giving a clue to his method in both its elements, and as containing truth liable to be abused. In the Eleventh Book he proceeds to the discussion thus: "Let me hear and understand how, in the beginning, Thou didst make heaven and earth. Moses wrote this, wrote it and passed away, departed hence from Thee to Thee, and is not now before me. If he were, I should hold him, and ask him and beseech him by Thee to explain these things to me, and I should open my corporeal ears to the sounds that should issue from his mouth. And if he spoke in Hebrew, he would appeal to my senses in vain; my mind would gather nothing; but if in Latin, I should know what he said. But how could I know that he spoke truth? And if I did, should I know it from him? Within, as it were, in the abode of thought, Truth, neither Hebrew nor Greek nor Latin nor Barbarian, without mouth or organs of speech, without enunciation of syllables, would say to me, He speaks what is true; and I should straightway say with confident certainty to the man, Thou speakest what is true. Since I cannot interrogate him, thee filled with whom he spake the truth, thee, O Truth, I ask; Thee, my God, I ask, forgive my sins; Thou, who didst grant Thy servant to say these things, grant me to understand them." In this beautiful passage, penetrated with the devout conviction that God is His own Interpreter, there is nevertheless a certain tone of carelessness in respect to outward appliances and aids for the understanding of the Scripture, and a dependence on the inner light which may be and has been perverted. We must join Augustine in this spiritual-mindedness, in this lofty outcry of devotion which looks straight to God himself for enlightenment; but we must remember also that God vouchsafes His illumination to those who obey and honour Him by careful use of all means for learning the significance of His words. It is true that the truth is neither Hebrew, Greek, nor English; but if she choose to put on the garments and assume the habits of these tongues, her friends must diligently study

these outward marks that they may always be able to recognize her.

In the Twelfth Book of the Confessions, Augustine seems to lay down a Canon of Interpretation in this wise. In discussing the words, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth, and the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep," he gives five interpretations of each sentence, and with the intimation that any of them is sufficient, that they are equally correct. It is unnecessary to quote them; we are concerned with the fact that he regards them as different, and yet as equally satisfactory. It is impossible for him, he says, to assert that Moses meant this or that. He holds to his opinion; he allows others to do the same, each for himself. "Behold, my God," he exclaims, "I, Thy servant, who vowed to Thee the sacrifice of Confession in this Book, and beseech Thee that of Thy mercy I may render to Thee my vows, behold when I say confidently that Thou by Thine unchangeable Word hast made all things, visible and invisible, do I say with equal confidence that Moses meant nothing else than this when he wrote: 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' Not as I see this, sure in Thy truth, do I see in his mind that he thought it when he wrote,"—and more to the same purpose. Now, he may mean here merely that one rendering does not exhaust the Divine Word, or he may design to inculcate humility; but the passage rather appears to favour a fatal doubtfulness in the words of the Inspired Record, to look to the possibility of their meaning two different things, a view which is unworthy of the Divine Author and fatal to exactness of interpretation. "As a hammer," says the Talmud," (on Jer. 23, 29,) "separates into many particles, so each text of Scripture has many senses," a dictum which has descended to our own times, and is endorsed and acted on by not a few preachers and expounders of the Gospel, and which subverts exegetics. It is impossible to suppose that the inspired writer had no distinct idea in his mind when he penned any given sentence. Words are susceptible of different uses, and sentences of different constructions; but the author must in any given sentence use them in a definite sense. This view is not opposed to what is called the Double Sense of Prophecy, in which there is reference at once to the Type

and the Antitype, in which there are, properly speaking, two forms of the same fact, and where, therefore, the meaning is perfectly definite. When the Prophet says, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son," we are to interpret it not as referring either to Israel or to Christ, but as referring to both; there is no pause of hesitation to decide which application we prefer; we are shut up to the necessity of taking both. The Type and the Antitype are, in respect to analogy, identical. But in this Talmudical method which Augustine adopts, there is the recognition of several distinct literal meanings, where is no question of typical significance, and the reader is helplessly to select one according to indefinable laws, or he is to take the absurd position that the Spirit of God meant to convey different ideas by the same form of words, or, having one idea in mind, was unable to express it unambiguously. This is another application of the principle that the Word of God, being divine, must have a superhuman fulness of meaning, and this connects itself with an erroneous theory of inspiration. Not recognizing the other side of the fact, that the Spirit uses as instrument the intellect of man in order to address itself to man as a thinking being, and so follows the laws of human thought, it falls into these grand mistakes, of supposing that all human science is to be found in the Bible, and that the inspired Word must contain all that the most fertile fancy can conceive of as good and right. The adoption of such a principle is a proof of the unscientific character of Augustine's mind. His interpretation is rather of the unconscious sort, and he suffers in a comparison with Irenæus. He is not, therefore, to be taken as the representative man of the North African School, which is rather a blending of Jerome and Augustine, that is characterized by a practical application of learning with a leaning to discussions of things which affect man's relation to God and advancement in piety.

If, after this general view of the hermeneutics of the Fathers, we inquire what they contributed to the sciences, we must admit the meagreness and unsatisfactoriness of the results. We seem to have nothing decided and clear, few statements of principles, and these not adhered to. But it was an unscientific, preparatory age. Hermeneutics is dependent upon Philology and Psychology, and, as a separate science, supposes a sort of training that the

Patristic Age did not have. We have seen, however, the beginnings of two tendencies which are fundamental—the grammatical, philological study of the text, and the spiritual sympathy with the divine Word. We have found these perverted and mixed with Talmudical errors; we have seen Philosophy, properly only the handmaid of Hermeneutics, assert authority as mistress, verbal criticism degenerate into slovenly uncertainty, and spirituality into fanciful allegorizing or mystical self-sufficiency. These elements are all to mingle till the evil be purged from them, and a compound of truth be formed. After the time of the Fathers, through the Intermediate Period up to the Scholastic, say from the sixth century to the twelfth, there was no addition to Exegesis. It was the Dark Ages, in which, with a great deal of activity, everything was seething and foaming in the caldron out of which was to come modern civilization. There was John Scotus Erigena, who came to the Bible somewhat as Origen did, with a pre-formed system of philosophy which he got partly from Origen. There were others in Ireland protesting against the authority of Tradition. But we learn nothing from them of the mode of interpreting the Scriptures. The authority of the Fathers was paramount, and we may smile at the evidence of decay of originality in the fact that their opinions were gotten up for convenience in small compass in the “*Sententiæ Patrum*,” which sounds so much like the “*Outlines*” and “*Beauties*” and “*Condensations*” of our day. So it continued into the Scholastic Period, a remarkable age, when men, not being permitted to be original, were nevertheless original in spite of their masters. The schoolmen professed to follow the Church teachers, but, in doing so, gave them shape as suited them, as indeed they had great latitude of choice in the wide differences of the patristic writings. In illustration of what they did, it will be sufficient to quote from the Doctor Angelicus, Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.*, I., 1, 10), on the question, “Whether Sacred Scripture has several senses under one letter,” these senses being Historical or Literal, the Allegorical or Tropological or Moral, and the Anagogical. On the negative he adduces the confusion which comes from multiplicity of senses, the fact that Augustine’s division (*De util. cred.* 3, 1) is different—namely, into Historical, Ætiological, Analogical, and Allegorical;

and, further, that the proposed list omits the Parabolical. On the affirmative he quotes Gregory (Mer. 20, 1), who says that sacred Scripture transcends all sciences, even in its mode of expression, under its historical statement veiling a mystery. He then declares himself in favor of a multiplicity of senses, God being able to use not only words, but things themselves, as significant. Words mean things, and this is the historical or literal sense. These things mean other things, and this is the spiritual sense, which is founded on the literal, and supposes it. The spiritual sense is threefold, as the Apostle (Heb. vii.) says that the old law is the figure of the new; and the new law itself, according to Dionysius (Eccles. Hierer. 5, 1), is a figure of the future glory; further, in the new law, the things which are done in its Head are signs of what we are to do. Hence the three senses: the allegorical, according as things of the old law signify things of the new; the moral, according as things done in Christ signify what we ought to do; the anagogical, as they signify things in eternal glory. Aquinas next shows that this multiplicity does not produce equivocation, because it is not one word with various significations, but these significations which have other meanings, and because all the other senses are founded on the literal. Then, as to Augustine's division, he shows that it does not conflict with his own, for the Historical, Ætiological, and Analogical, are all embraced in the Literal. Augustine's statement is, in fact, loose. By ætiological he means merely a passage of Scripture which assigns a cause for a command or other thing; and analogy is the agreement of one part of Scripture with another. Finally, the Parabolical sense, he shows, is contained in the Literal, since words have a proper and a figurative signification.

Undoubtedly, Thomas is superior to Augustine in distinctness and correctness. It is worthy of note with what deference he follows his master, carefully avoiding the semblance of disagreement with him, and yet how discreetly he puts aside his errors, supplies his deficiencies, puts his confused material into shape. The division above given is very different from that of Origen, has no mysticism, no mere human philosophy in it, and, with some modification, might be adopted as a basis of interpretation. But there was then no people, no public to read the Bible. The few, who

could study the Vulgate, saw it through Patristic spectacles. Their theological beliefs were already determined for them by that impalpable, but terribly tyrannical phantom called the Church. There was no feeling of the need of a right method of interpretation of the Bible, for it was not the Bible that they studied. They were relieved of that trouble by the Commentaries, which gave them all that could be thought and said concerning Scripture, and much better than they could think and say it. The only advance in hermeneutics was the orderly division which has been illustrated above.

And now, as we leave this gloomy period, we begin to see serious and permanent progress in both the great departments of the science—in the spirit and in the letter. Scholasticism lost itself more and more in barren subtleties, and in the same proportion gave less satisfaction to the awakened living, religious craving, and the reaction of other tendencies became stronger. It died completely as the Reformation was about to burst out, towards the end of the fifteenth century. There had been, from time to time, protests against the prominence given to tradition, and now in this century these became so earnest that the friends of the Romish dogma were fain to come to its aid with arguments. The line of argument was the same as now. “Christ and his Apostles revealed the literal sense; the Martyrs confirmed it; and the Church, by its decrees through its Councils, is its guardian. The Church does not exist for the sake of the Scriptures, but the Scriptures for the sake of the Church. Divine truth has always been in the Church, and the agency of the Holy Spirit by whom this truth is always maintained; the spirit giveth life, the letter killeth. The Church is not bound to the letter of Scripture, but alters it according to the needs of the age, yet, in so doing, does not alter Christ’s commands; for the Church is Christ’s body, and does nothing but what Christ wills.” Against this miserable perversion, Wyckliffe, Wessel, and others, had raised their voices, and there was now to be a decided uprising against it. This movement on behalf of the authority of the texts of Scripture, connected but not identical with the right of individual interpretation, was synchronous with the revival of learning in Europe, which laid the foundation of the science of Hermeneutics. Its

spiritual and intellectual elements both awoke to life. There had been feeble movements before. No doubt the preceding centuries had been gathering materials; but now the work began in earnest. With Luther, Zwingli, and Tyndale, came the revelation of the living power and priceless worth of the Bible; with Reuchlin, Erasmus, and their compeers, the enthusiasm for the study of the Hebrew and Greek text. The ignorance of the Scriptures during the fifteenth century can hardly be exaggerated, and in proportion to the ignorance was the superstitious veneration attached to individual sentences and words. In the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," we may see the reasons of this ignorance on the part of the ecclesiastics: it was their idleness and debauchery. And the Bible had been confined to ecclesiastics. But now it was given to all the world, and this indiscriminate distribution is thus bewailed by an old English churchman: "The master Wyckliffe translated into English, not an angelic tongue, the Gospel that Christ committed to the clergy and doctors of the Church, that they might administer it gently to the laymen and infirm persons according to the requirements of the time and their individual wants and mental hunger. So by him it has become common and more open to laymen and women who know how to read than it usually is to clerks of good understanding and a fair amount of learning. And thus the Gospel pearl is cast forth and trodden by swine. What used to be held dear by clerks and laymen has become like an amusement for both; the gem of clerks is turned into the sport of laymen, and what was once a talent given from above to clergy and doctors of the Church is forever common to the laity." We thank God for that which called forth tears from the eyes of the venerable Knighton. We rejoice at the increased faith and spirituality which resulted from the diffusion of the Scriptures in the vernacular, as we do at the augmented scientific study which was given to them in consequence of the introduction of Hebrew and Greek. The general advance in thought manifested itself in the department of Biblical interpretation, as in others—there was coming to be greater clearness and more common-sense, as well as greater distinctness and accuracy of method. If we take Luther as the exponent of the opinions of the Reformation, we shall find (in his Table-talk,

for example) that the authority of men had been discarded. The Fathers are entitled to respect, he thinks, but not to be followed. Jerome is a heretic; not one of their commentaries on Romans is worth anything. In fact, says Luther, the multitude of books is a great evil; the Bible is buried under so many commentaries that the text is nothing regarded. He could wish that all his books were buried nine ells deep in the ground by reason of the ill example they will give, every one seeking to imitate him in writing many books, with the hope of procuring fame. But he recognizes the utility of books, and the necessity of systematic, scientific study of the Word, as in the following characteristic outburst: "All men now presume to criticise the Gospel. Almost every old doting fool or prating sophist must, forsooth, be a doctor in divinity. All other arts and sciences have masters, of whom people must learn, and rules and regulations which must be observed and obeyed. The Holy Scriptures only, God's word, must be subject to each man's pride and presumption; hence so many sects, seducers, and offences." So far as any system is expressed, Luther and Calvin adhered to the literal sense of Scripture, and stigmatized the allegorizing method as a tissue of absurdities. We have evidence sufficient to prove that Luther recognized on the one hand the value of philological studies, and on the other the necessity of deep spirituality. He had, he said, like Paul, a devil, which drove him by temptations and sorrows to the right understanding of the Bible. And we have a summing up of the results of the scientific development of hermeneutics up to the end of the sixteenth century, in the "Advancement of Learning," in which Bacon notices and criticises the various modes of interpretation, approving the moral and allegorical, which is based on the literal, and reprobating the enigmatical and philosophical. Under these two last names he comprises the abuses of type, allegory, and prophecy, and the attempt made by Paracelsus to find in the Bible the whole body of human science. "To seek philosophy in divinity is to seek the dead among the living; neither are the pots or lavers, whose place was in the outward part of the temple, to be sought in the holiest place of all, where the Ark of the Testimony was seated." Bacon's discussion of the subject, which forms the conclusion of

the "*De Augmentis Scientiæ*," is well worthy of study by the Biblical student; and it is from his time that we have to date the modern science of hermeneutics. We take it for granted here that his "*Novum Organum*" laid the foundation of all modern science; and it is since the appearance of that work that regular hermeneutical treatises have been written, and that those advances have occurred in other branches of intellectual effort which made it possible to be exact in the interpretation of the Bible, such as Natural History, Psychology, Botany, Zoology, and Philology. From this time on, we find so great a development of hermeneutical inquiry, such a variety of views, that it is impossible for us to notice them here. The study of the languages of the Bible daily gained ground. Not only Hebrew, but Arabic and Syriac were made to throw light on the text. Buxtorf wrote his great Talmudical lexicon; Ludovicus de Dieu discovered and published the Syriac version of the Apocalypse; Asseman, at Rome, under the protection of the Papal government, prepared his "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*"; and Pococke, at Oxford, edited the works of Maimonides. At the same time, discussions were in progress as to the great principles of interpretation. Such was the movement began in the seventeenth century, respecting the interpretations of Types, dividing itself off into two schools—the Cocceian, which, with unguarded license, saw a type in every resemblance; and their opponents, represented later by Marsh, who made a direct Scriptural assertion necessary to typical character. The method of the former School may be seen in Glass's "*Philologia Sacra*," and an interesting account of the whole movement in the opening chapters of Fairbairn's "*Typology*."

There was at the same time, in the history of the Puritans, a curious illustration of the effect on exegesis of political relations. The fanaticism which culminated in the Fifth Monarchy men, displayed itself to some extent throughout in the way in which the Puritans appropriated the prophecies, and histories of the Old Testament particularly, and applied them literally to their own circumstances. The fierce and bitter spirit of partisanship which was called forth and nourished by the injustice of the royal government, and the established religion, naturally laid hold of the darker side of the sacred writings, and the "elect of the Lord" revelled

in the anticipation of the condign punishment which was to be visited on their persecutors. As in the exegesis of the Rabbis, Rome was prefigured by Edom, because the latter represented the enemies of the ancient people; so the men of the seventeenth century regarded the royal party, secular and ecclesiastical, as symbolized by the people who from time to time came in conflict with the Jews, and accordingly regulated their conduct by that of the Israelites. So an unhappy royalist potentate would find himself the victim of an interpretation, which regarded Samuel's treatment of Agag as pattern and warrant for like extremities. And the unfortunate Queen received from the mouth of a preacher the answer to a petition for safe guard to the coast, in the words "Take that woman Jezebel out, and bury her."

This, though a temporary hermeneutical movement, illustrates the exegetical power of habits of thought, called forth by passion, and maintained by circumstances. Before referring to the present condition of Biblical interpretation, we may mention two facts of interest connected with its history. The first is the utility of the Polyglott Bibles, which have been published from time to time. Mention has already been made of the Hexapla of Origen—a collection of Hebrew and Greek texts, which, prepared before the invention of printing, must have required immense labour; it was, however, so bulky (fifty volumes), and so costly, as to be almost useless. Deposited in Cesarea, it was probably burned there by the Saracens, and only a few fragments now remain, the best edition of which is that of Montfaucon (Paris, 1713). The first printed Polyglott, the Complutensian, appeared in 1522, at Alcalá, in Spain, under the direction and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes. The Old Testament is given in Hebrew, Greek (the Septuagint), and Latin, with the Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos at the foot; and the New Testament in Greek and Latin. In 1572, the Antwerp Polyglott was published at that city, at the expense of Philip II., of Spain, and likewise contained the Old Testament in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and the New Testament in Greek and Latin, with a Syriac translation in Hebrew characters, for the use of Jews, for which translation it is now chiefly valued. The third, the Paris Polyglott, was completed in 1654, and published in ten folio volumes; it contains all that the Complutensian and Antwerp

Polyglotts have, with the addition of Syriac and Arabic Versions (with Latin translation) of the Old and New Testaments. In 1657, the first English, the London Polyglott, was published, the editor, Bishop Brian Walton, being assisted by Pococke, Lightfoot, Samuel Clarke, and others. In this most valuable work, nine languages are given, though no one book is printed in so many. We have the Pentateuch in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan; the Psalms in the same, with the exception of Samaritan, and the addition of Ethiopic, and the Chaldee Targum and the Gospels in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persian. The only Polyglott published in one volume is that of Bagster, the languages being—Hebrew (with the Samaritan Pentateuch), Greek (Septuagint), Latin (Vulgate), German (Luther's translation), French (of Ostewald), English, Italian, and Spanish. Finally, there is the well-known Polyglott of Stier and Theile, the Old Testament in Greek, Hebrew, German, and Latin, and the New Testament in Greek, Latin, German, and English.

To discuss the value of these works to the Biblical student, would be to treat of the value of versions in general, and of these individual versions in particular, and would demand more space than we can give. It must suffice to say that a version differs from the translation of a commentator only as it is the result of the combined study of many men, and as it is issued under the pressure of a deeper sense of obligation. The interest which attaches to the mere ancient, as the Samaritan and Syriac, is easily understood, and scholars have abundantly verified and proved their utility. A comparison of the modern versions, French, German, Italian, and others, will be found useful; but care must be taken in referring to them, since they are not always reliable.

The other fact worthy of notice is the gradual accumulation of works on Hermeneutics, books undertaking to give principles and rules of interpretation. It is unnecessary to mention those which were first produced, and which have been superseded. The first satisfactory work was that of J. A. Ernesti, published about the middle of the last century, and issued in English dress by the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh. As a clearly-expressed and judicious collection of rules in small compass, it may be recommended to Biblical students as a valuable auxiliary. The same commenda-

tion may be given to the treatise of Pareau, which has the merit of conciseness, brevity, and straightforwardness. These two are for ordinary purposes better than the larger works of Marsh and Davidson, or that contained in Horne's Introduction. These all exhibit Hermeneutics as a science, a methodically arranged set of rules depending on principles. Perhaps it is not necessary to insist on their value. It will hardly be objected to them that they are contrivances to foist human ideas into the Word of God. In fact, every man who interprets, does so according to rules formed by the exercise of his judgment; and these books give simply the results of the same processes by judicious men, with an exhibition of the errors into which interpreters have been led by false principles. It is not pretended that such books can make an interpreter of Scripture, any more than study can make a preacher; but they may save him from serious faults, point out methods of procedure and sources of information, precisely as some venerable servant of God may, from the stores of his experience, instruct his younger brother in the mysteries of the Word, without intending to force opinions on him, or to diminish the fervour and activity of his personal effort. The Bible is a book, a collection of books, each of which has its own character, and is to be judged by its own standard—written by men, and therefore to be interpreted according to the laws of human thought—written in the dialect of men, and of one particular set of men, and therefore to be judged by the laws of human language. The gems of truth are indeed divine, but the casket in which they are given us is of human workmanship, and its key made and applied by human skill. To this human side of interpretation, we may hold fast without weakening our grasp on the spirituality, which is its divine side.

Having thus rapidly gone over the history of Hermeneutics up to the beginning of the present century, we may pause to inquire to what result the labours of men have brought them. We answer that the best judgment of pious men, anxious to comprehend the Bible, has settled into some such conviction as this: That the word of God has something in common with other books, and something different from all others—that the dictates of a piously enlightened common-sense are to be the foundation of all interpretation; that the book itself must be patiently and lovingly studied, and made

to act as its own interpreter, and that the method of procedure in the case of any given passage is as follows:

First: the meaning of the words is to be determined from our knowledge of language, whether the original or that of a translation; secondly: the content and exact bearing of the passage is to be learned from its context—that is, from its position in the argument or narrative, or other train of thought—and, to this end, the nature and design of the particular book or passage, the character of the writer, and the circumstances and character of his place and time are to be considered; thirdly: (though this is substantially contained in the preceeding), the passage is to be varied in its relations to the whole of the divine revelation of truth, and its necessary extensions and limitations admitted; and fourthly: (that we may recognize the second great element of interpretation) the Christian consciousness is to be consulted, with solemn invocation of the presence of the Holy Spirit, for deepening and especially for realizing the truth thus gained, and, in a guarded and humble way, for testing it.

We must all feel that a definite statement of the relation between mere intellectual conviction and Christian consciousness is a task of very great difficulty. We believe ourselves warranted in saying that both are essential—that the first without the second will be jejuneness and deadness; that the second without the first will be fancy, vagary, and fanaticism; but to define precisely the work of each, the influence of each on the other, may be considered impossible. Their co-working belongs to those recondite mental acts that escape the analysis of consciousness, though they are performed with sufficient ease and accuracy under the guidance of a real intellectual and spiritual power. Very many times, and especially of late, a supposed Christian consciousness has been made the instrument of destructive error. That really devout man, Schleiermacher, and after him Neander, both blessed with lofty intellects and profound yearnings after truth, believed that they had the faculty of deciding unerringly on the authenticity of all writings pretending to be the Word of God, and pared and rejected as their feeling dictated. Even Luther could see nothing divine or edifying in the Epistle of James. And others have acted with greater violence. When men so act, they lay claim to nothing

else than the ability so fully and conclusively to comprehend the whole scheme of revelation, so absolutely to enter into communion with the Divine Spirit that the slightest incongruity is patent to them, and their finely-strung spiritual nature starts back from an alien doctrine or ungentle narrative, as the sensitive plant shrinks from the touch of an intrusive and hurtful object. But when the Christian remembers his carnality and impurity, to say nothing of his finiteness, he will hesitate to arrogate to himself any such ability; he will be guarded and humble in his judgments.

The method indicated above takes for granted a theory of inspiration, namely, that under the absolutely perfect guiding influence of the Holy Spirit, the writers of the Bible have preserved each his personality of character and intellect and surroundings. Here we do no more than refer again to the fact that the theory of inspiration affects the system of interpretation, and that a fundamental principle of our Hermeneutics must be that the Bible, its real assertions being known, is in every iota of its substance absolutely and infallibly true.

These remarks will fail of their end, if they do not impress us with the conviction that there is need of *work* in interpreting the Bible, and that remissness in work will produce a highly culpable faultiness or superficialness of view. The whole world is engaged in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, by its good and its evil, voluntarily and involuntarily; in its life a commentary, in its activities a commentator. After all the study of past centuries, the past fifty years have witnessed a surprising advance in the great work—not as surprising as the resuscitation of the Reformation, but still wonderful. We have come to a much better knowledge of many things; we have learned things that Fuller and Gill and Calvin and Luther and Augustine, Jerome, Origen, and Irenæus did not know, so that we do not think it arrogant to say that we understand the Bible better than those worthies did. We all understand it better; for those of us who are not able to make all sorts of investigations for ourselves get the results partially, somehow or other, and so, often without knowing it, are enjoying the fruits of the labours of some quiet student or adventurous traveller. In the first place, the text of Scripture has been settled more satisfactorily. The changes which have been made are almost entirely in the New

Testament. It is generally known that there are no ancient manuscripts of the Old Testament now existing, and we owe our present text to the labours of the learned Jews who collated the Oriental and Occidental Recensions in the eighth or ninth century. All that we can now do is to examine the marginal readings, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, the quotations in the New Testament, the Talmud, and the Fathers, and from these no variation of great importance has been adopted. But, in the New Testament, not only have the old manuscripts and versions been examined with greater care and intelligence than ever before, but a very valuable new manuscript has been discovered, and some important changes made in the text. All these changes it is necessary for us to examine; we must weigh the evidence for and against them, and, after faithful investigation, accept or reject them, as those who are appointed by God guardians of his Word, and who must give account of themselves to him. We shall not here enter into a discussion of the character of these variations severally, or the impression which the knowledge of the possibility of uncertainty should make on us. This has been done fully by Dr. Broadus in the columns of the *Religious Herald* (1866 and 1868), in his criticism of the Revised Version of the American Bible Union, into which many of the variations have been introduced. We only repeat his remark, that the changes in question affect no fundamental truth of Scripture, and that the new reading will frequently be found to have greater pertinency and profounder meaning than the old; and we add that the text, like the doctrine, is committed by God to our keeping, not as a heritage of sloth, but as a discipline of our watchfulness, sobriety, humility, and honesty. So also we ought to feel about the original languages of the Bible. It is inconceivable that a Christian man should not rejoice in any studies or discoveries which give us a greater mastery over the original expression of the words of God. Even if he knew no Greek and Hebrew, a follower of Christ must feel a profound interest in these languages. Let us consider: Moses and David and Isaiah actually spoke and wrote in Hebrew; Matthew and John and Paul really wrote in Greek. What man is there who does not feel that a very uncommon interest attaches to the words which express exactly the thoughts which the Divine Spirit thought fit to make the embodi-

ment of eternal truth? If translations were perfect, this would still be the case; but a new motive arises from the necessity of appealing to the original for the correctness of the translation. A knowledge of the languages becomes a key for unlocking the mysteries of the Word. Any advance in acquaintance with the former ought to be as real an occasion of congratulation as the success of one of our missionaries in Africa or China; and we may congratulate ourselves that the last half century has produced worthy fruit. A better apparatus of grammars and dictionaries has been produced, the nature of the languages has been better learned, and the signification of words determined with more accuracy. This is partly the result of improvement in the general study of language. How wonderful are the ways of the divine providence! The discovery in India in the last century of the ancient sacred tongue of that country has totally revolutionized the study of language, and though the effects were first seen in the increased accuracy of the investigations in Greek and other dialects linguistically connected with Sanskrit, yet they have been carried over to the domain of the Shemitic dialects to which Hebrew belongs. The way was this: It was found out that these old Indian words were, many of them, substantially the same with words of the Greek, the Latin, or the English, only they were usually older, more primitive in form, and retaining more nearly the old signification. Thus it became possible to learn more exactly the meaning of many Greek words, and so throw light on the New Testament. But, at the same time, it was seen how useful it was to compare related languages, and this was done more in the Shemitic group. This group contains, besides Hebrew, the Samaritan and Chaldee or Syriac, and the Arabic and Ethiopic. The Chaldee or Syriac is especially interesting to us, because it is the language which our Saviour spoke on earth; but no book of the New Testament is written in it, and the only examples of it there are a few phrases preserved, such as the exclamation of Christ on the cross, the words *Abba, Maran-atha*, and some others. But they are all very like Hebrew, many of the words being identical in form and meaning, and therefore they illustrate it. Of late these languages have been much studied, and good grammars and dictionaries written, and portions of their literature published. It is now much easier to learn Hebrew and

Chaldee than it formerly was, and a little judicious expenditure of time under proper direction will give one such an acquaintance with them as will be useful, and as he may increase by his own efforts. There are not a few recent publications in this country and Europe which show how much firmer we can now be about significations of words than was possible for the older scholars—those, for example, of the seventeenth century, who relied chiefly on Jewish explanations. The Jews of that time were not the safest guides; but it was then true of all scholars that they were deficient both in material and in method. Now we have reason to rejoice that the majestic tongue of the patriarchs and prophets, in which God himself spoke to Moses on the Mount, may be known by us with a very wonderful accuracy and fulness.

Among the wonderful exploits of our time are the archæological discoveries in Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, and Persia. The admirable perseverance of explorers has dug down gigantic mounds and disintombed cities, and their equally admirable sagacity has deciphered the inscriptions on the ancient pyramids and temples and palaces. The hieroglyphics of Egypt, and the cuneiform characters of Persia, are now deciphered and interpreted with an accuracy which seems marvellous; and these ancient records, carrying us back to the times of Daniel, Moses, and Joseph, corroborate the statements of Scripture, and illustrate the precepts of the Law, the histories of the kings, and the utterances of the prophets. Contradictions have been explained, obscure allusions made clear, and a new historical life given to all, and, in connection with this, as has been intimated, languages discovered which are destined to throw light on that of Scripture. Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole (in *Constitutional Press Magazine*, June, 1860), after dwelling on the light thrown on the Mosaic system of rewards and punishments by Egyptian archæology, the proofs derived from this source of the accuracy of Bible statements, and the illustrations of the fulfilment of prophecy which it affords, remarks that the science has the highest human interest, and should not be left to those who are indifferent or hostile to the best purpose of honest and earnest inquiry.

This very just and important sentiment suggests the question already touched on, of the relation of scientific discovery—espe-

cially the advances of the Physical Sciences—to Biblical interpretation. The exceedingly rich results of the present century, particularly in Astronomy, Geology, Ethnology, and the history of plants and animals, have revived the discussions which every new advance of science seems to call forth. The result of former discussions ought to set our minds at rest in respect to the contact of the two revelations—the natural and the supernatural. Science has usually approached in the attitude of an antagonist, flourishing in triumph its unassailable facts, and the defenders of the Bible have offered a firm and defiant front. Then follow attacks and repulses on one side and the other, with varying success, but always with increase of embittered feeling, till each side, weary of the contest and conscious of wrong, begins to lower its demands, and, a parley taking place, the combatants arrange terms of agreement, and march under the same banner. We say that each side becomes conscious of wrong; for the devotees of Science seek to convict the Scripture of untruth, and the friends of the Bible undertake to annihilate Science with the letter of Scripture, and each must abandon its impossible aim. Galen and his successors, ancient and modern, saw, in the anatomical and physiological perfection of the human body, the demonstration of its independence of God, and of the untruth of the Mosaic account of man's creation. But we accept the order, and regard it as a proof of the Divine wisdom. Galileo was imprisoned for asserting that the earth went round the sun; for was he not contradicting Joshua, who commanded the sun to stand still?—which would have been impossible if the sun did not go round the earth. But when, two years ago, a similar outcry was made against Astronomy, in the name of Joshua, in the most literary city of Europe, the Christian world received it with a smile of pitying contempt—knowing that Joshua described phenomena, things as they seem; and Science, things as they are. Afterward the world was thrown into trepidation by the Marquis de la Place, who announced his belief that the suns and planets, and other bodies of the universe, were produced by the rotation of a mass of nebular matter; but, after much trembling, the conviction was arrived at, that God, who formed the nebulous mass and made it rotate according to law, was, therefore, certainly the Creator of suns and planets. Next, Geology came

forward with the assertion that it had found out that a long time was required to form the strata of the earth's crust, and had discovered remains of plants and animals far down beneath the surface, and that it could not have been done in six days, as Moses said. To which the friends of Moses replied, that God was able to do anything; that the researches of the geologists were unreliable; that the Creator probably placed the fossils in the ground to excite our curiosity; that Moses did say six days of twenty-four hours each; that if this position were abandoned, the divinity of the Bible must be given up. However, it was seen that the facts of the geologists were correct, while their deductions were wrong. Moses did not necessarily mean days of twenty-four hours each; he might mean long periods; and this view was seen to be perfectly in accordance with the laws of interpretation, and to give a much grander character to the first chapter of Genesis than had before been perceived in it. Very recently the same science has advanced one step further, with the assertion that such remains of human skill and human bodies have been discovered in the Tertiary strata as show the race to be certainly more than six thousand years old—perhaps twenty, perhaps a hundred thousand. In the midst of the contest produced by this assertion we now find ourselves, and the usual war of words is in progress. It contradicts Moses, say both parties; therefore, concludes one, Moses is wrong; therefore, concludes the other, Geology is wrong. Let us rather learn wisdom by the past. Let Geology first arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, and we may rest in the assured conviction that it will not be in conflict with the inspired record. So may we feel about the ethnographic researches that are now aiming to fix the origin of races, welcoming all established facts, and patiently awaiting the conclusions which shall be fixed by the laws of science. We may extend this patience in repose even to the Development Theory of Darwin and others. Not that we are called on now to accept it, for it is by no means demonstrated. But we may be sure that the researches which it occasions will produce valuable results, and will illustrate rather than denude the Scriptures.

For all acquisitions of Science have ended in furthering the understanding of the Bible, proving themselves aids in Exegesis and

Hermeneutics—that is, in the explanation of particular passages and in the establishment of a general rule. Very slowly the Christian mind has come to the conclusion that the Bible is not a teacher of science—that such a character would interfere with the intellectual development of the race, or would make its language, which would necessarily in that case be conformed to perfect science, unintelligible up to the moment of the culmination of man's studies—that it rather conforms its language to that phenomenal observation which will probably last to the end of time, as is demanded of a book intended for all time—that its standpoint is not that of science, and the emphasis which it puts on things not a scientific one, since it uses all the array of worldly facts and experiences simply as framework for the scheme of redemption. Holding fast to this conviction, it can watch with pleasure the increasing light which men's discoveries throw on the Word of God; and it must guard against the continually returning disposition to pledge that Word for, and stake its truth on, a scientific theory. This is the hermeneutical principle to which we seem to have come—namely, that, at the point at which the Bible touches secular science, we have absolutely nothing to do but to sit still and wait for the interpretations of that science. Other canons there are none; meanings of words, design of books, general aim of the Scriptures, are here all valueless, except after the truth has been otherwise established. Science may be said to be hid in the Scriptures, as botany in the plant; but they, no more than the plant, have voice to tell of their treasures, which must be brought to light by man's industry and sagacity.

Here it would be appropriate to refer to a question which modern Metaphysics has again made prominent—the relation of Reason to Faith, in the interpretation of the Bible. Many books have been written with the design of setting forth the laws of this relation, more or less unsatisfactory. Sometimes one element has been suppressed, sometimes the other, and sometimes Reason has been enthroned under the name of Christian consciousness. The length to which this Address has already extended itself, forbids us to exhibit the views of different parties, or to discuss the general subject. The most important practical remark seems to us to be this—that the harmony of Reason and Faith is impossible, except in

the regenerated heart, as the immediate work of the Holy Spirit—that it exists, at least in germ, in every child of God, and comes gradually more distinctly into consciousness as the mind and soul grow together in strength—that its essence and laws cannot be made intelligible to the worldly mind—and that its best exposition is the intellectual and spiritual life of the thoughtful, humble, intelligent believer in Christ.

The last department in hermeneutical labour of our century, to which we shall refer, is the rehabilitation (if we may so term it) of the Bible, by researches in Geography and History. Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, have been carefully explored. Sites of towns, scenes of occurrences, have been identified; the topography of Jerusalem has been diligently studied, and a subterranean Jerusalem brought to light. Geographical myths have been sifted, and doubts dispelled. Manners and customs of nations, surroundings of individuals, have been searched out, and the old life of the men and women of the Bible reproduced, just as they have “restorations” of Greek temples. Abundant material has been gathered for the formation of the historic consciousness, for the attainment of historical sympathy with the persons and events of Scripture-history. For the understanding of the Bible this is of no little importance. It is a series of pictures. Between even a very good narrative of an event, as the Destruction of Jerusalem, and a faithful and well-conceived painting, what a difference! In contemplating the latter you have a consciousness of reality, and a sympathy with a reality. You stand on the spot, you see the despairing look, and hear the cry of agony; the flames burst forth, the hope of a nation is departing. This is historical consciousness, and it not only gives vividness to impressions, and heightens the enjoyment of the pleasant, or deepens the pain which we feel at the sad, but enables us better to comprehend everything. Men and things are all complex, and to understand them we must know all the elements. Truths of Scripture are enclosed in outward facts, and are set forth in their fulness only when we comprehend these facts—of time, place, and manner. For such comprehension we have now better opportunity than ever before, so broad and diligent have been the researches of modern scholars.

Of the innumerable contributions in particular exegesis, or to

departments of Hermeneutics, we say nothing. We have designed to call attention to the progress made during the past few years, and to the general course of Biblical Interpretation, since the canon of Scriptures was completed, that our ardour in the study of the Bible may be increased, and our sense of personal responsibility heightened. For, though the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, make their contributions, the custody of Interpretation is given to the people of God—to the Church universal. This Church, composed of those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, alone capable of a just appreciation of the Sacred Word, and of identification with it in interest, must exhibit all the sleepless watchfulness, keen insight, and sharp foresight of tender and devoted affection. It must be in sympathy with all the powers which affect the understanding of the Scriptures, must watch their movements with patience and coolness, ready to act with decision when occasion requires, ignoring or neglecting nothing that can make the Bible more a reality, broad in its sympathies, humble and teachable in spirit, yet bold in the name of Christ for the interests of His cause.

And let us, as Baptists, make the application specially to ourselves, and ask what it behooves us to do. Undoubtedly at once to recognize our duty to give the Scriptures in its fulness to the world—as bishops of the flocks, as evangelists and missionaries, as private members of the churches, to lay hold of the Word of God, on its divine and on its human side, in its intellectual and in its spiritual elements. We have tried to point the necessity for both of these, and have adverted to the fact that our service, as a denomination of Christians, has been rendered chiefly to one—to the supreme authority of Scripture, and the necessity of the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit to its expositors. This has been our position since we have had a continuous history. From the days of Luther and Menno and Zwingli, in Holland and Germany and England, through imprisonments, scourgings and burnings, in adversity and in prosperity, we have never receded, and have often stood alone. On one point and another, others more numerous and powerful have agreed with us. The truth has been gradually better apprehended and more generally received. But we stand to-day where we stood three hundred and fifty years ago,

and our theory, which is that of our despised brethren of that day, has now the suffrages of almost all the Christian world. The Protestant Reformation set out with the declaration that the Scriptures were the infallible guide of the Christian in matters of faith and doctrine. But, after nobly combating the destructive heresies of Rome, the reformers, especially of the Lutheran and Anglican establishments, proved untrue to their own principles, admitted Romish errors, and particularly substituted human for divine authority, by setting up, as standards of faith, the decisions of the General Councils of the first four centuries, or the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds. Even the English Puritans, while protesting against the Romish tendencies of the establishment, and insisting strenuously on rigid conformity to Scripture (for which they deserve honor), admitted practices for which there was no Scriptural authority. The Baptists, though then socially and politically insignificant, protested against such admissions in their sermons and books, and were willing to die for their faith. In this last they were not peculiar; many others died. But they alone have always maintained to the full the necessity of Scriptural grounds for all beliefs and practices.

In respect to the spirituality of the interpreter, we have noticed that this has been emphasized by individuals from time to time, though often lost sight of by sects and establishments. It is indeed an almost necessary result of the union of Church and State that it should be ignored. And, as many Protestants at the Reformation fell into this error of secularizing religion, both in Germany and in England, the human element in interpretation got the upper-hand. Human direction could provide requirements of mind, but not of soul. The Government could guarantee that ministers of the Gospel should be learned, though it could not answer for their piety. To this was added the sacramental error, that the consecrated minister was *ipso facto* endued with the Holy Ghost, and a competent expounder of the mysteries of the faith. It was doubtless true, besides, that the controversies with Rome called into play all the resources of learning, and led to too exclusive reliance on it. Gradually the evil developed itself till it attained such shameful dimensions, both in England and in Germany. Ungodly men were recognized teachers of the Word of

God; or, if a decent morality were required, there was no deep spirituality—no need of experimental acquaintance with truths of Scripture—a little reading, ability to write or copy a discourse, some general acquaintance with the Bible, was all that was essential. Against this evil the Baptists protested at the outset. Learning, they said, was not sufficient; the mind must be quickened by the Holy Spirit into spiritual apprehension of the truth. They seemed thus (and may erroneously have done so) to set the teachings of the Spirit over against the labours of the human mind, and were charged by their opponents with contemning the Gospel and the sacraments. “Never,” said Sebastian Frank,* “will the external word change a wicked heart. Only those are in condition to understand the Scriptures who have received from above a supernatural light, wherein they have a perfect understanding of Scripture, and whereby they comprehend all theological truth.” And to this truth, which does not reject intellectual effort, but is simply a protest against the alleged sufficiency of unsanctified learning, they have always remained faithful. They hold it now, along with many of their brethren of other names; they held it when great bodies of Christians had lost sight of and abandoned it.

We have as great need now as ever to maintain these principles of interpretation. Formerly, poor and despised, we were in little danger of yielding to social pressure. To men who are banished from polite society, and who may expect to-morrow a prison or the stake, it is a small thing that they should be called exclusive and narrow-minded; but now, risen into some social importance, a power not to be ignored, having come into not unpleasing relations with our fellow-men, we may feel keenly the unjust charge or taunt of bigotry, which, constantly, with incredible ignorance, repeated, is not without its effect, it is to be feared, on the minds of some of our brethren. When thus assailed, let us take refuge in the principle that the Bible alone is our guide, and that no interpretation can denude it of the doctrines and commands on which we base our faith and practice. Let it be remembered, also, that commentaries are not of equal authority with the Bible, and that he who neglects the fountain of living waters for these more or

* Quoted by Underhill.

less broken cisterns, suffers loss. As a Baptist, he violates his own principles when he elevates any human utterance into the position of infallible guide—a thing not so difficult or so rare as might at first be supposed.

Impressed as we are with the importance of this part of our duty, we must yet venture, at the risk of repetition, to record a caution against two errors into which we may be led by our anxiety to be faithful—two extremes to which inconsiderate zeal may carry us. First, it is possible for us to pervert the doctrine of the illumination of the Holy Spirit into a plea for fanaticism. It has often been done, and by persons of very different character; Montanus, Swedenborg, and Schleiermacher have held substantially the same views with some modern preacher guiltless of the arts of reading and writing. Strange illustration of how extremes meet! Perhaps it is not probable that we shall fall into any outrageous heresy or absurdity. But we may injure our own souls, mar our interpretation of the Word of God, mar our influence for good by assuming that our impressions are always right. The Holy Spirit teaches all truth, even as he sanctifies; but man is no more infallible than he is holy. Even as the suggestions of Satan sometimes present themselves as the promptings of the Divine Spirit, so are divine illuminings counterfeited by human fancies. Commonly the source of the error lies in a miscomprehension of the promises of God, in the failure to use such means as He puts at our disposal. To expect to know the Scripture without study is as grievous a mistake as to expect harvests without ploughing and planting and tending. The study is not necessarily at the table with heaps of books—it may be at the morning or evening family prayer, it may be on the sea, on the street, in the counting-room or at the plough, but it must be serious thoughts, with use of all good help. “God helps them that help themselves,” is a worthy saying, though not of the Scripture, but it is more than comprehended in the word of our Saviour: “Unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.”

This suggests the second caution, against neglect of learning. The word, perhaps, is not a happy one to use, for with many persons “learning” means dryness and general incapacity to do any-

thing but read books—to which allegation Moses and Paul are surely sufficient answer. Moreover, there may be “a little learning” which shall be not “a dangerous thing,” but a blessing. Baptists for a long time showed no inclination to avail themselves of the resources of erudition. The reasons for this from their history have already been hinted at. But these reasons no longer exist, and we are coming to see that there is no necessary connection between knowledge and worldliness or ignorance and piety—that the true use of learning is to develop the natural qualities which God has given us, and to use them for his glory. We must then recognize the obligation to use the natural means without which the sense of the Scriptures cannot be elicited. We must bring into requisition all the resources of human knowledge, because, as guardians of the Sacred Oracles, we are responsible before God for discovering and spreading abroad their true meaning—because, as a Denomination, it behooves us to have within ourselves the means of testing all theories, of accepting the good and rejecting the bad, instead of taking our conclusions from others. We may be sure that the Devil does not neglect learning; let us rescue so noble a gift of God from Satanic uses and make it a minister of the Divine Will.

This applies to all departments of study. Suffer us, however, to make a special appeal in behalf of the study of the original languages of Scripture—the Greek and the Hebrew. Some of us are not without inclination to question the wisdom of the Divine Providence in selecting these languages in which to record the truth, and secretly think it would have been better if English had been employed. We shall not now enter into a defence of the Divine scheme, which, however, it would be easy to make. A sufficient reply to such a feeling is given in Rom. 9 : 20 :—“Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?”. It is an undeniable and unchangeable fact that God has spoken specifically in two particular languages, and all our pledges of devotion and obedience to him, and all our sentiments of reverence and love, and the demands of tender conscience, call on us to know them, if it be possible.

For some of us it is not possible; there are circumstances, perhaps, which make it right that a servant of God should pass by the original utterances of the Holy Spirit, and accept, instead, the

translations of men. This question of right, let each man determine for himself, knowing that he must give account to God; to his own Master he standeth or falleth. For many of us it is possible; and, if possible, obligatory. For this is a fundamental duty; it is not learning what may make Scripture more interesting, or clearer, but it is learning the Scriptures themselves. The objections which usually present themselves are founded on imperfect conceptions of duty, or on something worse—is it unjust, or unkind to say, on slothfulness? Of the first sort are those which plead the pressing demands of the ministerial or other work, and which assert perfect confidence in the authorized English version of the Bible, or in the expositions of better-informed brethren. But these deny the obligation of self-development and of independence. Here is something which will enable you to do your work, whatever it is, more accurately and more fully. You profess to teach the truth: here is something which will not only probably save you from errors, but stimulate you to earnest study and fresher thought—will give you greater power in the pulpit and in your pastoral intercourse, by giving you more correct knowledge of the truth, and so making you a more efficient instructor, and by giving you greater individuality and realness in the possession of the truth. It is right for you to delay your superstructure, that you may lay a better foundation; it is wisdom to defer your starting on a long and difficult journey, that you may get a competent guide. It is the duty of the churches, to themselves and to God, to forward the more thorough preparation of young ministers, knowing that they are thus working in the interests of the cause of Christ, and interference with such preparation too often amounts to dwarfing the powers of those whom God has called to work for him. Time is valuable, and the world is full of work; therefore choose the best things—what things will bring you nearer to the truth, and give you greater mastery over it. This is the true Christian economy. This is also the true Christian independence—to be able to test opinions for one's self. Our English version may be good, but are you to know it merely because you are told so? And how do you know what faults, and of what magnitude, exist in it? You do not choose your church-relations on the representations of others. You are what

you are, because you hold it consonant with the truth of God. This ought to be our standard of judgment always, and we ought always to search for means of making up an independent opinion—of appealing to original authority.

We have said that the acquisition of languages is not now as difficult as it once was, there being now a much better apparatus of aid. We would not entice any into studying Greek and Hebrew by representing their mastery as a very easy thing. No good thing in the world is very easy. There is some dry work with grammars and dictionaries, and we must have patience and perseverance. But, in the first place, it is worth taking trouble for; and, in the second place, with existing helps it is not so formidable. Half the labour we expend on some other things will give us creditable acquaintance with these languages. Everywhere books and teachers may be found, classes may be formed, and continued labour will bring good results. But let it be understood that a distinct, serious purpose must be formed. We may be fascinated by a scheme to put us in possession of such a treasure as the knowledge of a language, pleased, at first, with the novelty, and soon tire at the serious work. First count the cost, then make the preparations, and then carry through the plan with that certainty which is the prerogative of every earnest mind. We do not forget the interruptions and discouragements; but we know that what we propose is feasible, and that it has been done.

And now, having spoken so strongly in favour of the study of the original text, we are glad to be able to say, that, it being impossible to prosecute such study, we have an ample field of work in our common version. It has many faults which it were well were corrected; but it gives, substantially, the truth of God. It imperils no doctrine, and conceals none; it falsifies no fundamental command; it perverts no history or prophecy. Being only a rendering into English of the original assertions of the inspired writers, and, therefore, only slightly of the nature of a commentary, it offers some of the same difficulties as the original, and permits and demands the same sort of study. All that has been said of interpretation pertains to it. There is necessity for the student of the English version to consider rules of exegesis, to examine words and phrases, to learn the usages of the several writers, and

the wider principles which run through the whole Book. From it he can get the grandest of all conceptions, the purest of all characters, the highest morality, the tenderest of stories. Out of it he may declare to his fellow-men the salvation that is in Christ Jesus. Well for him if he is a diligent student of its pages—if he apprehends its difficulties as well as its plainness, its shallows as well as its heights and depths. It is not wise to dispense with helps. He who does not know the original language must go to him who does. He can exercise his judgment in accepting one opinion or another. He may question his Christian consciousness concerning its concurrence in this or that view. But there will always be left a great mass of work in the study of the English text. The fault which we have to find with ourselves is, that we neglect this English Bible for men's comments on other things. None of us can dispense with it. It is in our vernacular; it comes home to us with greater force; it exhibits the connection of the thought so much more clearly; it is, for most of us, realer reading. We have a right to be proud of its noble diction, as well as of its general correctness, and to feel the greater blameworthiness if we do not most earnestly apply ourselves to it.

This is the view which the Baptists of the South have taken in the constitution of their Seminary. They have provided for the study of Greek and Hebrew, because they recognize the obligation to be thorough. They have made provision also for the study of the English Bible, not only because they looked to the needs of those who were without the requisite linguistic preparation, but also because they believed it a desideratum for all. They have conceived of the Seminary as furnishing aids to ministerial usefulness—not as creative, but as developing. Its mission is to train the overseers of the churches into thorough study and correct interpretation of the Word of God, distinct comprehension of its doctrines, ability to proclaim them effectively, and capacity rightly “to behave themselves in the house of God.” In establishing it, Southern Baptists have given decided expression to their conviction that, as servants of Christ, they are bound to provide for the extension of his truth in its purity—that truth which is the divine instrument of freedom and sanctification. They have reiterated this expression in the affectionate liberality with which they

have sustained it. It is a work on which they may lawfully ask the blessing of the Head of the Church. It is Christ's work, we may humbly and hopefully say, and can subsist only by His approval.

The problem in Hermeneutics which the Christian world has to solve is the blending into harmony and symmetry of the co-existing intellectual and spiritual elements of interpretation. We have seen how the two tend to hold alternate sway, as indeed our whole life resolves itself into a harmonizing of contradictions. In this case, to attain to perfect unity of principle, we should need perfected intellect and sanctified heart—a consummation towards which, if it be not attainable in this life, we must always strive, and every approach to which is a blessing. We have shown sympathy with both branches of the problem—have shown that we value both the illumination of the Spirit and the results of learning and thought. Let us strive to lay hold of both and unite them in a life of holiness. The beginning of our work must be a reverent love for the Holy Scriptures, because they are the revelation of the Most High God, because they announce to man deliverance from sin and wrath, because they are the embodiment of all that is beautiful and good and true. Approaching them, then, with humility, and in their study consecrating ourselves to God, body, mind, and soul, we have the promise that we shall rise to continually higher and higher heights of knowledge. We are thankful for the light which God has permitted men to see—men learned and unlearned—men of action and of contemplation—preachers and hearers—light beaming wonderfully on the simplest mind that interpreted the Word by its own experience—emerging from some patient analysis of argument or investigation of words—in all ways and at all times men have been blessed by the Holy Spirit. But there is no need to measure the possibility of blessing by the experience of the past, or to put any bound to it. The Holy Spirit has a method of interpretation; his law is that we work as if all depended on us, and trust as if nothing depended on us. In one or other of these injunctions we have all failed. And if God vouchsafe such ample harvest to our failure, what would He not grant to our obedience! There is, for each of us, and for all together, the possibility of higher attainments in the future—views

of the glory of the divine Word which shall fill our mouths with praise—wonderful things to behold in the Law—glimpses of fullness and delights unutterable—a preparation of mind and heart for the life to come, where we shall enter on a higher study of the same truths—where, with purified and exalted natures, we shall spend eternity in a constantly progressive contemplation of the same inexhaustible revelation.

HOPKINSIANISM

BEFORE

HOPKINS.

HOPKINSIANISM BEFORE HOPKINS.

A LETTER FROM ROGER SHERMAN TO DR. HOPKINS.

[We are indebted to the Rev. S. W. Boardman of Auburn, for the following Letter and biographical Introduction, never before printed. It revives scenes of the last century connected with the theological discussions of the day. Questions of doctrine then agitated the entire community, perhaps to a greater extent than they ever have since. Not a few laymen were really eminent as theological investigators or pamphleteers. It may suffice to name such men as the Winthrops, Governors Wolcott and Fitch, Dr. Benjamin Gale, etc. The following letter adds another to the list of those who took a deep interest in the Hopkinsian controversy, and not a few will peruse its criticisms with more than ordinary curiosity. They will, perhaps, be better prepared, from its perusal, to understand why Hopkins' system created so much excitement, and drew to itself the attention of so many able and gifted minds. The letter is also a fitting introduction to what we subjoin on the same subject.—EDITORS.]

ROGER SHERMAN, one of the most eminent of the Revolutionary Fathers, was born April 19th, 1721, and died July 23d 1793. He early devoted himself to the study of mathematics, and for several years furnished the astronomical calculations for an almanac published in New York. At the age of 38 he was appointed a judge, and from that time till his death, when he was U. S. Senator and Mayor of New Haven, he was constantly employed ; generally in several different offices, local and national, of the highest importance, at the same time. He was a Member of Congress from 1774 till his death, and a member of the Committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. During the war he was held in the highest esteem by Washington and the statesmen of the day, as a wise counselor and unswerving patriot. He was a member of the Board of War and of the Board of the Treasury. He was on the Committee which drafted the Articles of Confederation, and one of the most influential minds in forming the present Constitution of the U. S., whose ratification he also strongly promoted. He was the only man who signed all those three great national documents, the Declara-

tion of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the present Constitution. He was a profound and learned jurist, and with great ability, in connection with another, codified the laws of Connecticut. For many years he managed also the finances of Yale College. Few men have ever left their impress more deeply upon American institutions.

But the chief glory of Mr. Sherman was his deep and practical piety. It is interesting to see how such a man regarded the subtle and able speculations of the great theologians of New England in his day. The following letter, now in the possession of Mrs. E. C. Tracy, of Windsor, Vt., a granddaughter of Mr. Sherman, proves him to have been a close reader, a clear thinker, and a sound and subtle critic of current speculations in theology. The views of Dr. Hopkins on the points discussed in this letter are presented at large in his published works, and are familiar to all theologians. Mr. Sherman had fifteen children, and still lives in his descendants as well as in his works and fame. Among his sons-in-law were President Day and Judge Baldwin of New Haven; Hon. Samuel Hoar and Jeremiah Evarts of Mass.; among his grandsons, Sherman Day, Esq., of California, Hon. Wm. M. Evarts of New York, late Attorney General of the U. S.; Hon. R. S. Baldwin, Gov. of Ct. and U. S. Senator; Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, M. C. from Mass.; Judge E. R. Hoar, late Attorney General of the U. S.; and by marriage E. C. Tracy, the late able editor for thirty years of the Vt. Chronicle; Rev. David Greene, long Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.; and Profs. Whitney and Thatcher of Yale College. The letter is written in a strong, clear, firm hand, which reminds one of the fair and manly hand of Washington, and indeed of the more deliberate and copy-like hand of that day. It corresponds well with the clearness, strength, and accuracy of the thought expressed.

LETTER.

NEW HAVEN, Oct., 1790.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 2d August last, and am obliged to you for the observations it contains. I think there is no material difference of sentiment between us, except on the last point. I am not convinced by what you have wrote on that subject that my former opinion was wrong, but I don't know that I can say much more to support it than I did before.

I believe we do not differ at all in opinion respecting that general benevolence wherein true virtue consists, which you admit, includes a regard to our own greatest good and happiness. That *regard* I call an exercise of love to ourselves. When I said that self-love and love to others were distinct affections, I only meant that they were exercises of the same kind of affection toward distinct objects, viz., ourselves and others. I do not fully understand the force of your observations on what I said respecting the ground or reason why self-love in a being destitute of general benevolence is the source of moral evil, viz., “that this arises from the want of a good moral taste, or spiritual discernment, which *occasions* the person to place his happiness in wrong objects;” you do not here distinguish between *occasion* and *positive cause*, though you make a material distinction between them, in your sermons, on sin the occasion of great good. President Edwards, I think, has illustrated this point in his answer to Dr. Taylor on original sin, and in a sermon published with his *life*, on the enquiry why natural men are enemies of God. He supposes original righteousness in man was a supernatural principle, which was withdrawn on his first transgression, and his natural principles of agency remaining were exercised wrong, and his affections set on wrong objects, in consequence of such withdrawment. The will and affections are the powers of agency, and the exercises of them are holy or sinful, according to the objects chosen or beloved, or according as their exercises agree or disagree with the divine law. Moral good and evil consist in exercises and not in dormant

principles, and the heart is the seat not only of sin, but of holiness according as it is differently affected.

Your observations on self-love in persons destitute of general benevolence are not opposed to anything I meant to express in my letter. You say, “that love to being in general necessarily regards and wishes the greatest possible happiness to him who exercises this love. This is not, indeed, self-love, which is regard to one’s self *as self*, and as distinguished from all others, and to no other being; but it is the same disinterested affection which wishes the highest happiness to every individual included in being in general, and therefore to himself as necessarily included in the whole, and one among others.” There appears to me to be a little ambiguity in those words, “*as self*” and what follows. I suppose that the good and happiness of *ourselves* and each individual *being* who is a proper object of happiness, is *individually* to be regarded, loved and sought as an ultimate end, or what is desirable for its own sake as a real good. “Man’s chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever.” Therefore when a person seeks his own highest good and happiness in the enjoyment of God, and in connection with his glory, he answers the end of his creation.

Those texts which you cite to prove that self-love is sinful, I suppose are not to be taken absolutely to condemn all love to self, but such only as is opposed to or not connected with love to others, as appears from that text in Phil. ii, 4: “Look not every man on his own things, but every man *also* on the things of others.” No man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it. Our own temporal as well as spiritual good may be lawfully sought and enjoyed, and our sensitive appetite gratified, so that it be not done in a manner or degree prohibited by law. “Every creature of God is good, and not to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.”

I think you use the term *self-love* in a narrower sense than it is in general used by others, and when pious persons find in themselves those desires and wishes of their own good and happiness, which I consider as inseparable from a moral

agent, and which you admit are lawful as flowing from general benevolence or as a part of it, when they find self-love condemned by that general term, it creates in their minds groundless uneasiness and doubt as to their good estate, though perhaps a critical attention to your definitions and distinctions might prevent this.

As your observations on the other point have not removed my difficulties, I will make a few remarks on that subject :

1. The glory of God and his happiness do not depend on the will of his creatures. His goodness is his glory, and that is displayed or manifested in doing good. Acts xvii, 25 ; Job xxxv, 6, 7 ; Ex. xxxiii, 18, 19.

2. None of his rational creatures are miserable, but for their own fault. He inflicts punishment not in a way of mere sovereignty, but as a righteous judge or governor for the general good, *he gathers out of his kingdom all things that offend and do iniquity.*

3. No person who has a holy love to God can, consistent with his *will* declared in the gospel, be finally miserable ; and their self-denial for his glory, and all their trials and afflictions in this life, work together for their best good, and work out for them an eternal weight of glory.

4. The duties of self-denial and suffering in the cause of God are compatible only to this state of trial, as there is no pain in heaven ; and the precepts which require this seem to me to be expressly limited to suffering in this life, and eternal life is promised as encouragement to it ; therefore I see no ground to extend them by reason or analogy to the point in question. Math. xix, 29 ; John xii, 25 ; Luke xiv, 26.

5. No person who is to be a subject of everlasting misery, is ever willing to endure it ; but it is the providential will of God to suffer them to hate him and blaspheme his name because of their torments, therefore their willingness to suffer is not necessary for the manifestation of his glory in their punishment ; and it would involve an inconsistency to suppose any person to be willing to submit to the providential will of God in all the circumstances of his damnation, *unwillingness* to suffer, and *enmity* to God on account of it, being material circumstances. Rev. xvi. 9-11.

You mention as a proof that absolute submission to the will of God is *a duty*, the third petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done," etc. I admit that God's preceptive will ought to be obeyed in all things, and his Providential will submitted to as far as it is made known by revelation or the event; but no particular person, while in a state of probation, can know that it is the providential will of God that he shall finally perish, but he knows that it is his preceptive will *that he should turn and live*; and for persons who doubt of their good estate to put it to trial by supposing such a case, that never can happen if they have any degree of true love to God, or if they ever comply with the requirements of the gospel; and which it is certain their hearts never will be reconciled to, if it should happen, would only tend to fill their minds with greater perplexity and disquietude.

True Christians are assured that no temptation (or trial) shall happen to them, but what they shall be enabled to bear, and that the grace of Christ shall be sufficient for them; but no such gracious promise of support is made to any who shall be the subjects of damnation; therefore a willingness to suffer this is not a trial required of a true Christian.

The angels in heaven do God's will, but we have no intimation that they are required to be willing to fall from their holy and happy state.

As to your observations on the saints' imperfection in this life I shall only remark, that I allow that they ought to approve whatever is ordered or permitted by God concerning them as most holy and wise; but not their own conduct in being unholy or sinful in any degree. As to the submission of the awakened humbled sinner to the divine sovereignty, I admitted that a sinner ought to approve the law of God as holy, just and good in the threatening endless misery to the sinner, but this is consistent with their hoping in his mercy. The convinced publican prayed, "*God be merciful to me a sinner.*" I suppose the divine Sovereignty is the greatest encouragement that a convinced sinner has or can have to hope for mercy. That a God of infinite goodness can through the atonement have mercy on whom he will, consistent with

the honor of his law and government and of all his perfections, is a much better ground of hope than if the sinner was left to his own will ; but I don't see that this included in it a willingness to be damned, though the convinced sinner has a sense of his just desert of damnation. Yet he is invited and required to turn and live. St. Paul's wish, Rom. ix, 3, taken literally, I think can't be vindicated.

1. Because it would have been opposite to the revealed will of God concerning him, he being a true saint could not be accursed from Christ.

2. It could have been of no use to his brethren, his damnation would not atone for their sins, and there was a sufficient atonement made by Jesus Christ. I think all that he intended was to express in strong terms his great affection and concern for that people, and not that he did or could *really* wish damnation to himself for their sakes. It still appears to me that no moral agent ever was or can be willing to be damned, and that no such thing is required by the divine law, or the Gospel. If a person could be willing to be forever abandoned to sin and misery, he must be so lost to any sense of God or happiness as not to be capable of any regard to the glory of God, or the good and happiness of the moral system, for if he could take pleasure in these he would not be wholly deprived of happiness.

The bad tendencies of this doctrine if it be not well founded will be :

1. To give uneasiness to pious minds who may believe it upon the authority of those whom they think more knowing than themselves, but yet they can't find their hearts reconciled to it.

2. Pious and orthodox Christians, who think it an error, will be prejudiced against the books that contained it, however orthodox and useful in other respects, and will scruple the lawfulness of keeping them in their houses, or any way encouraging the spread of such books, least they should be guilty propagating dangerous errors.

3. It will give the enemies of truth occasion to speak reproachfully of the authors of such books, and prejudice the

minds of people against them, and so obstruct their usefulness. Therefore I wish you to cut off occasion from those who desire occasion.

I must ask to be excused for troubling you with this second long and incorrect epistle, and hope you will believe that a sincere regard to truth is my only motive.

I am Sir, with respect and esteem,

Your Friend and humble servant,

ROGER SHERMAN.

REVD. SAMUEL HOPKINS.

HOPKINSIANISM BEFORE HOPKINS.

Among all the peculiarities of what is known as the Hopkinsian Theology, none has contributed more to render it obnoxious than the doctrine with which it has been so often charged—that a man should be willing to be damned for the glory of God. There has been no little speculation as to the influences by which Hopkins was led to adopt it, and to incorporate it into his system. Some have found subjective reasons for it in his own experience, while, sometimes, its congruity to Edward's definition of benevolence, which Hopkins adopted, has been considered as sufficient to have suggested and commended it.

More plausible is the suggestion that the way was prepared for its acceptance by the developments of the Great Revival, in the midst of which Hopkins' religious life commenced. In college, David Brainerd searched out and exposed, as with a lighted candle, his false hopes. Gilbert Tennent's Sermons took such an hold upon him, that he thought him the greatest preacher he ever heard. At the feet of Edwards he sat as a delighted and admiring pupil, and Samuel Buel was his congenial friend and associate. The nature of Hopkins lacked that inflammable element which existed in many of those around him, but, in his meditative tendencies, he reached after those intellectual convictions and apprehensions which seemed to him the logical grounds of the submissive and self-abnegating spirit which he longed to exercise and experience in all its fullness.

In these circumstances we see the force of what is narrated in Park's Life of Hopkins. He says :

"There is a striking coincidence between his subsequent views of 'disinterested submission,' and the feelings which Mrs. Edwards expressed several weeks after he became a member of her family.

'I told those who were present,' she says, 'that I chose to die in the way that was most agreeable to God's will, and that I should be willing to die in darkness and horror, if it was most for the glory of God.'

During the night after this remark (Jan. 29, 1741) and through subsequent days and nights, she had a train of reflections which would now be termed Hopkinsian, and which may have been the germ of one branch of Hopkinsianism; for they were, doubtless, soon communicated to the inquisitive and solemn youth who sat at her table and listened to her daily conversation.

'I also thought,' she writes. 'how God had graciously given me, for a great while, an entire resignation to his will with respect to the kind and manner of death that I should die; having been made willing to die on the rack, or at the stake, or any other tormenting death, and if it were God's will, to die in darkness; and how I had that day been made very sensible and fully willing, if it was God's pleasure, and for his glory, to die in horror. But now it occurred to me that when I had thus been made willing to live, and to be kept on this dark abode, I used to think of living no longer than to the ordinary age of man. Upon this, I was led to ask myself whether I was not willing to be kept out of heaven even longer; and my whole heart seemed immediately to reply, "Yes, a thousand years, if it be God's will, and for his honor and glory;" and then my heart, in the language of resignation, went further, and with great alacrity and sweetness to answer, as it were, over and over again, "Yes, and live a thousand years in horror, if it be most for the glory of God. Yea, I am willing to live a thousand years [in] an hell upon earth, if it be most for the honor of God." But then I considered with myself what this would be to live [in] an hell upon earth for so long a time, and I thought of the torment of my body being so great, awful and overwhelming, that none could bear to live in the country where the spectacle was seen, and of the torment and horror of my mind being vastly greater than the torment of my body; and it seemed to me that I found a perfect willingness, and sweet quietness and alacrity of soul, in consenting that it should be so, if it were most for the glory of God; so that there was no hesitation, doubt or darkness in my mind attending the thoughts of it, but my resignation seemed to be clear, like a light that shone through my soul. I continued saying 'Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus! Glorify thyself in me, in my body and my soul,' with a calm and sweetness of soul which banished all reluctance. The glory of God seemed to overcome me and swallow me up; and every conceivable suffering, and every thing that was terrible to my nature, seemed to shrink to nothing before it. This resignation continued in its clearness and brightness the rest of the night, and all the next day and the night following and on Monday in the forenoon, without interruption or abatement. All this while, whenever I thought of it, the language of my soul was, with the

greatest fullness and alacrity, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen Lord Jesus!" In the afternoon of Monday it was not so perceptible and lively; but my mind remained so much in a similar frame, for more than a week, that I could never think of it without an inexpressible sweetness in my soul."

For some minds, an experience like this will have a peculiar charm. It seems to them the triumph of submission, and the true standard of perfect and entire resignation to the will of God. Amid the excitement of the Great Revival, there were others, doubtless, beside Mrs. Edwards, who believed that by the grace of God they had attained to it, and others probably, beside Hopkins, who were disposed to commend it.

But it should not be forgotten that at that period there was a revived demand for the works of the more spiritual, searching and pungent of the New England fathers. They were brought out from the dust of the book-shelves, and eagerly read. Some of them—as the writings of Shepard—were reproduced in Boston, and among many friends of the revival, enjoyed perhaps more than their original popularity. Such men as Andrew Croswell of Boston, favoring more than most of his brethren the excesses of Davenport, ran into extremes like those which Solomon Williams of Lebanon exposed. There is satisfactory evidence also that—independent of Hopkins—the doctrine which has been especially credited to him took root, and spread abroad to some extent—so far at least as to provoke opposition, and lead to the publication of what might be accounted its most elaborate refutation.

Prof. Park speaks of the train of Mrs. Edwards' reflections as possibly "the germ of one branch of Hopkinsianism," but there is no necessity of seeking the germ here, when, nearly a century before, the doctrine of Hopkins himself had been very fully developed in the writings of such men as Thomas Hooker of Hartford, and his son-in-law, Thomas Shepard of Cambridge. The works of Hooker, published in England, and never republished in this country, may not have been extensively known or read, yet they must have had a place in the libraries of such men as Solomon Stoddard and his more famous grandson, nor can we suppose the leading ministers of New England altogether unacquainted with them. The

works of Shepard, belonging to a somewhat later period, doubtless enjoyed a larger circulation and a greater popularity, and the demand for some of them has been such that they have been repeatedly reprinted. Indeed, for vigor of thought, he may vie with the ablest of the English Non-Conformists, and for pungent application of the truth, Baxter or Alleine can scarcely be deemed his superior.

Names like these—names which constitute the glory of early New England theology—would of themselves suffice to sanction the doctrines which were associated with them; and these doctrines, it is to be presumed—and the presumption is supported by adequate evidence—were widely known. Let us see then how far they were Hopkinsians before Hopkins, ante-dating him by a full century in theological speculation.

In his work on “The Soul’s Humiliation,” Hooker is quite full in discussing the means of regeneration, and even Timothy Allen might have found in him many lines to palliate the severity of the judgment which he expressed with regard to an unconverted man reading the Bible or an old almanac. But on the doctrine of being willing to be damned for the glory of God, Hooker is perhaps more explicit than Hopkins himself. The following paragraphs may suffice to indicate the fact :

“So the soul saith, because the Lord is just and righteous, and doth not only punish. but he can not but punish, and therefore he justifies the Lord in all the plagues that ever can be inflicted upon him. (P. 105) Oh (saith he), it is fit that God should glorify himself though I be damned forever. for I deserve the worst. (P. 107.) If the Lord will not hear his prayers, and if the Lord will cast him away, because he hath cast away the Lord’s kindness, and if the Lord will leave him in that miserable and damnable condition, which he hath brought himself into, by the stubbornness of his heart, the Soul is quiet. Though, I confess, it is harsh and tedious, and long it is ere the soul be thus framed; yet the heart truly abased, is content to bear the estate of damnation. . . . He is content if God deny him anything. (P. 112)

But some may object. Can a man feel this frame of heart, to be content that mercy should leave him in hell? Do the saints of God find this? And can any man know this in his heart? To this I answer, many of God’s servants have been driven to this, and have attained to it, and have laid open the simplicity of their souls in being content with this. (P. 115.) The soul being humbled can not but yield itself, to be disposed of by the Lord as he will, yea, if the Lord will bring destruction upon it.” (P. 116.)

Shepard is somewhat more guarded, but it is evident that he did not seriously dissent from the views of his father-in-law, Hooker. In his "Sincere Convert," he thus contrasts the experience of a child of God and a hypocrite :

"For this is one of the greatest differences betwixt a child of God and a hypocrite. In their obedience, the one takes up duties out of love to Christ, to have him ; and hence he mourns daily, because Christ is no greater gainer by him ; the other out of love to himself, merely to save his own soul ; and hence he mourns for his sins, because they may damn him. Remember that place therefore, 1 Cor. xv, ult. (Shepard's works, Vol. 1, p. 23. Boston edition, 1853.)

In his "Sound Believer," he says :

"The spirit, therefore, by revealing how equal and just it is for the Lord never to regard or look after it more, because it hath sinned and is still so sinful, makes it hereby to fall down prostrate in the dust before the Lord, as worthy of nothing but shame and confusion, and so kisseth the rod, and turneth the other cheek unto the Lord, even smiting of him, acknowledging, if the Lord show mercy, it will be wonderful ; if not, yet the Lord is righteous, and therefore hath no cause to quarrel against him for denying special mercy to him, to whom he doth not a bit of bread." (Vol. 1, p. 180.)

And again:

"No, no ; the Lord will pull down those mountains, those high thoughts, and make you lie low at his feet, and acknowledge that it is infinite mercy you are alive and not consumed ; and that there is any hope or possibility of mercy ; and that you are out of the nethermost pit ; and that if he should never pity you, yet he doth you no wrong, but that which is equal and just, and that it is fit your sinful, froward wills should stoop to his holy, righteous and good will, rather than that it should stoop and be crooked according unto yours." (Vol. 1, p. 181.)

And still again :

"Suppose, therefore, it be the Lord's good pleasure to deny thee mercy ? I grant you must pray for it, yet with submission to the good will of the Lord, saying, 'The Lord's will is good, but mine is evil ; otherwise thou hast no meekness in anything—thou art not meekly subject to his will in every thing.' " (Vol. 1, p. 186.)

Again, but in a milder tone, he remarks :

"The Lord gives you your lives, blessed be his name, but you ask for treasures of grace and mercy, thousands of pounds, Christ himself, and all that he is worth, and the Lord seems to deny you, and now you sink and grow sullen, and discontent, and quarrel, and murmur at God, not directly, but secretly and slyly ; may not the Lord now say, Was there ever such pride and insolency ? And therefore, as Christ spoke of himself (John xii, 24, 25), 'a corn of wheat can not live unless it die first,' so know it, you shall never live with Christ, unless you die and perish in yourselves ; unless

you be sown and lie under the clods of your own wretchedness, faith will never spring up in such a soul. As it is in burnings, the fire must be first taken out, before there can be any healing, so this impatient spirit, which torments the soul, must first be removed before the Lord will heal thee." (Vol. 1, p. 187.)

The following is the consolation extended to entire submission, given in one of Shepard's "Answers :"

"Dost thou desire to believe and to have Christ, and canst thou say thus, If it were possible heaven and Christ could be separated, I would rather have Christ without heaven than heaven without Christ? then comfort thyself, for God hath promised, 'I will give to him that thirsteth of the water of life freely.'" (Vol. 1, p. 292.)

It was undoubtedly the general circulation and extensive acceptance of Shepard's views, spread abroad by new editions of his works at the juncture of the revival, that provoked the publication—perhaps through the influence or at the suggestion of Chauncy—of what divines of his stamp would regard as the necessary antidote. This antidote was "The Real Christian," by Giles Firmin, published in England in 1670, but republished in Boston in 1742. Firmin had resided in this country as a physician, and had been a neighbor and friend of Shepard,* although he objected to his views on the point under discussion. Even the authority of such names as those of Hooker and Shepard did not blind him to what he regarded as the mischievous tendency of their doctrines. He observed the trouble and grief of mind which they occasioned in persons scrupulously anxious with respect to their spiritual experience, and he felt it to be his duty to correct what he regarded as the mistakes of great and good men. On his return to England, he entered himself upon the work of the ministry, and his "Real Christian" was issued there. He was one of the Non-Conformists ejected in 1662, yet combining the practice of his profession as a physician with his duties as a preacher, he continued in a sphere of useful service till 1697, when he had attained an age of over eighty years.

Firmin's book, as republished here, makes a 12mo of 328

*So we infer from his writings, although he married a daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, and in 1638 settled at Ipswich.

closely-printed pages. In his preface, giving his reasons for printing it, he says :

“The first sort (of books) are those which have caused the most trouble; some in the preparation of the Soul for Christ;” (and here he instances Hooker and Shepard by name) “others in the work of Faith, or the closing of the Soul with Christ, amongst whom chiefly is the Rev. Daniel Rogers. As for the trouble which the holy men of God, Mr. Perkins, Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, with our ancient Divines, have caused through their description of faith, that begins to be removed in great part, our late Divines having cleared out the work of faith in that manner as it was not understood before. But for the former, I meet with none as yet that have spoken to them, though their works, in these particulars, have caused great troubles among Christians, who, through the high respect they bear to the persons of these men, being holy and eminent, have believed what they write must needs be the truth of God in every particular. I was something troubled at them myself, at my first reading them, but upon serious examining them, I began to question the truth of these particulars, and having a little acquaintance with Mr. Shepard I wrote to him about that particular of which I doubted, and gave him two or three arguments against it. He was pleased to write to me at large; his letter deserves the press, and had seen it were it not for one passage in it; his answers to my arguments did not satisfy; what they are I shall give the reader faithfully, without leaving out, adding or altering one word. Preaching once abroad I closed up this point in hand, by applying it to what Mr. Shepard had delivered, to see how those two doctrines agreed. A gentleman and a scholar, meeting me some time after, gave me thanks for the close of my sermon. I asked him why? He told me he had a maid servant who was very godly, and reading of that particular in Mr. Shepard’s book which I opposed, she was so cast down, and fell into such troubles, that all the Christians that came to her could not quiet her spirit.

Another person giving to reading of good books, and I hope made good use of them, spake these words to me: As for Mr. Dan’l Rogers and Mr. Shepard, I am afraid to read their books, they have laid such blocks in my way. By these expressions which I had found, the books of these worthy men being in the hands of many Christians, I thought there might be many whom I knew not that had met with the same afflicting thoughts from them, which myself and others had done; upon which grounds, and partly being moved thereto long since, by some godly divines, I have brought these works, and with them, myself, to the trial; proposing, if they be right, then must I go look for another work than ever yet I met withal, in my own heart.”

Something of Firmin’s tone of feeling—which some of the critics of the Great Revival in 1742 must have enjoyed—may be judged from the following: “I do value, at a far higher rate, blessed Austin’s broken and repenting heart, with the denitential psalms about his bed, than the joys and raptures

of these kind of Christians, where grace in their life-time hath been but low."

In apologising for his plainness of speech, Firmin says that he writes for those who are troubled about their spiritual estate, and "silken language suits not those who are clothed in sackcloth. . . . Gallant language never did God's work that I have observed."

In his Introduction, Firmin quotes Hooker as saying "'tis harsh and tedious, and long it is ere the soul be thus framed, yet the heart truly abased is content to bear the estate of damnation." Before he had said—"This Mr. Shepard hath not so plainly expressed; but observe what went before, with the thread of his discourse, and it is plain English, *if he dispose thee to damnation.*" Firmin adds, "In several other places he (Hooker) hath these expressions: The humble soul is content, satisfied and well a-paid, if God will leave it in that miserable and damnable estate into which it hath brought itself." The awakened sinner is represented as saying, "Here are blocks for me to get over; if these things be true, I must never look to come to the City of Refuge, but must die in the way and be damned forever."

Firmin's "first position" is: "It is the duty of all the sons and daughters of Adam, who hear the Gospel preached, and Christ offered to them, to believe it, or receive Christ, be they prepared or not." (P. 2.) Under this he says, "But let these holy men (Hooker and Shepard) find out a text as clear where he hath given them a command to be content to be damned, or to be quiet without his love and grace, before you believe in Christ."

Under his second position, that man is "not naturally a subject fit and disposed to receive Christ immediately," he says:

"What Christians are these this holy man (Shepard) means? If they be Christians of a late edition, when Religion was in fashion, and the fairest card for a man to play his game with, if he meant to rise; such as might have motions upon their affections, whilst the dainties of the Gospel were disht out and set before them, as in those times nothing but chymical notions in divinity would down with many palates, and now had their tongues tipped with discourses of Free Grace, and some opinions which served their

interest; if these be the Christians he means, I think they are miserably deceived indeed, who make such men's experiences a mark to go by." (P. 7.)

Some of Hooker's contemporaries criticised his views. Firmin says: "When Mr. Hooker preached those sermons about the Soul's preparation for Christ and humiliation, my father-in-law, Mr. Nath. Ward, told him: Mr. Hooker, you make as good Christians before men are in Christ as ever they are after; and wished, would I were but as good a Christian now as you make men while they are but preparing for Christ." (P. 19.)

Firmin states in his letters to Shepard that he thought it strange that such an act of grace or obedience should be performed in preparatory work, than which he knew none greater; to which he (Shepard) answered, "I do not think this the highest measure of grace any further than as any peculiar work of the spirit is high." (P. 19.)

Firmin disclaims all opposition to the preaching of the law, in all its strictness "unto right ends," and in this connection he gives, with implied approval, the closing passage of Shepard's letter to him. It is as follows:

"Dear Brother, let my love end in breathing out this desire: Preach humiliation; labor to possess men with sense of wrath to come and misery. The Gospel consolations and grace, which some would have only disht out as the dainties of the times, and set upon the Ministry's table, may possibly tickle and ravish some, and do some good to them that are humbled and converted already: But if axes and wedges withal be not used to hew and break this rough, unhewn, bold, yet professing age, I am confident the work and fruit of all these men's ministry will be at best but mere hypocrisy, and they shall find it, and see it, if they live to see a few years more." (P. 59.)

After setting forth the state of humiliation to which he conceives the sinner must be reduced in order to be willing to accept Christ—a state like that of the prodigal subdued by hunger, and forced home, Firmin adds (p. 108):

"No, saith holy *Hooker* and *Shepard*, there is something else required to a true preparation. For Mr. *Hooker*, though I had heard of his doctrine yet I had not read his book before I had read Mr. *Shepard* and had seriously considered him: I see both the father-in-law Mr. Hooker with his son-in-law Mr. Shepard, go both the same way, yet Mr. Shepard writing last hath done it more fully, Mr. Hooker not putting forth his book himself as I conceive: therefore I shall attend Mr. Shepard, especially being I wrote to him about it, and have his letter in answer by me." (P. 108.)

After exhibiting the soul under conviction, "beaten out of

its self-confidence and self-righteousness," Firmin represents it as willing to be divorced from its sins and to accept Christ. Then the terms of the gospel are tendered to it, and it is free to accept them. "This doctrine," he adds (p. 109), I dare preach to thee."

"No, saith Mr. Shepard, between those preparations and faith in Christ, there comes in one more, to make up sound preparation. What is that, I pray? The soul in that condition must lie under God, to be disposed of as he please, quietly contented to lie still at his feet. But I pray what you mean by this? That is, It must have no sinking discouragements, no secret quarreling, but content, quiet though God will never work grace, never manifest grace, never pity it, never help it, never succor it, never give it his love. In one word, saith Mr. Thomas Hooker, if the soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the state of damnation. This then is another requisite to right preparation for Christ, that the soul so prepared as I have mentioned, be content to be without Christ, and bear the state of damnation, if God will have it so. These holy men tell us of *damned saints*, what else to call them I know not: The soul before it comes to Christ hath no goodness at all, nothing that we can call sanctification or grace in them, by way of habit, these men acknowledge; yet here I think is an act, and a high one too, of grace (if it must be by the word requiring it) before the soul hath faith in Christ; such a subjection to the holy will and sovereignty of God, that if he will deny it the greatest good the rational creature is capable of, and inflict upon it his dreadful wrath to eternity, the soul is quiet, contented, well satisfied with his pleasure. Can any man call this any other but grace, and it must be performed also from a habit of grace?"

Firmin represents the condition of the soul as set forth by Hooker, in its reply to the objection that after all it may fall away. To this the soul answers:

"If the Lord will give me up to my base lusts, leave me to my sins, and I fall one day, yet let the Lord be honored, let not God lose the praise of his power and justice, and I am contented if God leave me.' (Blessed God, what divinity is this?) But Satan replies, 'when God hath thus left thee to thy sins, he will break out in vengeance against thee, and get praise from that proud heart of thine.' The soul answers, 'If the Lord do come in judgment against me, I am contented.' Hath the blessed God left no other way to answer the devil but this? . . . By what we read in Mr. Hooker, we may observe this is not a bare non-murmuring, a mere negative, but here is a positive habitual frame of contentation to be left under the power and dominion of lusts, and at last to be damned. One comfort is, I never read this divinity in God's book, nor in any other divine but these; their holiness and abilities I do much reverence, but their doctrine is dreadful; we will go to the scales of the sanctuary and weigh it." (P. 110).

A modern Anti-Hopkinsian could scarce need any more severe language of reprobation for obnoxious doctrine than

that employed, again and again, to characterize what Firmin calls "that dreadful divinity (if it be divinity) Mr. Hooker hath taught us." He does not admit that grace can effect, even in the believer, what Hooker represents as a prerequisite to faith. It is impossible by brief quotations to do justice to his arguments, but he contends that to be willing to be damned is a condition from which human nature, converted or unconverted, revolts. It takes away from man what is essential to his manhood. "What can grace do?" he asks, "Destroy that which is essential to man as a rational creature, and yet leave him a man? How absurd are these things?"

On this point he remarks (p. 143) of this willingness to be damned :

"First, it is contrary to man as man. I know God requires many duties contrary to the corrupt nature of man, so all holiness, all duty is cross; but to require such a duty as destroys the very nature of man, as he is a rational creature, it is most absurd to fancy such a duty. *Voluntas de necessitate appetit finem ultimum, ut non possit ipsum non appetere.* It is determined by a natural inclination to its ultimate end, that is *blessedness*; it can not but necessarily (not with the necessity of co-action) desire and court blessedness: so that it is impossible for any man to *will* not to be happy; he must cease to be a rational creature in so doing. The soul then under this work stands convinced without any contradiction, the will is fully carried after the dictates of the practical judgment, that in union with God, lieth my blessedness; attain but this once, I have the thing I am so necessarily inclined to; here is my *summum bonum*; to enjoy him, love him, delight in him, and bless him forever.

But to be content without the love of God, to be cast out from him and damned forever (which content can not possibly be without an *elicit* act of the will), is for a man to be willing to be separated from his *chief* good; make a man will not to be happy; make a man will the *summum malum*, the greatest evil that can befall a rational creature; things impossible; there is no *suspension* of the acts of the *will* about its ultimate end, *blessedness*; *will* or *nill* it must: *nill* is impossible, then *will* it must; the *will* is carried out with the greatest vehemency that a creature can be carried out here: while then the *will* doth *necessarily* (yet *libere* saith *Aquin.*) and vehemently court blessedness, at the same time, it must be *contented*, *satisfied*—and what is that but willing?—to be without it: where the *will* doth *nolle* with the highest vehemency, and that from a *natural necessity* also, can *content*, *satisfaction*, &c.?"

Before dismissing Mr. Shepard, he makes some remarks with reference to his "Sincere Convert," worthy to be noted.

Quoting a passage in which Shepard requires the soul to examine and see whether it “sees up grace above its own salvation, and to lay hold on Christ, not with the hand of presumption and self-love, but with the hand of faith, and love to him, to honor him,” Firmin adds (p. 215) :

“This passage is so strange, and so his *ninth* way to hell, that I could not believe that ever Mr. Shepard did deliver such doctrine; but if the printer saith true in his title page, that this fourth edition is corrected and much amended by the author, then I should believe it; but I have some cause to doubt it upon these two grounds. *First*, I compared this with his *Sound Believer*, where he tells us what is the *end of faith*; in which there is not any such words as these, nothing like them; nothing of Mr. Rogers’ notion; nothing different from what I have delivered, but he and I fully agree. *Christ himself and all his benefits* is the end of faith coming to Christ; and I hope *salvation* is one of those benefits. *Secondly*, I do not believe it, upon Mr. Shepard’s own words in his letter to me, which are these, without omitting or adding a syllable, *That which is called the Sincere Convert, I have not the book, I once saw it; it was a collection of such Notes in a dark town in England, which one procuring of me, published them without my will or privity; I scarce know what it contains, nor do I like to see it considering the many Sphagmata Typographica, most absurd, and the confession of him that published it that comes out gelded and altered from what was first written.* Thus you have his own words faithfully transcribed; this letter was dated Oct. 27, 1647; the year wherein the printer saith the book is corrected and much amended by the author, is 1646. Let any man then judge how this book was corrected and amended much by him. In short, therefore, as to that book, for the general part of it, the book is very solid, quick, and searching, cuts very sharply; it is not a book for an unsound heart to delight in, I mean in those plans where he agrees both with Scriptures, and other able Divines, and of these makes use: but for the other passages which do not agree with either (as there are some in it), I will let them go, as being none of Mr. Shepard’s, and not trouble myself with them, and wish no Christian, that is tender and sincere, to trouble himself with them. This I put in, because I hear that book had caused much trouble to gracious Christians; had it been to Christians in name only, unsound believers, hypocrites, I should not have troubled myself about it; for I know it is not for their tooth; therefore though I had thought to have spoken to more things in it which are just cause of stumbling, yet henceforth I will meddle no more with it; his notions there do cross what he hath himself published in the *Sound Believer*. I remember my Father Ward made this observation upon him to me, ‘When Mr. Shepard comes to deal with Hypocrites, he cuts so desperately, that we know not how to bear him. made them all afraid that they were all Hypocrites; when he came to deal with a tender, humble soul, he gives comfort so largely, that we are afraid to take it.’ I let that reverend author then alone, he is one on our side, in his *Sound Believer*, which he himself put forth.”

It is very possible that Dr. Hopkins was not aware of the views set forth in the writings of Hooker and Shepard, and it is likewise possible that he never met with, or heard of, Firmin's reply to them. But this seems scarcely credible when we consider that within a few months after he entered upon his labors in the ministry, Firmin's book was republished in Boston, and of this, Edwards at least, with whom Hopkins was intimate—residing at his house as he did for months—must have been aware. It is strange, on the other hand, that Hopkins should never refer to the old controversy which he was so instrumental in renewing, if he was indeed aware of it. His life, however, was that of a thinker far more than a reader, and in the wilderness of Great Barrington, he found it a more feasible thing to hammer out a system of theology of his own, than from his scant salary to collect a library of other men's systems which he might subject to a critical test. This much at least is clear, that there were Hopkinsians before Hopkins, and Anti-Hopkinsians before Hart, of Saybrook, transfixed his antagonists with the name that still clings to them, or Ezra Stiles Ely attempted to gibbet them in his "Contrast."

A D D R E S S E S

A T T H E

Laying of the Corner Stone

O F T H E

DIVINITY HALL

O F T H E

Theological Department of Yale College,

September 22nd, 1869.

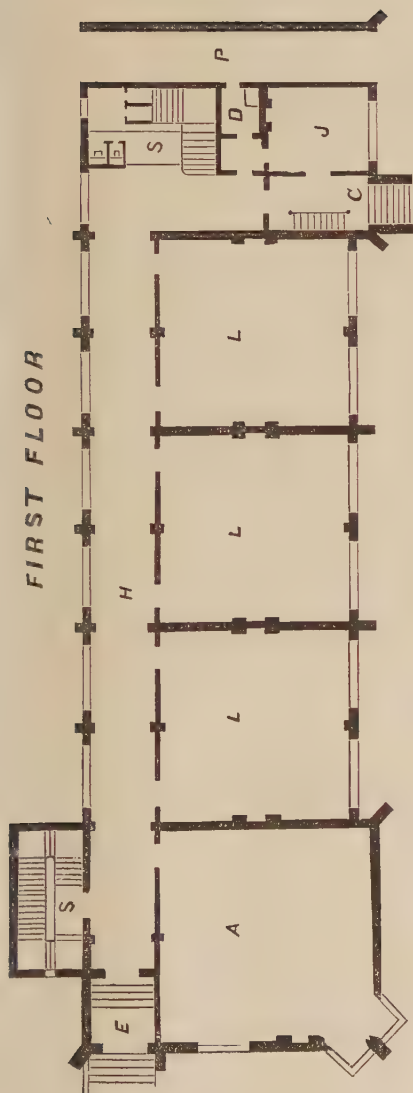


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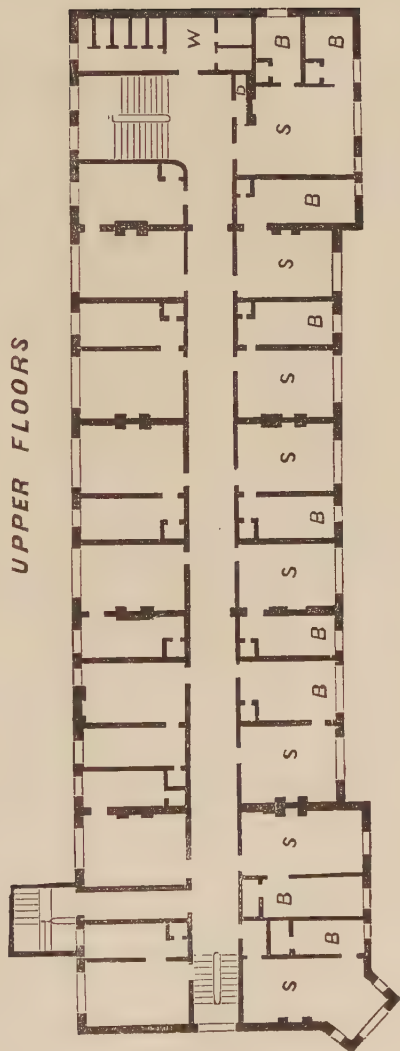
Printed by GODDARD & OLMSTED, 131 Union St.

1869.

FIRST FLOOR



UPPER FLOORS



EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

THE Divinity Hall, which is now ready for the roof, stands on the corner of College and Elm streets, opposite the northwest corner of the Public Square, and between the buildings of the Academical Department, with the Library, Art Building, etc., and the Sheffield Scientific School.

Ground Floor.—The principal entrance, E, which connects with the main hall or corridor, H, ten feet wide, is on Elm street, and fronts the grounds and buildings of the Academical Department of Yale College. There is also another entrance, on College street, C, on the right of which is the Janitor's room, I, and near this a lift, D, which connects with all the stories above. Beyond this to the right, and on a level with the street, is a passage-way, P, for vehicles into the yard in the rear. The large rooms on this floor, each about 30 feet square and 17 feet high, are for public purposes, viz: a Reference-Library and Reading Room, A, and three Lecture Rooms, L, L, L. The access to the rooms above is by a flight of stairs, S, near each extremity of the corridor.

Upper Floors.—In the second, third and fourth stories, each room used for a study, S, is provided with a bed-room, B, lighted by a window and having a closet. A few of the rooms have two bed-rooms attached to them, but in general, provision is made for each student, at this advanced stage of his education, to room alone.

Heating, Bath Rooms, etc.—The building is expected to be warmed throughout by steam and lighted by gas. Bath rooms, W, and other conveniences are placed in each of the upper stories.

The original plan contemplates also a CHAPEL on Elm street, nearly on a line with the front of the building, and a wing at the northern extremity of the edifice, having accommodations for boarding.

ADDRESSES.

IN response to an invitation from the Theological Faculty of Yale College, a large number of the Alumni of the Divinity School and other ministers of the gospel in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York, together with a number of the leading benefactors of the Seminary, the professors and students of the several departments of the University, and friends of the Divinity School in New Haven and the vicinity, assembled in the Center Church on Wednesday, Sept. 22d, at 2½ o'clock, to listen to brief addresses introductory to the laying of the corner-stone of the new Theological Hall.

President Woolsey, who presided, introduced the services by reading the familiar hymn composed by the late President Dwight, with whom the thought of a distinct Department of Sacred Learning in Yale College originated,

I love thy kingdom, Lord,

which was sung by the whole congregation, after which Rev. Wm. I. Budington, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., a graduate of the Seminary in the Class of 1838, led the assembly in prayer.

Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., as the Senior Professor in the Seminary, to whom the introduction of the several speakers to the President and the audience had been assigned, then spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you on the work this day inaugurated. I congratulate you that the work of building a permanent home for the Theological Department of our venerable institution is at last begun

under your presidency. To-day, surrounded by our prayers, you lay the corner-stone of an edifice to stand for ages, consecrated to the highest and holiest studies and to preparation for the highest and holiest work. You and I,—with our common memory of half a hundred years since, in our youthful dreams, we began to hope great things for the future of our Alma Mater,—may rejoice together and give thanks to God that we have seen this day.

In your behalf, and in behalf of our associates in the Corporation and in the Faculty of Theology, I offer our salutation to those *Benefactors of the Theological Department* who honor us with their presence. Friends, true and generous, by whose munificence we have been enabled or encouraged to undertake the work of building, we bid you welcome to this concourse. Our joy and hope to-day are yours by a higher title than that of the common sympathy of all good men in whatever is attempted for the glory of God and the welfare of mankind. You have a special proprietorship in the edifice which is to be the product and the memorial of your Christian liberality. We rejoice with you in the growing evidence that the benefactions which established the Theological Department of Yale College, and which have sustained it in its weakness, have not been in vain. We gratefully recognize your “freehold of rejoicing” in the prospect that this school of sacred learning, so honored heretofore in the contributions it has made to the illustration and defense of evangelical doctrine and in the character of its alumni, is still to be conspicuous among the schools of academic culture, of physical science and of professional lore, that are clustered in our constellation here, and not less conspicuous among those “schools of the prophets” which are to supply the churches of our country with a well-trained ministry for the pastoral office and for the work of preaching the gospel to every creature.

We greet, with affectionate welcome, the *Alumni of the Department* who are so numerous present, and of

whom so many have been instructed by those eminent men our predecessors in the Faculty of Theology. Brethren, we thank you for this evidence of your continued interest in the institution. You know how much it needs the permanent habitation, ampler and worthier than its old abode, which, with the aid of many benefactors, we are now providing for it. As you look on the massive foundations, and partake in the ceremonial of laying the corner-stone, the venerable memory of your old teachers grows vivid in your thoughts. The pile which we are building will have in your eyes, and in ours, a monumental dignity. The names inseparably associated with all the early history of the Department—the memorable names of Taylor, Gibbs, Goodrich, and of him* who remains the sole survivor of that company—need not stand out upon those walls in sculptured stone, for the building itself shall be a remembrancer of them to coming ages.

With our own alumni, other ministers of Christ are present, in numbers beyond our expectation, from all parts of this ancient commonwealth and from other States. We salute them also with equal gratulation. Brethren, we thank you for the encouragement you give us by your presence. *Pastors of the Connecticut Churches*, I need not say that, wherever you may have been trained in sacred studies, you are equally welcome here. You and the churches of your care have a peculiar interest in this great institution, but most of all in its Theological Department. As the college was founded by your predecessors in their care for the Churches and for the interests of sound learning in the Commonwealth, so, most reasonably, your relation to it is guarded by its charter and incorporated into the constitution of the State. While the churches of Connecticut, with their pastors, are true to Christ, this must remain a Christian university; and its Theological Department, to which

* Rev. Eleazar T. Fitch, D. D., Professor *Emeritus*, now on the eve of his 80th year.

your relation is nearest, must represent the evangelical theology of New England.

Yet we remember that as our university, founded when all the churches in the little colony of Connecticut were Congregational, is Christian in its constitution and influence without being sectarian in its spirit, so its Theological Department has always valued Christian truth more than any form of ecclesiastical polity—the emancipating and sanctifying word of God more than the human formulas of discipline and of doctrine which divide one body of evangelical believers from another. Therefore we greet with hearty welcome the *Ministers of other churches*, and all our Christian friends of whatever name, whose presence adds to the dignity of this assembly. Brethren, we recognize your interest in the true prosperity of this school for the training of men to preach the gospel. Preachers and teachers of God's word will be trained here for the service of your churches as well as of ours. So it has been in former years; and we cheerfully accept the certainty that it will be in years to come. Such are the relations among the various bodies of evangelical Protestants, such is their growing consciousness of common interests and duties as well as of a common salvation, and such is the growing intimacy of friendly intercourse among their ministers, that you and we must needs rejoice together in whatever contributes to the welfare and progress of that Catholic Church of Christ, which includes all His believing and loving followers. We accept the testimony which your presence gives us, that you regard this school of theological study and learning not as existing for interests which are distinctively ours, and in some sort adverse to yours, but rather as consecrated to broader and sublimer interests, which overshadow the traditional differences of dogma or polity, and which are yours as well as ours.

Fellow citizens, each and all, friends, neighbors and strangers, welcome! We thank you for every expression of your fellowship with us in the work which we this day inaugurate. "Except the Lord build the house, they

labor in vain that build it ;” but we trust that by His favor our work shall prosper. We are laying the foundations of an edifice which, if we are enabled to complete it according to our hopes, will be among the chief ornaments of this beautiful city ; and we build in the devout expectation that when our school for the training of Christian ministers shall inhabit its new and more commodious home, its influence will be, as heretofore, a salutary influence, not only in the University, but in the churches of New Haven, and of the region round about—an influence ever ready and effective in every Christian work. Our prayer is—and we ask you to pray with us—that the walls of our building may be “holiness to the Lord,” continually hallowed by His living Spirit, as well as by the study of His recorded revelation. We ask for your friendly interest in our work. We ask for your generous help in our need. Thus, by the favor of God on us and our successors, this center of sacred studies, already rich in gracious memories, shall become more and more a fountain of life and blessing for the continent and for the world.

Dr. Bacon then announced that before the addresses, a brief account of the ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SEMINARY would be read by Prof. George E. Day, who proceeded to make the following statement :

THE Divinity School of Yale College, as a separate branch of the University, went into operation in the year 1822—forty-seven years ago. The Corporation, in giving to it an existence distinct from the Academical Department, grounded their action on the fact well known in the history of the University, that “one of the principal objects (as they express it) of the pious founders of the college was the education of pious young men for the work of the ministry.” The first act on record of the ten founders who met at Branford in the year 1700 to establish the college, reads as follows :—“Whereas, it was the glori-

ous public design of our now blessed fathers, on their removal from Europe into these parts of America, both to plant, and under the divine blessing, to propagate in the wilderness, the blessed Reformed Protestant religion in the purity of its order and worship, not only to their posterity but also to the barbarous natives ; we, their unworthy posterity, lamenting our past neglect of this grand errand, and sensible of our great obligations better to prosecute the same, and desirous in our generation to be serviceable thereunto—whereunto the liberal and religious education of suitable youth is, under the blessing of God, a chief and most profitable expedient—therefore do in duty to God and the weal of our country, undertake in the aforesaid design.” Accordingly, the system of study pursued, it has been said by high authority, rested upon logic and theology, and presupposed that the students would choose the clerical profession rather than the offices of civil life. Many of the branches of study pursued would now be included in the curriculum of a theological seminary. The early regulations direct that “the Rector shall take effectual care that the students be weekly called memoriter to recite the Assembly’s Catechism in Latin, and Ames’ theological theses ; that in the first year after admission, on the first four days of the week, all students shall be exercised in the Greek and Hebrew tongues only ; that the students shall, after they have done reciting rhetoric and ethics on Fridays, recite Wollebius’ Theology, and on Saturday morning they shall recite Ames’ theological theses in his Medulla, and on Saturday evening, the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism, in Latin.”

In accordance with what this would indicate, the first professorship ever established in Yale College, as any one may see in the Triennial Catalogue, was the professorship of Divinity, and under the guidance of those who, from 1775, successively filled this chair—Rev. Dr. Naphthali Daggett, Rev. Dr. Wales and President Dwight—a large number of the Alumni were conducted through the course of theological study regarded at that

time as an adequate preparation for the work of the Christian ministry.*

Nothing, therefore, was more than natural than, when the growing demands of the times and the establishment of independent theological seminaries in other places required the study of theology in this institution, unless it was to be practically abandoned, to be put upon a broader basis; and when in 1822, fifteen young men, Alumni of the college, presented to the Corporation a petition, strongly supported by Rev. Dr. Fitch, then Professor of Divinity, for enlarged provision for theological instruction; and when still further, a number of gentlemen came forward with a subscription of \$20,000 to found a professorship of Didactic Theology,† that the Corporation should feel that the time had come to give to the study of theology an advanced place in the University, and that the instruction in theology (which for more than a century had been given by the President or Professor of Divinity) should be committed to a distinct theological faculty.

Of its first members—Rev. Dr. Taylor, Prof. Josiah W. Gibbs and Rev. Dr. Fitch—the last alone survives,

* The Rev. Dr. Fitch, from the time of his induction into the professorship of Divinity in 1817, lectured once or twice a week to such theological students as chose to remain in New Haven. Of these, may be mentioned Joseph D. Wickham, Edward Bull, (for many years pastor of the Congregational Church in Lebanon, Conn.,) William C. Fowler, (late Professor in Amherst College,) Edward Hitchcock, (afterwards President of Amherst College,) Lyman Coleman, (now Professor in Lafayette College,) Samuel B. Ingersoll, David N. Lord, and Horace Hooker.

† The following are the names of the donors of this professorship, in the order in which they stand in the paper on record: Jeremiah Day, \$700; B. Silliman, \$150; James L. Kingsley, \$500; Eleazar T. Fitch, \$1,666.66; Chauncey A. Goodrich, \$500; Timothy Dwight, \$5,000; Wm. Leffingwell, \$2,000; Anna Townsend, \$500; Abraham Bradley, Jr., and James Bradley, real estate; Stephen Twining, \$250; Hull and Townsend, \$500; Dyer White, \$300; S. Converse, \$500; Wm. H. Eliot, \$300; John H. Coley, \$100; Jehiel Forbes, \$50; Elihu Sanford, \$50; Titus Street, \$1,000; Stephen Van Rensselaer, \$500. For the remaining sum of \$5,000, Professors Goodrich and Fitch bound themselves to be responsible. This sum was contributed shortly after by Nehemiah Hubbard, \$1,000; Henry L. Ellsworth, \$1,000; Wm. W. Ellsworth, \$800; Thomas S. Williams, \$500; David Daggett, \$500; Wm. C. Woodbridge, \$100, and several donors of smaller sums.

and it is hoped may be present at the laying of the corner-stone to-day. The two former, Dr. Taylor and Prof. Gibbs, after a faithful service, respectively of thirty-six and thirty-seven years, which gave to the Seminary a name and a place among the schools of sacred learning which will never be forgotten, passed away, the one in 1858, the other in 1861. Prof. Chauncey A. Goodrich, who was subsequently a colleague with them, and to whom the Seminary is largely indebted for its permanent foundation, was taken from us the year before the death of Prof. Gibbs.

But though the pillars had fallen,—the honored instructors whose names are still fragrant among us, and who did so much to unite the churches of this city in a warm and steady interest in the Seminary,—yet by the favor of Providence a succession of new friends was raised up, by whose benefactions, combined with the exertions of the Alumni of the school, the endowments for instruction and in aid of students have largely increased. The number of permanent instructors, also, has been enlarged, as the progress of theological science required, and to-day there is no Seminary in the country more fully manned than this institution.

The accommodations originally provided for the Divinity School were exceedingly limited. The two instructors, Dr. Taylor and Prof. Gibbs, with the students, occupied rooms over the present College Chapel, where also the lectures and recitations were held. In the year 1835-6, the edifice now known as Divinity College was erected for the use of the Theological Department, with the condition that whenever it should be needed for the use of the Academical Department, it should be given up at a fair valuation.

That necessity having manifestly arrived, in consequence of the large increase of students in the Academical Department, arrangements were made in 1866 to solicit funds for the erection of a new and more commodious Divinity Hall, with suitable rooms for lectures and recitations, a reference-library, and for students. Our friends

in various places, in a spirit of Christian liberality which we shall always gratefully remember, responded to our application, and in July last the subscriptions for the new building had reached such a point that, under the urgent necessity of the case, it was decided to go forward and put up the walls and roof with the sums already subscribed, trusting to the liberality of our friends in New Haven and elsewhere to furnish us with the means of finishing the interior and making the edifice ready for occupancy at the beginning of the next Seminary term, in September, 1870. The total estimated cost of the masons' and carpenters' work, including materials, is not far from \$125,000. Of this sum, \$40,000 remains to be obtained, and we have great confidence that the friends of the Seminary will not allow the work to stop. The completion of the building is absolutely essential to the prosperity, and even the very operation of the institution.

To relate what this Seminary has accomplished in the forty-seven years of its existence would quite exceed the bounds of this occasion. It will be enough to say, that the number of students who have been or are now connected with the school is 820; and that their work, in laboring at home and abroad to build up the kingdom of Christ, is the best history of the institution. What this school has done for Home Missions at the West, and especially what it has done for the State of Illinois, and what for Foreign Missions, especially for the great empire of China, will be better stated by two of the Alumni of the institution, who participated in these movements, and are with us to-day.

It is only necessary to add that the erection of the building, the corner stone of which is be laid to-day, is but a part of a comprehensive plan to give to the Theological Department such prominence in the cluster of institutions which constitute Yale College, as both to secure the main design for which the College was founded—the training of a learned and pious ministry—and to enable it to exert a strong and steady religious

influence upon the numerous body of young men who resort to New Haven for education. For the additional endowments which are needed the Seminary relies upon the benefactions and bequests of those who comprehend the magnitude of the work to be done in an institution like Yale College, and the importance of doing it thoroughly and well.*

Dr. Bacon said:—We had confidently expected the presence and the voice of HENRY WARD BEECHER, but only two or three hours ago we received a letter from him, which I will read, and which is the best substitute we can give for his presence. It will explain the reason of his absence. He told us he would come unless prevented by his hay fever, a periodical disease coming on every summer, for which Dr. Holmes told me there was no cure but gravel, taken six feet deep. The letter which was read is as follows:

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., September 20, 1869.

PROF. GEORGE E. DAY—*Dear Sir*:—Although I am relieved of the more vexatious symptoms of my summer complaint, I am liable, for a time, to attacks of asthma, and the dust and cinders of car travel are peculiarly adapted to excite the paroxysms. I am, therefore, obliged, against my will and feelings, to stay away from the services and the occasion which deeply interests me. New Haven is the home of my ancestors. Yale College is the first college that I ever heard of in my childhood. The Theological School of New Haven was in its glory when I began to be old enough to think, and I was brought up to suppose that Drs. Taylor and Fitch were the ablest men in the world.

* A "statement of the recent donations to Yale Theological Seminary" for the building fund, the scholarship fund, and the professorship and general fund of the School, has been printed, and will be sent, on application to any member of the Theological Faculty. The late generous donations made to Yale College (the Academical Department) do not affect, except indirectly, the Theological Department, the expenses of which are met entirely from its own endowments.

While all other Seminaries are marching, I should be sorry that Yale should halt, and if any Department in the University is to recede, the last thing which we could expect of Connecticut would be that its theology was to suffer neglect. With new accommodations, may a new spirit come to the school of the Prophets. That young men are to such an extent averting their faces from the Christian ministry, gives an unfavorable impression of their manliness. An ambition of wealth, of political power, of literary eminence may not be disreputable, but to go past the noblest profession of all, fearing its trials,—to take up with secular pursuits at a time like this, when the continent, from ocean to ocean, asks religious instruction, indicates a state of mind much to be deplored. Even if preaching to-day was accompanied with as many privations as it was of old, it would still be the noblest profession of all. No man that ever entered heart and soul upon the work of the Christian ministry but was thankful all his life long for the choice. After the vicissitudes of thirty years, the earliest ten in straits of health and of means, and all of them laborious ; with a clear understanding of the honors, emoluments and pleasures of other liberal professions, I would to-day, if I were to begin life again, choose eagerly, irresistibly, the Christian ministry. It has its burdens—all professions have ; it has its limitations, but not more than other pursuits. It is the freest, the most engaging, the most satisfactory of any calling, to those who are of the right spirit for it. The commerce of the mind is with the noblest themes ; the business of its life is the most benevolent. It keeps a man's heart related to his fellows in the most generous moods. Better than all, the crystal vault above one's head is not darkened by such passions as too often send their fuliginous influence into other avocations, and one has a fruition of the coming joys, even while a pilgrim and a stranger. At the present day, the work of the ministry demands the service of every good mental endowment. In teaching, in pastoral work, in ten thousand humble fields, men of good sense

and deep devotedness will find abundant acceptance although they are not children of genius. But in dealing with the phrases of philosophic thought, in bringing religion, in its authority and beauty, above the level of jurisprudence, of literature, and of civic affairs, that to it "every knee may bow and every tongue confess," is a work in which men of the noblest parts, fired with the truest genius, may find the noblest opportunities for the beneficent exertion of their whole nature.

That which approaches nearest to God is the most natural ; the ministry of Jesus Christ is the most intensely natural of all pursuits. And I fervently hope that many a young man who shall be gathered in the goodly company, to see the laying of the corner stone of the Theological building, will be found, when it shall be completed, ready and anxious to occupy its rooms and to compose its classes.

I do not forget that near you, side by side, reposes the dust of two ministers of Christ, second to none that Connecticut has reared.* Great was their love for God and for each other. If interest for the work could give life again to their dust, surely they would come forth among you to-day, as venerable and more benign than the spirit of Samuel of old. They would come with trembling hands outspread to beseech blessings on this School. But they are with you invisible, and in the full sympathies of sainted spirits they bear to you the benedictions of the blessed above.

May the God of my father abide evermore in the halls which you now rear.

I am very truly yours,

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

After the reading of Mr. Beecher's letter, Dr. Bacon said :

* Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., (1775-1863) and Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, D. D., (1786-1858.) It was Dr. Beecher's cherished wish to be buried by the side of his life-long friend, Dr. Taylor. "The young men will come to see where we lie," he said, "and I think it will do them good."

MR. PRESIDENT :—We are honored with the presence of one whom the State of Connecticut has entrusted with the highest offices in its gift—who held in the great war for the continued unity of our nation the place which the illustrious Trumbull held in the war for our national independence—whose services *ex officio* in the Corporation of Yale College during the seven years of his administration as Governor of Connecticut, have won for him a good degree in our university—and who, by virtue of a donation of \$30,000, is the most munificent of living benefactors to the Theological Department. The name of Thomas Buckingham, Pastor of Saybrook, stands third in the venerable catalogue of the ten ministers who represented, informally, the pastors and churches of Connecticut in the founding of Yale College. Mr. President, we are now to hear a few words from his descendant, the Honorable WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM. Senator Buckingham arose and said :

I am not responsible for the announcement that I would make an address on this occasion. I feel very much out of place, and yet will comply with one part of the request of Dr. Bacon, and promise to be brief. I desire that the building which is now to be erected, should be permanent and beautiful in its structure, and fitted for the great object for which it is to be erected. Judging from the design, I have no doubt that it will be. But there is something lying back of the building which is of greater importance, from which much good may be anticipated, and that is, the religious influence which the Theological Department shall exert over the Academical, Scientific and other Departments of the College. That influence will not, of necessity, be beneficial. A man may let his mind rest upon religious questions so intensely as to neglect the religion of the heart, but it should not and need not be so. The studies here pursued relate to the government of God, and any man who will give his mind to this object, may, if he will, be so deeply imbued with the truth and spirit of Christianity, that his religion shall have a more permanent and controlling influence

over his life than it would otherwise have. This would be manifest to others, and affect their conduct, and I shall be disappointed if this Department shall not, in like manner, exert a favorable religious influence throughout the University.

This College was founded for the purpose of fitting young men for the ministry. This was the object of the fathers who founded it, and should not be lost sight of by their children. The letter of Mr. Beecher, speaks of the continent, from ocean to ocean, as asking for religious teachers. This is true. Never has there been such a cry for Christian ministers, never such a demand for religious teachers as to-day. How is this demand to be met? According to our present mode of training ministers, they are to spend five, eight and ten years in preparation for their work, and those who have spent less time are not considered qualified to fill an ordinary New England pulpit. I do not see how we can ever meet the demand, if so much time be spent in preparation. The church must have some teachers whose hearts are filled with love to God, and love to man, and who will be devoted to their work, even if they do not have a thorough training; and while the church is not to be satisfied with poor preachers, yet it must make use of such instruments as it can command, to accomplish its work. If we are satisfied with the teachings of men of moderate ability and attainments, infidelity will grow conceited, arrogant and influential. To prevent this, we must encourage and support our Theological Institutions, and in them educate men to be leaders in the churches. I have strong hopes that many who are to be educated here, will stand, like Edwards, and Bellamy, and Dwight, from their shoulders and upwards, higher than any of the people. We must have some ministers who will be giants among their brethren.

West Point has educated men to command our armies. You know how efficient Grant, and Sherman and Sheridan were in organizing our citizens into armies, and how successfully they led them against the enemies of our

country. In like manner were Edwards, and Beecher, and Taylor able to organize and unite Christian men in efforts which checked the power of the prince of darkness.

Sherman stood so high as a soldier that he commanded the confidence of his officers and soldiers, and by his genius, which acted like steam upon a high pressure engine, led them through the heart of the rebellion, and added to the power which compelled a recognition of national authority. May we not hope that from this institution there will go forth men of like ability, whose hearts, and character and talents, will enable them to preach with such simplicity and logic, that men of largest intellect and of coldest hearts, will be convinced that the gospel which they preach is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; men who will so preach, that under the influences of the Holy Spirit, scientific infidelity will recognize the presence of a personal God, and acknowledge allegiance to his government. Hoping for, and anticipating such results, I assure you that I feel a deep interest in the Theological Department, and earnestly desire its prosperity.

Dr. Bacon then said :

MR. PRESIDENT :—I have the honor now of introducing to you, and to this assembly of our friends, one of the princely merchants of New York, who does not forget that by the ties of birth and lineage he belongs to Connecticut, and whose munificence has connected his name with many institutions of learning as well as with many other enterprises of Christian patriotism or philanthropy. When it had become evident that we must have our new building, and that we could not have it without taking upon ourselves the work of personal solicitation, our first attempt in that direction was a letter to him; and his response to our appeal was a promise of \$10,000. That promise was our first great encouragement; and this day's work is the result of it. Allow me to call

upon the Honorable WILLIAM E. DODGE. Mr. Dodge responded as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT :

It affords me very great pleasure to be present with you to-day, and mingle my congratulations with the friends of the Theological Department of Yale College on this interesting occasion, and to say a few words in the short time allotted to me.

In contemplating the importance of such institutions, we have only to look at the rapid strides our country is making in the West. State after State is added to our number so rapidly that we can hardly keep count of them. It has been my fortune, as a business man, to be acquainted with many of the parties interested in constructing the railroads of the West, and I have watched their rapid development of the country. Villages, towns and cities are springing up all along these lines, with an active, intelligent population, calling for ministers who can aid in building up the moral and religious interests of a new country, men of good education, and ardent piety, of ready, off-hand speech, who will enter into all their plans for doing good. Such men are now wanted by hundreds, and each year the demand must increase.

The founders of these cities and towns may not have built them with any moral or religious object, but they well understand that in order to make them attractive, and give value to their lots, they must have the church and the minister. I am interested in a line of road recently completed, 400 miles in length, across one of our rich western states, where have been laid out sixty sites for towns, and though the road was commenced only four years since, these places now number 500, 1,000, 2,000 and some as many as 7,000 inhabitants, in each of which ministers are needed. The fact is that our western country is being settled fifty years in advance of what it could have been but for our railroads, and we have, as Christian people, made no corresponding efforts to supply this unexpected demand for ministers.

The consequence is as stated so vividly by Senator Buckingham. There never was a time when there was such a demand as to-day ; but, sir, when we turn from this pressing demand, and look at the supply now ready, and the provision making for the future, we find that in the Theological Seminaries of all denominations, it is hardly sufficient to meet the annual waste, by death and other causes, in the congregations now existing.

In view of these facts, how important and interesting the proceedings of this day. Here, surrounded by hundreds of young men preparing for life's great work, you are erecting a building for training men for what Mr. Beecher describes as the most noble and honorable pursuit that can engage the human mind. But where are these able, active, working ministers to come from, who are wanted in such numbers to lay the foundations of what are to be the future cities and towns of the great West ?

There are as many, or more young men in our various classical institutions, to-day, than ever before, and why are they leaving this great work for other pursuits ? No doubt we may find an answer in part, in the fact that at present there is a great lack of earnest prayer and dedication of their children to this work on the part of parents, and in the strong attractions outside of the ministry, which are peculiar to the present time.

But there are other reasons, and though the young men are, to a certain extent, responsible, yet, in my opinion, the churches are more or less to blame, and something must be done to make the ministry more attractive, or, I might, perhaps, say, less repulsive to our young men. As they sit down honestly to look at what may be their duty, and ask, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ?" and as they consider the responsibilities of the Christian ministry, they find that outside of our large cities and towns talent, devoted to the ministry, and refined by years of culture, is not appreciated—that young men go from the country and our common schools into the cities, and in the store or counting

room receive their \$1,500 to \$3,000 a year, while the country pastor must struggle with a small salary of \$600, \$1,000 or \$1,200 a year. As they look at the foreign or missionary work, they may be ready, for the love of Christ, to make any sacrifice, but they cannot understand why they should devote their time to a preparation to serve a people who do not seem to appreciate the cost of their efforts. The fact is, ministers, as a body, are paid less in proportion to the time spent in preparation, than any other profession or calling, and it is quite time that the churches were made to feel that while a young man should not enter the ministry for the sake of a position or salary, yet they have no right to take the advantage of his conscientious devotion to his Master to obtain his services, as many wish to do. Everybody knows that the cost of living has been more than doubled in the past ten years, and yet how many congregations feel they have been very liberal if they have advanced their minister's salary say \$200 or \$300! I was conversing, a few months since, with a most useful pastor of one of the country parishes in Massachusetts, a graduate, sir, of Yale, a man of education, talent and refinement. He told me he had been over twenty years in the same church—it was his first settlement—and that he had never received over \$800, and most of the time but \$600, and a parsonage. This gentleman was then making great sacrifices to send his oldest son to you. I know, sir, there are noble exceptions, but the meager salaries paid by most of the churches outside our cities and large towns, discourage young men as they look to the ministry. They think if they should settle in some country place, and should have a family, their wife might have to do her work with her baby in her arms, because the style in which the congregation lived had so raised the price of help that they could not afford to keep a servant, and thus hundreds of our young men come to the decision that they can be more useful in some other calling.

May I be permitted in this presence to refer to another matter which I think of great importance ?

There is far too little attention paid in our Colleges and Theological Seminaries, to the cultivation of the voice, and the style of delivery. I have, for many years, watched our young ministers, and have been distressed to see in how many instances they had failed in this respect, to make available the knowledge they had acquired by years of careful study ; they had no power of voice, or style of delivery, to make an impression on an audience, and for lack of this, never attained any considerable success. Why, sir, persons intending to follow singing on the stage, as a profession, will spend years in cultivating the voice, and why should those who intend to stand up in God's name to speak to the people the words of eternal life, pay so little attention to the manner in which they are to do it ? I am only speaking of the fact in general ; I do not know how it is here, but trust you will so educate the young men who go from this Seminary, that they will be able to blow the Gospel trumpet in such a manner that it will attract attention and not give an uncertain sound.

In conclusion, let me say, there has never been a time when men should feel so deep an interest in such an institution as now, or in the erection of such a building.

The Rev. EDWARD L. CLARK, Pastor of the North Church in New Haven, was next introduced to speak in behalf of the city churches. He said :

The churches of New Haven are glad to see this day. Standing in the view of all the people so near the Seminary, they feel a peculiar joy in giving a right hand of fellowship to the new comer.

We are as Jachin and Boaz to each other, before the upper temple. You, the Jachin, with students ripening in your toils like pomegranates of old in the net-work of the capital. We as Boaz,—suggesting a gleaning for golden grain, and a lending hand for the reaping. Come and we will help you, dropping sheaves at the word of the Master. Come and help us in a still better harvest-

ing. We are honored or neglected together. If we were only selfish, we should still congratulate you warmly to-day.

Have we not, too, a common educational service? Is not the Pastor set to instruct in natural and revealed theology, ecclesiastical history, and sacred literature. We are glad, then, that the Davids of this generation are not only faithful in war and successful in the pursuits of peace, but love also to remember the house of God.

I doubt if we shall see the walls fairly up, before we feel repaid for giving, by receiving a new impulse toward the studies you pursue within them. What boy in applying the discoveries of science in the most homely way, does not feel honored in his work by the munificence which founded the Scientific School? What love of art in its thousand daily applications to real life, can pass the monument of Mr. Street's generosity without a noble spirit of desire to excel in that calling? How much more devoutly and joyfully shall the multitude keep holy day within our church doors, because of your lifted gates.

Yet, all this does not express the half of our sympathy. We have found that your students, are not only skillful tacticians, but good soldiers as they apply the art of our spiritual warfare in the field. Glorifying in the ability to make scientific statement of theological doctrine, they have been content to become living apostles. Not satisfied with manner, "*vox et præterea nihil*," they have displayed the spirit of Elijah, and have become like true evangelists. How can we help looking with confidence at this corner stone, when you build these characters upon simple love to Christ?

Permit a word of grateful, admiring love for the memory of that man who was a pastor here, as well as a teacher in your school. To us who did not see him, his name was the suggestion of a learning which never chilled the heart. He seems still to linger here, a man consumed with zeal for souls—one hand upon the church, the other

upon the Seminary—a schoolmaster to bring us both to Christ. At once a Boarneges and a “disciple whom Jesus loved,” his word to us is “Love one another.” Whether the sun of prosperity or storms of trial await us, we will bear them together. Ever mindful of that heroic soul, Dr. Taylor, we shall rejoice in his mantle and “love one another.”

The Rev. EDWIN POND PARKER, Pastor of the South Church in Hartford, was then introduced, and spoke as follows :

I have been requested to say a few words, on this occasion, concerning the interest which the churches and ministers of Connecticut may reasonably be supposed to feel in the efforts now making to build up in greater efficiency and honor the Divinity School of Yale College. I am neither a native of Connecticut, nor a graduate of Yale, nor was any part of my theological instruction received in this School of the prophets, in whose name we are gathered. But because I am a “son of the stranger,” and come up hither to an unaccustomed shrine, it may be that my word of testimony and good will shall have the greater significance.

Yale College belongs to New England. Dear to all evangelical churches, throughout these Northern States at least, has been and still is the venerable seat of learning in whose shadow we sit to-day. Born and brought up in the uttermost State of Maine, from my earliest childhood I was accustomed to hear Yale College spoken of in terms expressive of both pride and affection. Of Harvard College the Down-Easters are justly proud. But great as is the regard in which they cherish her history and name, heartily as they rejoice in her growth and prosperity, and bid her “God-speed,” it is nevertheless true that the evangelical churches throughout New England look to Yale with a peculiar interest, affection and hope, since here the faith of their fathers is still held in its purity by those who guard the treasures, dis-

pense the instruction, and administer the government of this University.

How much more deeply interested in all that concerns its welfare must be the churches and clergy of this State in the soil of which the College flourishes, related to it, as they necessarily are, so much more intimately and vitally !

As for these ministers of Connecticut, so many of whom cherish Yale as their Alma Mater, and come up hither to her annual festival as to a kind of Mount Zion, with all manner of rejoicings, I need say nothing. The mother who kindles in the bosoms of her sons an affection so deep, and a respect so true and permanent, establishes her claim to universal respect and honor.

For the churches of this State I may say that for three good reasons at least, they are deeply interested in the expansion and upbuilding of this College.

1. Yale College is the child of these same churches. She was brought forth of them, and they took care of her. In the days of her humbler history and narrower ways and low estate, they encompassed her with their affection and prayers and support. And now that she has grown to be so great and honorable, God having highly exalted her and given into her hands so great power and glory all abroad, shall we suppose that she has become unmindful of her parentage, or that they who gave her birth and nurture have unnaturally forgotten and forsaken their child ? No ! These churches have marked each step in her upward career, have rejoiced in her every success, and still lift her up to God in the arms of their love and faith. And thus may it ever be.

2. That great system of circulation by which the sea supplies the waste of the rivers and brooks, and the rivers and brooks return again to pour themselves into the sea, is scarcely surer in its operation than the movement to and fro between the College and the churches of this State, whereby both have been fed and supported in a mutual relation of dependence. From the churches young men have been going up to the College in a con-

tinuous procession through all these years, for their discipline and culture, and from the College, as continuously, young men have been coming back, clad in new strength and power, to take their places in the churches, either as pastors or laymen. Not to speak of what has been done by Yale in the way of furnishing the churches with able and cultivated ministers, she has been constantly and powerfully reinforcing them with educated men who, while pursuing secular callings, have not forgotten the service of Christ. These educated men of business, who are found in all our churches, are doing a mighty work for Christ in the use of their culture and wealth. They are the men of ideas, the men of breadth and liberality. They are pillars and powers. And so the College and the churches are knit together. So the shuttles are constantly flying back and forth between them, which weave their separate interests inseparably together more and more.

3. The churches, ever foremost in promoting the enlightenment and education of society, have a special interest in all efforts that are made by the College to furnish the best opportunities and facilities for a many-sided and complete culture, and, with its universal provisions, to meet the manifold demands of the age. Men are needed who shall be broader than their professions. A culture is required that, like honey, is gathered from all fields and every sweet flower. To develop the entire man, and not merely some particular powers or capacities of his mind, is the true idea of education. The College must hasten, then, to realize the University idea—to become an universal School, and so make provision not so much for this and that immediate demand of society as for its broader and permanent wants; not so much for this and that man's peculiar preparation and equipment in special departments of knowledge, as for the education of the ideal or representative man,—having the necessities of a generation, of society, of “the times” always before it. Therefore must it round out its courses of study, and group together all departments of learning,

and provide for that complete and catholic culture that is broader than any single vocation or any special department of knowledge, that stands not in any one man's attainments, but rather in a common grace and general refinement and sweet atmosphere. In the history of Yale College one traces the gradual unfolding of this very idea and purpose. Around the College, connected with and yet distinct from it, have sprung up the Law School, the Divinity School, the Scientific School, to say nothing of the Art Gallery and Gymnasium. Not the least important of these several Departments is the Theological School, in whose increased prosperity and usefulness the churches of Christ feel a special interest. No system of education can be complete or satisfactory that makes no adequate provision for religious instruction and culture. The Romanists are right in theory on this matter. A purely secular or scientific education is partial and undesirable. Popular liberty and national prosperity, no less than personal well-being, must rest on the knowledge of God and of His law. As surely as we are creatures of a Divine Hand, and stand related to a world that is invisible and eternal, the knowledge of Him in whom we live and move and have our being, and of Him by whom all things consist, is the transcendent knowledge. "Of what use is it for man to conquer the universe," says Father Hyacinthe, "if he loses his soul."

The supreme science is the science of God. St. Paul must needs come to Athens and declare the unknown God. The Gospel of Christ opens heavens upon heavens and all unutterably wonderful things to the most consummate earth-bound culture and philosophy. Throughout the entire history of Yale College, that high and holy purpose in which it was founded has had a continuous development. The hope in which the fathers planted and prayed has not been disappointed. With gratitude to God the churches of Connecticut behold new unfoldings of that same hope and purpose, in the recent efforts that have been made to put greater honor upon this Divinity School, to expand and strengthen it, and to make

it, in all respects, a worthy Department of this venerable University. In behalf of these churches I heartily congratulate the officers of Yale College, and more especially the board of instructors in the Theological Department, on this occasion. The architectural symmetry and completeness of this great institution of learning, as a whole, require the erection of the edifice whose corner-stone you lay to-day. In the name of the churches I bespeak for you entire success in this enterprise, and a continual and even unexpected prosperity in all your good work. May this School of the prophets, free from all that is merely traditional in theology, and unencumbered by dead controversies and obsolete dogmas, but holding firmly to the fundamental truths of Christianity, enter upon a new career of usefulness and honor. May it send forth from year to year an increasing number of able, pious, and free men, fully equipped for the service of the Gospel ministry. May it become the ecclesiastical center and the rallying-point for the ministry of this State. To its frequent public services may the pastors gather to give whatever of encouragement they may, and to receive so much of inspiration as they can. So, more and more, may the churches of our commonwealth bear this College with all its manifold interests upon their hearts, giving to it their affections, their prayers, their charities, in larger measure. So may it also yield back its blessings to the churches of our land in still greater abundance.

“Peace be within thy walls,
Prosperity within thy palaces.
For my brethren and companions’ sakes
I will now say, Peace be within thee !”

The Rev. THERON BALDWIN, D.D., Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1827, and an early alumnus of the Divinity School, was invited to represent the relations of the Department to American Home Missions. His address, rich with valuable reminiscences, was to this effect :

I can only report in part on the topic assigned to me, not having access to any triennial catalogue of the Seminary, later than that of 1847. It appears, however, that the first two students—Xenophon Betts and Chester Birge—who went to the West from this Seminary, were commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society for Ohio, in 1828. In November of the same year a dissertation was read in the Society of Inquiry respecting Missions, the design of which was to awaken in the mind of every student the inquiry, “What can I as an individual do?” and that, by showing what some of the leading spirits of the race had accomplished, and that the present state of the world was favorable to great individual results.

Mason Grosvenor went to his room, revolving the above inquiry in his own mind. It disturbed the slumbers of the night, but the conception was reached of forming an association of students, who should select for their field of labor some one of the new States at the West, and bring into operation within its limits all the civilizing and christianizing agencies of society. Illinois was selected as the field, by reason of its amazing undeveloped resources, its position in the sisterhood of States, and its prospective greatness.

The “Illinois Association” was formed, and seven of us put our names to a written document, pledging ourselves to this work on certain conditions. The Academic and Theological Faculties cordially endorsed the enterprise, and in the fall of 1829 Julian M. Sturtevant and myself left for Illinois, as pioneers of the Association. At about the same time, and through the interest excited in that field, Stiles Hawley and Charles P. Grosvenor went to Illinois as Sunday school missionaries. In the month of January following, the devoted Hawley, while prosecuting his mission, was drowned in the Kaskaskia river. Eleven weeks after, we took him from his watery bed, constructed a rude coffin and buried him on the wild banks of that stream.

This Illinois movement excited at the time a widespread public interest, not only from its novelty but the

fact that there was then among the churches extensive alarm in regard to the prevalence of infidelity and Romanism in the great valley, as well as a conviction among statesmen that the day was not distant when the balance of political power would be beyond the Alleghanies, and consequently, if the nation were saved, that power must be educated and christianized. To this work the Association was especially adapted, as it was formed on the principle that education and religion must go hand in hand in the work of the world's conversion.

The sympathy and aid of the American Home Missionary Society was given to the movement in its inception and in all its progress ; indeed, a communication in the *Home Missionary* for December, 1828, from the pen of Rev. J. M. Ellis, then at Jacksonville, Ill., had much to do with the selection of that State as a field.

The Association, in the meantime, was enlarged by the addition of others to the original seven, and in succession, as they completed their theological course, they took their departure for Illinois. The interest thus awakened in the field naturally operated with great strength at the Seminary ; and although our honored teacher, Dr. Taylor, had very cheerfully signed, with other members of the Faculty, a recommendation of the enterprise, he afterwards seemed somewhat to relent. Pressed on every hand by the theological conflicts of that day, he felt that he needed his students at home and around him. With all his intellectual grasp and forecast, he failed to fully comprehend how sure he would be greatly to augment his own influence and increase the power of the Seminary for good, by taking possession of the growing West.

As a result of the interest awakened at New Haven, this Seminary has had, first and last, no less than forty representatives in Illinois, making that State its special field. Ohio, however, was not far behind, having had some thirty Yale Seminary students within its bounds, and I wish some Ohio man were present to speak for

that State. Four alumni of the Seminary also found their way to Indiana, four to Wisconsin, and five to Iowa. Some five-sixths of the whole number went to the West under commissions from the American Home Missionary Society, and the other sixth as teachers or as pastors of churches by which they were supported ; but all may be appropriately brought into the great Home Missionary movement.

There is no time to set forth even in the most summary manner the results of Home Missionary operations at the West, as viewed in this large sense, nor would it be possible to bring any analysis to bear that would show in how large a proportion these results are traceable to this Seminary; and I will conclude with a few general statements which may help our conceptions.

1. Of the six secretaries of the American Home Missionary Society three have been furnished by this Seminary, and these—Drs. Milton Badger, D. B. Coe, and A. H. Clapp—constitute the present working force at New York.

2. No less than ten of our Alumni have acted more or less as general agents of the Society—not collecting agents except in a very subordinate sense—but exploring agents, moral engineers, architects on the great temple, which, in the providence of God, has been going up in that new world. As earliest in the field, I had myself the honor, in the order of time, of heading them, and then followed Flavel Bascom, Albert Hale, William Kirby, and Elisha Jenney, in Illinois ; Asa Turner, J. A. Reed and Jesse Guernsey, in Iowa ; Reuben Gaylord, in Nebraska, and L. Smith Hobart who came back from Michigan to perform a similar service in the State of New York.

3. Yale Seminary has furnished five Presidents for Western colleges, viz.: Edward Beecher, J. M. Sturtevant, W. S. Curtis, J. P. Gulliver and G. F. Magoun ; also five Professors, viz.: Henry Cowles and John P. Cowles at Oberlin, Henry N. Day at Western Reserve College, George E. Day at Lane Seminary, and William Twining at Wabash College.

4. Yale Seminary also stands directly connected with the origin and operations of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, whose aid has reached sixteen institutions, scattered from Eastern Ohio to the Pacific Ocean, and which have already sent out more than 2,000 graduates and 700 theological students, and are now living powers in the young empires where they have been planted.

More than 1,000 Congregational churches (to say nothing of others) are already at the West—Connecticut three times over,—some 250 in Illinois alone, and to be 500 in the next twenty-five years. Mr. President, with such a record before you, lay your corner-stone, and go forward in the strength of the Lord.

A letter was then read, which had been received a few hours before, from Deacon Charles Benedict of the Second Congregational Church in Waterbury, Conn., written in behalf of his father, the venerable Deacon AARON BENEDICT of the First Church in the same city, an old friend of Dr. Taylor, and tendering in the name of his father and mother the sum of Ten Thousand dollars towards the erection of the Divinity Hall. The announcement of this timely and munificent gift was received with manifest gratification by the audience.

After the reading of Deacon Benedict's letter, Dr. Bacon said :

MR. PRESIDENT :—Waterbury is a place that has good deacons ; and sometimes good deacons in other places are from Waterbury. The Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York,—the pastor of which has warmly interested himself in this effort and which has contributed largely to our Building Fund,—had such a deacon, and still claims him in some sort, though he has transferred his residence from that city to New Jersey. He, too, is numbered among the benefactors of the Theological Department ; and his zeal for us “hath provoked many.” He has been, heretofore, a benefactor to the Academical and

Scientific Departments, having founded five scholarships for Waterbury boys, one in each of the four College classes, and one in the Sheffield School. His donation to the Theological Department (\$25,000 payable in successive installments) is not applicable directly to the work which we are now inaugurating, but is to be an endowment for the professorship of Hebrew. Yet to him our Building Fund is largely though indirectly indebted ; for his donation was so timed and conditioned, that it became a powerful encouragement to effort on our part and to liberality on the part of his friends and ours. I have the privilege of introducing him to you, Mr. President, and to this assembly,—SAMUEL HOLMES Esq., of Mont Clair, New Jersey.

Mr. Holmes said :

I do not feel, Mr. President, that it would be proper for me to detain the audience at this late hour, by any words of mine, further than to express my interest in the occasion which has brought us together, and in what we have heard.

We have had set before us the history of the institution in the past, and its hopes for the future, and I think there are few of us who will not feel a responsibility regarding it which we have never felt before. These honored professors, called to occupy the places of those noble men who so worthily filled their chairs of office, and whose influence still remains to such a marked degree, cannot but feel that with their increased facilities, must come greater obligations, obligations which, with faith in God, they are ready to meet.

But not to them only, but to all of us, comes home the inquiry, “Lord what will thou have *me* to do in this matter?”

One of these professors, in view of the great need of young men to fill our Seminaries, and to go forth from them, an educated ministry for Christ, has lately put the inquiry in forcible language, “*Where are the men*, in any proportion to the needs of the country and of the

world?" Are we not in great danger of overlooking this necessity in the present age?

Some of us are Christian parents; what are we doing, and what is our duty in this matter? Do we not need to go back to the cradle and to the early consecration there? Are we educating our children with any reference to this work, if God shall see fit to call them to it, leading them to feel that the Christian ministry, yea, the work of saving souls, which Christ himself initiated by giving up his heavenly glory and descending to earth to accomplish it, is the highest and noblest, the most Christ-like of any work in which they may be permitted to engage,—or, are we training them for the pleasures, the honors, or the riches of this world?

Let us look into our obligations and act in view of our responsibilities to them, to the world, and to God, and in such a manner as we shall wish we had done when come to stand together in the great day of account.

Some of us are business men, to whom God has given other ways of usefulness, through the means entrusted to our care. Do we realize, as we ought, that we are stewards for God, that all that we have is His, and that we ourselves have been bought with a price, even the precious blood of the Son of God, and that we are bound to use all, as consecrated to Him and to His service?

Have we not a special duty towards this Seminary, and similar institutions, in furnishing the means for sustaining them, and for aiding the young men who shall give up their lives to this blessed ministry?

And shall not the churches represented by these pastors, more than they have been doing latterly, seek out competent young men, and aid and encourage them to go forward in an educational course for this noble work, assuring them that though it may have its trials, (as has been alluded to here,) yet that they are not worthy to be compared to the joys that shall follow the faithful laborer through life, and which await him, when, his work done, he shall come to the great ingathering of the harvest, "bringing his sheaves with him."

I trust, Mr. President, that our interest in this Seminary will not cease with the laying of the corner-stone, but that we shall continue to feel an abiding care for it, giving, as we may be permitted, not only towards the completion of the building, but towards fully endowing its professorships and scholarships, and above all, remembering it in our prayers, that the blessing of God may rest upon it, and that a great multitude may here be raised up, who shall go forth as heralds of salvation to all the nations of the earth.

From the large number of letters received from the alumni of the School, and other ministers of the gospel, and from benefactors of the Seminary, who were unable to be present but expressed their hearty interest in the occasion, the two following are taken—one from Prof. S. F. B. MORSE, the other from Prof. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, both graduates of Yale College and liberal benefactors of the Theological Department.

POUGHKEEPSIE, September 20, 1869.

DEAR SIR ; I have received your special invitation to attend the exercises at the laying of the corner-stone of the new *Theological Hall*, on the 22d instant. It would give me the greatest pleasure to be present were I able, but, not having recovered from the effects of my late accident, I am deprived of this gratification. May God bless the Institution and make it the instrument of more widely spreading the gospel of His dear Son.

With respect and Christian esteem,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

LENOX, MASS., September 18, 1869.

REV. PROFESSOR DWIGHT—*My Dear Sir* ; It will not be convenient for me to be in New Haven on the day of the laying of the corner-stone of the new Theological Hall, but I shall be with you in spirit, rejoicing in the near

prospect of your long deferred hope. May the old symbol of Yale, "*Lux et Veritas*," be, pre-eminently, the seal of these new foundations, and receive new illustrations in the future history, as in the past, of this School of Sacred Learning.

With much regard,

Your friend and servant,

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

The Hon. PETER PARKER, M.D., a graduate of Yale College, and an alumnus of the Divinity School in the class of 1834, formerly a missionary in China, and afterwards Commissioner from the government of the United States to the government of that empire, was called upon to represent the relations of this Divinity School to American Foreign Missions. His address, abridged in speaking, was as follows :

I am deeply indebted to the Faculty of the Theological Seminary of Yale College for their invitation, on this occasion of laying the corner-stone of the new Theological Hall, to say a few words on the subject of Foreign Missions.

On receiving this invitation I felt an inexpressible satisfaction at the fresh evidence it afforded that the missionary cause is still prominent in this Seminary, and were it one of the last acts of my life, I should deem it a high privilege to say anything that may promote now, and in all time to come, the true missionary spirit, which is the spirit of Christ.

Thirty-five years have elapsed since my departure for China from this city, ever, in my estimation, the Eden of America, and which in my experiences here will be remembered with gratitude in heaven. The period of a generation has passed, and marvelous changes have been wrought in both hemispheres. The recollections of the years spent here are full of tender emotions. I remember the kindness and aid of the best friends man ever had.

The death-bed scenes here witnessed are still fresh in memory--of a beloved class-mate, Seddon, of Tutor Pettin-gill, Wm. Leffingwell, Henry Dwight, and the youthful Evarts. At their bedside I watched, witnessed their last breath, and closed the eyelids, after death, of several of them, and mingled my prayers with the weeping survivors.

The glorious revival in College and city, in 1831, has left an indelible impression upon my mind, and the influence of it has been felt throughout this land, in Africa, Asia and China, and will continue forever. Judges Daggett and Bristol, venerable with age, and young men, since become Governors and Senators, Professors in Colleges and Theological Seminaries, Bishops and eminent Divines, were subjects of that revival.

Many other associations are recalled by my return to these seats of learning and religion, but this is not the occasion for dwelling upon them, though I trust I may be pardoned for alluding to them.

From the extracts of the record of the founding of Yale College, just read, we are informed of the paramount aim of its founders, but that not till 1822, was a Department specifically Theological, established.

Not now to speak of those who were here trained for the ministry previous to that date, we have occasion for gratitude to God for what the Seminary has done for the cause of Christ in New England, in the vast West, and among the remotest nations. With the new accommodations and more thoroughly systematized course of instruction in all its departments, and with its learned and devoted Faculty, may we not anticipate still greater and wider influences to go forth from this Seminary during the half century to come?

The answer to this question, other things being equal, will materially depend upon the contingency, whether or not the *whole* field, which is *the world*, shall be embraced by the Faculty and students.

The decree has been passed in heaven, and published on earth, that all flesh shall see the salvation of God,

(Luke iii, 6.) "I will declare the decree : the LORD hath said unto me, Thou art my son ; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession."

"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you ; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

"Jesus came and spake." Who is Jesus ? He who, "in the beginning was with God and was God. The same *was* in the beginning with God. All things were made by him ; and without him was not anything made that was made."

"Jesus came." Whence ? Originally from the bosom of the Father. "No man hath seen God, but the Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." "*All power*," physical and moral. The physical power of the universe, and the moral power over the inhabitants of earth and heaven, in time and eternity, are his.

"God is love," and has so loved the world as to give him only begotten Son to die for its redemption.

These, and many others of corresponding import, are truths of the Bible. I cannot fully comprehend them, but in my inmost soul I *believe* them. They are so many illustrations of Paul's meaning, when he prayed for the Ephesians that they might be able to comprehend, with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height ; and to know the love of Christ which *passeth knowledge*.

These are *great truths, believed, embraced and acted upon* by the Theological Seminary of Yale College, in the past ; and our devoutest aspiration is that they may continue to be, till the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ. These are the

grand principles cherished by Professors Olmsted, Kingsley, Silliman, Gibbs, Goodrich and Taylor, and by President Day. They are now held by their worthy contemporaries who remain and are their successors in office, and God grant they may be by all who shall fill their places in generations to come. The influence the missionary spirit is calculated to produce upon this Seminary cannot be over-estimated. Let a theological institution be deeply and scripturally imbued with this spirit, and we may dismiss solicitude for its soundness in other respects.

Foreign Missions are by some represented as failures ! Tell us amid the effulgence of the meridian sun, that that luminary no longer sends down its floods of light and warms no more the earth and its inhabitants—the former assertion affects us as little as the latter. We look over the history of missions and note their triumphs in Europe and America, in Africa and Asia, India, China, Japan, and the Pacific Islands, and deliberately say, God grant such failures, till the whole earth is subjugated to the gentle yoke of Christ.

It is related of Xavier, that on landing on the island of St. John, on the coast of China, two centuries since, as he looked towards the empire then surrounded by a barrier of exclusion more massive than the great wall, he exclaimed : “O rock, rock, when wilt thou open ?” Not till centuries had elapsed was the question to be answered. Since the establishment of this Seminary, some half century ago, that great event has come. To-day China is opened ! Christianity, no longer excluded, is now tolerated ; first by Imperial Rescript, dated 19th December, 1843 ; afterwards by express stipulations in solemn treaties with the principal nations of the West. The Bible has been translated into the language spoken by 360,000,000 people, and is being circulated under Imperial functions throughout the Provinces. Temples of Christian worship, *first* officially granted in the United States Treaty with China, in 1843, have been established ; churches formed, and more than 3,000 Chinese of both sexes have given up their idols, and publicly professed the religion of Christ.

The influence of Stevens, Ball, Macy and Achison, of this Seminary, with that of the Morrisons, Wilsons, Bridgman, Abeel, Gutzlaff, Medhurst, and others now deceased, in bringing it about, under Him to whom all power belongs, cannot be fully known in this world. They were good men, with endowments intellectual and religious, which would have qualified them for any station. Others are still living, who have labored or are laboring to carry forward the great work, some of them model missionaries, and will be remembered in the future history of the Church and her Missions.

On another occasion I may be permitted to record some facts, now history, of the manner in which the free toleration of Christianity in China has been brought about in the sovereign providence of God, and incidentally the participation which this Seminary, through its representatives, has been privileged to enjoy.

I know it to be the desire of the Faculty and friends of this Seminary that an impression, on this occasion, may be made upon the hundreds of young men of Yale College here present, which shall long remain and bring forth good fruit, and that what the Seminary *has* done for missions to the heathen may be but the beginning of what it will do in the future.

There are different methods of presenting to Christians generally and to Christian young men of education the subject of missions. It may be exhibited in the light of interest or of privilege. The first places the missionary calling in the category of the learned professions of law, medicine and divinity. Arguments conformed to this classification would never affect me. But present it in its bearings as a *privilege*, in the light of a CALL OF GOD, with the results to be realized here and hereafter, and the soul is on fire.

Young men! I wish to state to you one of the sublimest of *truisms*, and which, since it was apprehended by my own mind, has influenced the whole course of my life and will affect me and others eternally.

It is this : We have but one life to live on earth, and we should make the most of it possible ; that in determining our course in time, we should take into consideration the entire range of our being, the temporal and eternal portion of it. The division of our existence on this side the grave, an infinitesimal ; beyond, *infinite* !

Let these truisms be present to the understanding while in College, and then upon leaving it and taking a fresh departure, you lay your course for life, and you can scarcely err. At the same time, "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths."

Dr. Bacon then said :

MR. PRESIDENT :—The time is failing us, yet let me ask your attention and that of our assembled friends to another benefactor who rarely speaks to inattentive hearers. He is not indeed a contributor directly to the Divinity School, but his large contribution of \$40,000 to the fund for the support of the College Pastor brings him very near to us. I am permitted to call upon SIMEON B. CHITTENDEN, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. Chittenden spoke as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I have been deeply interested in the exercises of this occasion, and while listening to the speakers who have preceded me, I have been thinking that there is no service ever undertaken by good and cultivated men so discouraging, and for the time present, so unrewarding, as soliciting funds for the founding of educational institutions, especially those of the higher order. The better the cause, the harder the service and the slower the progress. The reason is, that the great mass of those who possess money don't know the best uses for it.

It is amazing, when one thinks of it seriously, that Yale College, and this Seminary in whose interest we have met to-day, command so little consideration from the great communities and classes who have shared and enjoyed their benefits.

A startling event, as when death suddenly strikes a shining mark, or remorselessly groups and grasps a crowd of strong men, and by one poisonous breath, buries them in a painless death a little before their time, (according to our short sight,) touches the sympathies of the people and opens wide their purses. We have just had such a case. Witness the abounding streams which flow to the survivors at Avondale! God forbid that I should hinder one drop from this generous flow of human sympathy for the pitiable victims of that disaster. But see how blindly and unintelligently the money is given! Sensational newspapers and individuals here and there, at their own motion, announce their readiness to receive contributions for the Avondale sufferers. Money flows in like water. People look to see the footing of thousands counted, and praise the givers. But who watches to see how or by whom their charities are administered? Everybody reads the sum total contributed, in all the papers, and that is the end, substantially, of the interest or observation of the public.

Now contrast with this free and generous giving, the slow and grudging process by which the meager funds of this Seminary are replenished. Again, contrast the ephemeral nature of the one cause, and the ceaseless far-reaching sweep of the other.

There are three classes numerous represented in this large and highly intelligent audience, either of which has wealth enough, and should have the will, to make Yale College the noblest, the most powerful and useful University on the American continent.

New Haven has lost the grand opportunity of doubling swiftly its population and wealth, by giving the College half a thousand acres of land a mile or two from the spot where we now stand; but the privilege is still open to the citizens of this beautiful town, of contributing freely to the upbuilding of the College and Seminary, and they will find themselves enriched in mind and purse just in proportion as they engage in the work. I have not given anything to the Seminary yet, and judge from a glance

at a list of New Haven folks who have, that at least forty-nine of every fifty persons present belong to my party.

The people of New Haven should pre-eminently support these great and good institutions. If from no higher motive, because it pays to do it. There is profit in it. What would New Haven have been to-day without Yale College? Suppose for a minute that old Guilford had succeeded, 150 years ago, in locating it there. I know that I appeal to the lowest motives; but while mankind make the growth of communities and wealth their chief aims, so long we may come down to this level when we appeal for general contributions for educational and eleemosynary institutions.

In respect to the people of New Haven, this appeal touches the interests of all classes and denominations. Yale University should be—and I learn is—a catholic institution; I mean a liberal institution. There is not a man in New Haven who owns an inch of soil who is not directly interested in her advancing prosperity. A few of your intelligent and wealthy citizens have given of their abundance. What is wanted now is the exercise of a general and generous public sentiment expressed in gifts.

If New Haven hesitates, then let the people of Connecticut, and her sons wherever found, gladly show their appreciation of this source of Connecticut's power and highest honor, by contributing freely to enlarge and exalt this time-honored institution.

I had the honor, last winter, of being present at a festival given in New York by the Alumni of Yale. If I remember rightly, your learned and distinguished President said on that occasion that her Alumni had not been her chief benefactors. This was a surprise to me. I saw before me a great crowd of men, all glorying in old Yale as their Alma Mater, many of them occupying high stations—many others possessing great wealth and influence. Why, I thought, shouldn't these, her gifted and proud sons, fill her treasury full? Give me (I felt) what Yale has given hundreds of that brilliant company,

and I would willingly surrender the gleanings of a busy life.

Why is it, oh sons of Yale ! that you, who have felt her benefits in your own prosperity—you who so well understand her struggles and her triumphs—that you who know so well her power and usefulness, and glory so much in her impress upon the character of the nation, do not rise in the might of your intellect and wealth, to do whatever is needful to exalt and aggrandize her ?

While sitting here to-day, I have been impressed with a new sense of the possible splendid future of these institutions. Let not the people of Connecticut forget them ! Let not the sons of Yale forget their Alma Mater !

The Rev. Prof. DAGGETT, as Pastor of the Church in Yale College, being invited to say a few words, spoke as follows :

After all the addresses to which we have listened on this occasion, and even at this late hour, we may properly turn to one view that has not been already presented here.

We are about to lay the corner-stone of the new Divinity College. Let us remind ourselves that the living "corner-stone" of the whole true Church, the "chief corner-stone, elect, precious," is JESUS CHRIST. Let it be remembered to-day, that this Theological Seminary has always held this only foundation, Jesus Christ in his prophetic, priestly and kingly offices. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit also, the necessity of his work for the renovation of the human heart and the building up of his Church, has been taught and preached by this Seminary from the beginning. Amidst the controversies in which it has borne a part, its professors have taught and its students have preached this "faith once delivered to the saints," the faith of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Maintaining evangelical doctrine, it has stood for liberality but not for indifference. For this testimony we appeal to the instructions given here, and

to the ministries of those who have been here educated, and the fact is commended to the consideration of other communions besides our own, who hold with us the same essential Christianity, "the common salvation."

Let me add, that in the opening of these services I was cheered by the hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," and the more because I remember that many years ago, ministering in the old sanctuary on Greenfield Hill, where the author, Dr. Dwight, had been pastor more than a generation before, amidst the traditions that for me hallowed the then dilapidated house, I could not but give out that same hymn, thinking of the divine kingdom, which he loved, as more enduring than the life or labors of that most eminent of our literary and theological teachers, and as enduring even forever. It is in the interests of this kingdom that we meet and act to-day. Let us with the more courage go forth to the laying of this corner-stone, and faithfully address ourselves to all the activities of our holy calling, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The lateness of the hour (it being after five o'clock) made it necessary to deviate from the programme. It was therefore announced that Prof. THACHER had been expected to speak for the Academical Department, and Prof. LYMAN for the Scientific ; but inasmuch as they were our own men, with whom we might take such liberties, they would be excused, though very reluctantly, from speaking. The Rev. Dr. CUMMINGS, President of the Wesleyan University, was present, and it had been hoped that his eloquent voice, speaking for ministers and churches, not Congregational, yet in communion with us, would conclude this pleasant interchange of congratulations. But it was felt that he would forgive the error of assigning to him the place of honor from which he had been crowded, and would count it more courteous not to call him out than to lay upon him the necessity of refusing to speak, or speaking under the embarrassment of having no time.

Professor Dwight then announced the order of the procession, which was formed under the direction of Professors Hoppin and Fisher, aided by Prof. Northrop, of the Academical Department, and moved to the site of the Divinity Hall in the following order : the students of the several Departments of Yale College, the President and Fellows, together with benefactors of the Seminary, the members of the University Faculty, the alumni of the Divinity School and other ministers of the Gospel, and the citizens of New Haven.

Upon arriving at the site of the building, President Woolsey read the following paper, as containing the historical record about to be inclosed in the corner-stone :

“ This day, September 22d, in the year of our Lord 1869, Ulysses S. Grant being President of the United States, Marshall Jewell, Governor of the State of Connecticut, and William Fitch, Mayor of the city of New Haven, the corner-stone of this building—erected for the use of the Theological Department of Yale College—is laid by Theodore D. Woolsey, President of the College. This edifice is constructed under the superintendence of Richard M. Hunt, architect, by Atwater Treat, carpenter and joiner, and Messrs. Stephen P. Perkins and Philo Chatfield, masons.

The Faculty and Instructors of the Theological Department at this date are : Theodore D. Woolsey, President ; Leonard Bacon, Noah Porter, George E. Day, James M. Hoppin, George P. Fisher, and Timothy Dwight.”

With this were also placed in the stone a copy of the last Triennial Catalogue of Yale College ; the last General Catalogue of the Theological Department ; the last Annual Catalogue of the College ; a late number of each of the following periodicals, the *New Englander*, *Theological Eclectic*, *Journal of Science*, and *Journal of the American Oriental Society* ; copies of the newspapers published in New Haven ; a copy of the minutes of the General Association of Connecticut last published ; a copy of the

last Directory of the city of New Haven, and a copy of the Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, published by W. L. Kingsley.

Prayer was then offered by President Woolsey, after which he performed the ceremony of adjusting the corner-stone, and closed with the words, "I lay this corner-stone for the honor of Christ and the good of his Church," and the apostolic benediction.

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THE GREAT MEDICAL COLLEGE AT PEKING.

BY J. DUDGEON, M. D.

This College dates from the Yuen 元 dynasty. The Imperial medical establishments of former dynasties were called 御藥局. In the Yuen and Ming dynasties, the college had thirteen departments or practices, the last two of which were discarded by the present dynasty. There were (1) diseases of men or the doctrine of the pulse in relation to adult males or medicine properly so called; (2) miscellaneous diseases; (3) diseases of children; (4) wind diseases; (5) female diseases; (6) eye diseases; (7) diseases of the mouth, teeth, throat; (8) dislocations; (9) wounds; (10) ulcers and swellings, (11) acupuncture; (12) charms or prayers equal to spiritual medicine; (13) pressure and friction. Although the last two have been banished; the original number is still nominally adhered to. To make up the number for the sake

- 1 大方脉.
- 2 雜醫科.
- 3 小脈 or 小兒科.
- 4 風科 or 傷寒科.
- 5 婦科.
- 6 目科.
- 7 口齒咽喉科.
- 8 正骨科.
- 9 金瘡 or 金族科.
- 10 瘡腫科.
- 11 針灸科.
- 12 祝由科.
- 13 按摩科.

of uniformity and from a regard and reverence for antiquity, 7 and 10 are divided into two each. Their medical course however practically consists of the following five branches; the first, third, sixth and seventh of the above enumeration with the addition of the *outside* practice (surgery).

In three medical works which I have consulted, I have found considerable variation in the list of practices.

In one work, small-pox 諸痘科, ear and nose practice 耳鼻科, and the forbidden department 書禁科? are introduced among the thirteen, along with a branch of medicine most characteristic of the Chinese viz., *Ancient true medical saying* 太上誠語. A chair on this subject would certainly be interesting, quaint and ridiculous, even of European medicine and still more of Chinese. Shu-chin-k'o is a practice upon which I have been quite unable to procure the slightest information, even from the college authorities. The other Board contiguous to the college and situated in the same street—the whitehall of Peking—seem to have a similar department and agreeably to its derivation we may term it, the contra-indication, or ethical practice of the Medical Faculty. It may relate to books, doctrines or practices or all for aught I know. From what I saw of the officials I should say that opium was not included in this department. This faculty would answer to the Chinese *Index Expurgatorious*. *Holiwell street* in Peking must be sought elsewhere than in the street of the six boards.

Another work proposes to give the correct and complete list of the 13 branches and concludes by enumerat-

ing 12 only. The "Heavenly Flower" and nasal departments are excluded and the forbidden branch is mentioned last. The most trustworthy list is that of the Ming dynasty already given. The last two do not now exist and are not known. They are practiced however to some extent, still among the people. The barbers exercise the digital pressure, thumping and rubbing practice at the present day, as all have doubtless, at one time or another, witnessed with much amusement. I have seen it applied for indigestion, sleeplessness, neuralgia etc. Many go through this *beating process* regularly every night before retiring. These two branches were among the most notable in ancient medicine as we shall hereafter shew, when treating of charms. All the boards have been once large, magnificent square structures and are arranged in the usual style of Chinese yaméns, although on a large scale. The entrance to all is through what was once, a handsome triple, portal gate, with a succession of courts and side apartments and verandahs with halls and chambers for the use of the officials and inferior officers. If it be true, as is said, that they were built according to their rank and importance, close to the Imperial palace on the East side, then *miserable dictu et visu*, the Medical Board is the farthest off and last. The buildings are in the worst repair—all is ruin and only a few rooms are at all habitable. The bricks of the floors, the window beams, rafters, doors, tiles, have all been torn away, where accessible, by the ruthless hand of poverty Pigs and squalid children now frequent the old halls, class rooms and quadrangles. Behind about twenty families are housed in the old quarters of the students and under officials and in the centre of the yard a large mound twenty or thirty feet high has gradually risen by the accumulated ashes thrown out. Dust, dirt and desolation reign supreme. Ichabod is everywhere inscribed.

Immediately on entering you discover a small temple on the right (South) to 徐整 a Doctor of the

Ming dynasty, who had it erected to him after his death, by the Emperor. It contains tablets commemorating his worth, an incense burner and a clay figure of the Doctor surmounted by the official cap of the Ming dynasty, with encircling brass dragons. The boys out of sport have taken them and placed one on the head of the *Brass Man*. Another version is that these hats are retained here and used by the officials in worshipping the image, or they have been designed for the image itself. They are curiously and finely wrought and are *minus* the two side wings or flaps which characterised the Ming hat. The hair of the image in bronze is twisted up into a knot on the crown of the head after the manner of the Coreans and Tauists. In the second court on the North side is a small room with 醫學 on a tablet above the door. On the window are official notifications of the subjects for Essays on the five departments specified. On the first and 15th of each month two of the officials, teachers (6th button) attend to give out the subjects and there are other two of the same rank (the highest usual rank in medicine is a 5th button and for extraordinary services rendered or some wonderful cure, sometimes a 3rd is bestowed; China is not behind the more civilized countries of Europe in shewing disrespect to medicine and curtailing or niggardly granting state honours and pay. The Chinese have an expressive saying 視財如命 respecting those who receive and decide upon the Essays. There are about 70 applicants, who wish their names placed on the roll of 30 who receive a small pittance *on paper*, two mace *per diem*, from the Imperial treasury. This is the nominal sum, but I cannot learn how beautifully less 皮裡抽肉 it becomes before it reaches the students. This list of *favoured* ones is continually changing according to the merit of the essay. In this course of instruction they forget one of their own sayings 熟讀王叔和不如臨症多 熟讀王叔和不如臨症多

is given—the college possesses *one volume*, which they refused to exhibit. It is a volume of the Golden Mirror of Medicine 醫宗金鑑. This medical learning or school was commenced in the reign of Taikwang in the year 1839. It had existed in the Ming dynasty, but had long since fallen into disuse. A few years after its re-establishment, an official—a relative of the Emperor, named 奕紀 abolished it to save expense. Thus it existed up to the 5th year of T'ung-chih (1866) when a censor Hu-ching-yuen 胡慶源, memorialised the Emperor; an edict was issued and instructions as above indicated was begun. This memorial appeared in the Peking Gazette 14th January 1866, and was translated by M. C. Morrison, Esqr. late H. B. M.'s Consul, at Chefoo, and was published in the Report of the Peking Hospital for 1865. It recommended periodical examinations similar to those of the Imperial Academy. The class of men in the College is thus described by the censor "Some there are who having never read the writings of the ancients and whose science consists in nothing more than an acquaintance with some stock prescriptions, in trying experiments with their medicines on sick people, and in attempting to cure mild diseases, superinduce on them malignant ones. They know not how to distinguish between appearance and reality, nor between the effect of heat and those of cold. They act on no principle, and at random, and generally make bad worse. Should such men be called to do duty in the palace, very serious consequences [to the health of the imperial family] might ensue." The Emperor taking a hint from this shrewd censor probably, has prohibited acupuncture—their hitherto *panacea* for all ills—upon his person. In the hands of such anatomically ignorant and reckless quacks, it is extremely dangerous and ought to be banished. Any one who chooses to present his name with the requisite offerings of gold, silver, silk

of this Imperial College of Physicians, and any one who has read a medical book or inherits or has bought a medical manuscript is sure of becoming a fellow of the said College, with a handsome pay! These attending directly on the court receive as salary twenty six taels per annum and twelve hundred catties of rice. The subordinates, thirty in number, receive twelve taels and five hundred catties of rice.

Passing though this court with its large hall and the tablets of Kanghi and Taikwang; we reach the back most court containing two temples. The one on the North is designated the 三皇庙: and contains the three emperors. The celestial one is in the centre, the terrestrial, on his left and both naked, and the human one, clothed on the right. Above them is a handsome tablet by a Tsing Emperor with the inscription, 永濟羣生. on the 上甲日. (11th month 7th day is the autumn term of this year) the President of the Board of ceremonies proceeds to this temple to burn incense. He does so on the above day each year in spring and autumn. There was up to the time of the accession of this dynasty a stone tablet in this temple which was brought from Pien liang 沐梁 (Kai fūng fu) in the time of the Yuen dynasty. The Yuen Emperor caused the methods of acupuncture and the moxa to be cut upon it. The head of the tablet with its literary dedication was from the hand of the Sung Emperor Yen-tsung in 1023. On account of its indistinctness, the Ming emperor Ying-tsung had it recut and restored. This tablet was removed into the palace at the time they attempted to remove also the brass acupuncture figure; which stands in the little temple immediately opposite. This temple is called 藥王店, and contains three images to Yao-wang 藥王 (Hwangti); Yao-Sheng 藥聖 (Shennung) and Yao-tsu 藥祖 (Chipo) In the T'ang dynasty Tsun 孫思安 received the title of Yao-wang.

This brass figure, life size, is indented over the course of blood vessels with numerous small non-perforating holes, the size of pin heads, and was anciently used in teaching the art of acupuncture. It is covered with a Ming or Buddhistic shaped outer long robe of yellow paper and stands over what is popularly termed a Hai-yen 海眼. A pagoda inside the Western gate, the drum tower and the observatory are all popularly supposed to stand on similar "eyes of the sea." The old figure was of a beautiful greenish blue colour and was said to have come out of the sea. But this does not appear credible as my guide informed me, for the figure bore marks of repairs in the Sung dynasty in 1023 and the Yuen dynasty in 1266, and in the Ming dynasty it was completely restored. The figure was formerly said to be empty and to contain internal parts, so arranged that when filled with water, the natural flow of the blood in the living arteries and veins was imitated. This statement seems very doubtful in view of their misty and erroneous view of the causes of the circulation of the blood. They have never seen the internal parts and their relations, or at least have never noted them or improved by them.

In 1260 there was a Nepaulese by name Arniko, who came to Peking in the train of an Imperial teacher who was returning to the Capital. He was asked by the Emperor what talents he had and replied that he understood something of drawing engraving and casting metal. The brass figure which was out of repair was shewn him. There was no one at court who could renew it. When he was asked if he could undertake it, he modestly replied that he would try, and he succeeded so admirably as to make it agree in every particular with the human figure. The court was satisfied with the workmanship and no one was covetous of his success, of the honour awarded him or of the possession of such ability. This occurred in 1266.

In former days, the students practised acupuncture as we have said, on

this figure. It was covered with paper pasted over it, and they were required to exercise their skill in hitting the holes exactly. This has long since fallen into disuse; it does not now exist in the College as one of the departments, is rarely had recourse to by the court physicians, and never practised upon the Emperor. It is still frequently used outside and you may sometimes see a quack at the fair or in the temples who does not hesitate to thrust from two to four or six inches of cold steel into the epigastrium for cure of dyspepsia, or puncture under the tongue or the nails for the cure of cholera. Diagrams from the brass figure, reduced in size, and four to the set, viz. the front, back and two side veins, are sold for half a dollar, giving the places for the operation and illustrating the subject as laid down in their books.

Although not used for acupuncture, sick persons or their substitutes visit the figure to burn incense before it, and the under official provide the devotees with a sort of yellow paper *bib* (兜肚) which is suspended from the neck of the figure, while they burn incense and prostrate themselves. Afterwards they carry this paper home, and the sick man wears it round his neck for several days and so recovers! At home the patient or friends make a fac-simile of it on yellow cloth, and return to the College and again burn incense and suspend the bibs on the figure in order probably to withdraw more of the virtue of the figure on to the yellow cloth bib. Sometimes it is doubtless to burn incense and return thanks for the cure and in this sense we might quote from Horace the not very inapplicable couplet.

"Suspendisse potenti
Vestimentu Maris Deo,"

lib I, act V.

In these circumstances, the little temple of course is quite famous and possesses a number of tablets and inscriptions. On the wooden table in front of the image, besides a bell and burner there is a little table with

characters 普濟慈悲救苦銅
神老爺之位.

The three medical divinities before referred to in this temple have each little sticks also before them with suitable inscriptions.

While this outside Medical tribunal has been allowed by this dynasty to fall into such ruin, they have gradually withdrawn men, books and drawings belonging to the College into the palace, to the Imperial drug establishment know now as 御藥房. This inner dispensary has always existed for the convenience of the physicians who wait upon the eunuchs and concubines and in the Ming dynasty was called 御藥院, but now it is the *only* establishment. There are 45 medical officers in charge of it who are called 吏目 Li mu. They carried away the Sung dynasty stone tablet, as already said, and they tried also to remove the brass figure to the inner Yao-wang-miau, but failed. It proved too heavy for the ordinary means employed. Not to be baffled however they erected a Tien-cheng 天秤 and in the effort to raise it, the head fell off, which was afterwards soldered and on this account, we find on examination, a rough line round the neck of the figure which is otherwise quite smooth and finely executed workmanship. The figure has the usual girdle or fig leaf round the loins. There is a popular story about the soldering worth mentioning. After several fruitless attempts to unite the head with the body, the workman employed upon it had a dream and a spirit informed him in these words 御屯院. He suddenly thereafter awoke, and the spirit's idea flashed upon his mind; he tried it, built up the figure in clay and earth as far as the neck, and thus succeeded in soldering it, and so gave rise to the rim or border round the neck.

BEIJING, Dec. 2nd 1869.

ON THE BEST METHOD OF PRESENTING THE GOSPEL TO THE CHINESE.

BY REV. F. S. TURNER.

CHAPTER VII.

The need of evidence.

The study of the Christian Evidences, important to every minister, is peculiarly so to the missionary. The Apostle Peter, indeed, goes further and requires attention to it from every Christian. He would have even private Christians "ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a *reason* of the hope that is in you." This passage is not seldom taken as referring to our personal hope that we have a share in the benefits of Christ's redemption. Such a transference of the text is natural and it may be, justifiable, but it was evidently not its original intention. In Peter's days the believers were liable at any moment to be examined judicially before kings and magistrates; or to be challenged in disputation by their heathen neighbours as to the grounds of their confidence in Christ Jesus. The demand would be for an account (logon) of the basis of their hope; and it would have to be met, not by a narration of inner experience, but by a defence (apologia) of the truth of Christianity. Such demand is rarely encountered in Christian lands, but where the gospel is carried on to new conquests it will doubtless be met with frequently. Whenever the heathen perceive unmistakable evidence that the Chinese Christian has a hope unknown to them, which can arch over this vale of tears with celestial bows of promise, and cast a halo of glory round the cold head of death itself, they will assuredly begin to inquire; why do you believe this new doctrine? How do you *know* that it is true? The private Christian may wait until this demand comes to him, but the preacher goes forth to court it. He challenges the world to investigate the claims of Christianity. The study of the evidence, becomes therefore of prime importance in the missionary work. Without due preparation here, we are in danger one day of finding ourselves in the position of troops, who suddenly in the heat of an engagement discover that their ammunition is exhausted. The gospel authoritatively demands the faith of every man. It must therefore be furnished with irrefragable proofs of its truth. It is the business of the Christian teacher to set these proofs in a clear and strong light before his hearers. If he cannot do this his position is, to say the least, an awkward one.

Yet, I confess, I approach this important subject with a sense of uncertainty and mis-giving: and I suspect many of my readers will comprehend and share the feeling. Logically imperative as it seems to be that we should prove the truth of Christianity before commanding assent to its doctrines; this proof is by no means a simple process. It is one thing to be convinced for oneself of the divine origin of Christianity, quite another to be able to give such an account of the grounds of our faith as shall satisfactorily convince an unbeliever. Some readers of the RECORDER may remember that at the outset of this series of articles I avowed myself, not a teacher, but an enquirer. They may recall too that I started on this career of inquiry from a question of an anonymous writer upon this very subject of evidences. In the intermediate articles, while I felt the ground firm beneath me, and saw the course straight ahead, I have ventured to speak with a tone of assured confidence, after the manner of a guide rather than that of an explorer; and perhaps my original profession of a desire to be helped and guided, has been forgotten. But if forgotten by others, not so by me. I have taken up this subject fully conscious that I cannot carry it to the conclusion I desire. I cannot point out any royal road along which we may march triumphantly to the spiritual conquest of the Chinese. The utmost I can attempt is, to state the problem clearly. Having stated it, I hope wiser and more experienced men will take the matter up and assist me, and others, towards a solution.

That the problem is not an extremely simple one is made evident by the fact that many good men quietly and yet persistently ignore its very existence. For rhetorical purposes there is no way of disposing of a difficulty so short, sharp and effectual as boldly scouting the bare idea of there being any difficulty at all about the matter. I have heard a preacher confidently assert that there are irresistible proofs which would compel belief only he has not time to state them just now. Unfortunately the convenient time never did come. It reminds me of a tale of the late war. The attacking army was held in check for some time before an apparently impregnable position, defended by a formidable row of heavy guns. By and bye when the position was taken, the big guns proved to be only painted wood. Wooden guns may impose upon an enemy for defence, but they are useless for attack; and in our warfare we are the assailants. There are however preachers of too noble a spirit to employ any species of rhetorical artifice, who yet practically ignore the need of proofs for the truth of Christianity. They employ themselves in a

patient, faithful, loving reiteration of the gospel; hoping and believing that by the power of the divine spirit it will produce conviction of itself. Looking at the matter in a cool, logical way, they admit the need of evidences; but then, they say, religion addresses itself more to the heart than the head. Intellectual belief is valueless, if the heart be not moved; while if only the heart is stirred some how or other intellectual difficulties seem to vanish.

"A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And, like a man in wrath, the heart
Stood up and answered, 'I have felt.'"

True, Logic is not the only, not the mightiest force that moves humanity; and because it is not everything some good men appear well content to treat it as if it were nothing. This mode of dealing with the case is supported by the fact that many most sincere and excellent Christians, whose faith in Jesus Christ is the very life-blood of their being, yet are quite ignorant, and content in their ignorance, of logical proofs. And more, these simple earnest Christians are not only raised far above the need of external evidences; but they must be so, or they could not be Christians at all. They have no mental capacity to weigh evidence, and consequently if such a process were absolutely indispensable to a reception of Christianity they could not be Christians at all. Cowper describes them well;

"The light they walk by, kindled from above,
Shows them the shorted way to life and love:
They, strangers to the controversial field,
Where deists always fo'ld'd get scorn to yield,
And never checked by what impedes the wise,
Believe, rush forward and possess the prize."

An indisputable instance of faith growing up utterly independent of "evidences," may be watched by many a Christian parent in his own home. What sight on earth more beautiful, more heavenly, than the young child in whose breast the powers of thought and feeling and spiritual life are just stirring in the bud; as he kneels by his mother's knee and breathes out a simple prayer to the unseen, loving Father above; or as he breathlessly drinks in the "sweet story of old" while the tears gather in his eyes. It is impossible to doubt that that child's faith is genuine and acceptable in the sight of God, even as that of the philosopher who has traversed the whole round of human thought and done battle with every infidel objection. Deny the validity of the child's faith, and all Christian education is impossible. Admit it, and what becomes of the necessity of evidences? But in this respect millions remain children all their lives. They test their faith by their experience. Its roots strike deep down into their hearts, and strengthen their hold.

by day; but of any exterior demonstration of the truth of Christianity they remain in life long ignorance.

It would seem then that we are in danger of being thrust on to the horns of a dilemma. Either evidences of the truth of Christianity are necessary, or they are not. If they are then the faith of these simple-minded child like believers is wrong; or at least unsatisfactory, as being without the proper foundation. If they are not; then the labour of the long series of Christian apologists was wasted and the demand for evidences for the Chinese is a mistake. The dilemma however falls to the ground when we recognise the fact that there are great differences between one mind and another. There are minds to which the whole field of Christian evidences is a *terra incognita*, and who are rather the better for their ignorance of it, because they are destitute of the faculty of finding their way over it. There are other minds which cannot believe, I think we may say, ought not to believe without the perception of proofs and evidences which the former class do not require. Moreover the child and the peasant are naturally dependent on the parent and the philosopher. The child is ignorant of Paley and Butler, Grotius and Lardner; but he believes in his father. The peasant knows little or nothing about the proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred records, but he thinks his minister knows all about it. In all countries and in all times the few do the thinking for the many and the illogical are ruled unconsciously by the logical.

We are hampered in our inquiry, as to the need of evidences, by the lack of a definition of what Christianity is. I have been restrained partly by a sense of incompetency, partly by fear of stirring up controversy, from attempting a statement of the gospel. There is, I believe, a self evidencing power in Christianity; but not to all men, nor even to those who perceive it, equally at all times. But this self evidencing power does not abide in the same manner and degree in all parts of the Christian system. Take for an instance the grand central truth of the gospel, that God is our Father, that God is Love. The Christian may have first received this truth as the result of a chain of reasoning; but whether so received or not, I appeal to Christian experience as testifying that this glorious truth shines like the sun by its own light. At times the fogs and clouds of our earthly natures hide it from our eyes; but in our calmest, purest, heavenliest moods, when it seems as though scales had fallen off from our eyes, do we not then see this ultimate certainty, independent of our feeble rea-

ffable splendour, and so bathing our erst dark storm tost spirits in its blessed rays, that the last shadow of doubt is hunted out of the crookedest corner of our poor warped intellects, and for the time we do not so much believe as see? But this self-evidencing power of truth does not equally inhere in all truth. I cannot perceive that a past historical fact, such as that Jesus of Nazareth was crucified under Pontius Pilate can possibly be self-evident. Here at least we all need proof. Now the Christian revelation certainly rests upon a historical basis. We may therefore, despite the omission of a definition of the gospel, safely assume, I think, that it does require evidences of its truth. Moreover, granting the self-evidencing power of truth on its widest possible extent, it is certain that truth is not self-evident to the unbeliever. Truth is self-evident to the Christian because his eyes are purged. It is not self-evident to the unbeliever because his eyes are blinded. How is he to get his eyes opened but by going in faith to the great Physician? It is our aim to lead him into the sacred Presence; and for this some demonstration that He is the great and only Healer of humanity would seem indispensable.

Quiet observation of missionary preaching and its effects upon the hearers will confirm this conclusion. Attacks upon idolatry and superstition, are often, perhaps most often, received with good humoured and careless assent. The hearer smiles and nods, quite enjoying the destruction of popular fallacies, in which he has never had any hearty faith. What cares he if you smash the idols by your logic, and lay trains of reasoning to explode geomancy and divination and all his other inherited superstitions into fragments? He does not mean to abandon them for all that. Custom is mightier with him than logic; nor does he recognise the sinfulness, so much as the absurdity of the prevalent notions. Meantime, while he practises them with his kindred, he is ready enough to laugh at them with you. But now the preacher assails him with moral appeals, speaks of duty and purity, and love. He may listen uneasily, but he listens without any inclination to dispute. When the missionary rises to higher ground, proclaims the Supreme Lord of the Universe, the true object of all worship, the Judge, the Benefactor, the Father of all, a solemn hush sometimes creeps over the assembly, and the great announcement is received with a half-believing half-incredulous awe. But when the preacher goes on to proclaim the more peculiar doctrines of Christianity, it is perceptible that he no longer carries his audience along with him as

death, the Resurrection and Ascension, do not *command* assent by the mere statement of them, as did the former class of truths.

Some persons cut the Gordian knot by abruptly ascribing all unbelief immediately to the wickedness of the human heart. They tell us "doubt is Devil born." "The man ought to believe, and if he does not it is just owing to the depravity of his heart, and so there is no more to be said." Is there not indeed? Then have you nothing to say to the poor suppliant who agonising after Faith, implores you to help him to solve his doubts? Nay; doubt is not necessarily sin, though it be the result of sin. By vicious indulgence a man has brought on a disease which has deprived him of sight. His blindness is the result of sin; but it is not his present fault that he cannot see. Past sin has brought him into a condition, from which no deep repentance, no earnest desire to be pure can now avail to save him. So Faith and Unbelief are not simply and purely voluntary. In its form of intellectual assent, the only voluntary element is the willingness to receive and weigh evidence. As the evidence, if sufficient, will when introduced into the mind, inevitably result in conviction; so on the other hand, a man may be honestly desirous to believe, and from deficiency in the evidence, be positively, unable to do so. Not that I would overlook the interference of moral alienation from the truth in the judgment of evidence. Of some our Lord said "How can ye believe, which receive honour one from another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only?" He saw that their craving for the praise of men, so biased their minds that they could not be rightly affected by the clearest evidence. But He also said "If I had not done among them the works that none other man did, they had not had sin." He condemned them for unbelief because it was unbelief in the presence of full, clear and sufficient evidence. We however cannot judge the hearts, and may mistake as to the sufficiency of evidence, and should therefore be chary of putting down all infidelity to a perverse love of darkness rather than light. Let us be patient. The doubter of to-day may be the believer of to-morrow. Impatient censure of the pupil's stupidity betrays incompetency in the teacher. So imputing of evil motives to the infidel may sometimes be traced to an unacknowledged consciousness in the Christian advocate's mind of the feebleness of his own arguments.

I think we shall be agreed then that the study of evidences has a real and important place in missionary work. In my next article I hope to consider the Christian evidences as

ON THE PURCHASING OF SLAVE GIRLS BY CHRISTIANS.

Read before the Foochow Missionary Conference April, 1869.

BY REV. S. L. BALDWIN.

The subject assigned for discussion at this meeting is embodied in the following question:—

"Should Chinese Christians be allowed to purchase girls for servants in the manner usually practised among the heathen at Foochow?"

In order to a full understanding of the subject, let us first inquire into the sources and methods of the traffic in slave girls at Foochow. It is well known that several hundred girls, between the ages of four and twelve, are annually sold in this city as slaves. Many of them are sold by their own parents, who generally plead poverty as their excuse for thus parting with their daughters. A large proportion, however, are brought here for sale from the prefectures of Hing-hwa and Chiong-chiu. The regions of these prefectures bordering on the sea coast are in a chronic state of anarchy. Villages are constantly at war with each other; and it frequently happens that the victorious party captures children belonging to the vanquished. These are held for ransom, at such prices as the victors choose to place upon them. If they are not ransomed, they are then brought to Foochow, to be sold as slaves. Another source of supply is kidnapping. Organized bands of kidnappers exist, whose business it is to steal children in the country districts of this prefecture, and in other prefectures of the province. It is extremely difficult to ascertain to what extent this is carried on, or to estimate what proportion of the slave girls annually sold here is derived from this source. Kidnappers are held in great detestation both by the civil officers and the people. A few years ago, several men who were convicted of this crime were sentenced to death by starvation; and the sentence was carried into effect by placing them in cages, in which they were compelled to stand upright, and in which they were so placed that only a part of the foot could rest upon the floor. They were kept in this position, without food or water, until death came to their relief. While kidnapping is held in such abhorrence, there seems to be no general feeling of opposition to the sale of female children by their own parents, or by those who have captured them in battle.

When girls are brought to Foochow for sale, whether by their parents or others, they are not usually sold by them in the first instance to persons who wish to use them as servants in their own families. They are sold to certain middle-men, or go-betweenes, who are well-known as being engaged in this business

paid for them vary from \$30 to \$100, according to the age and relative attractiveness of the girls. They are then sold for prices varying from 30 to 80 per cent. advance on the cost price. The best looking girls are very often sold for infamous purposes, even when a promise has been made to the parents to sell them only as servant girls. When thus sold, from \$200 to \$300 are obtained for girls who would bring only \$70 or \$80, if sold as servants. The men who deal in slave girls at the city frequently go down themselves into the lower prefectures, and buy young girls of their poor parents for a few thousand cash. In such cases, of course, their profit in selling them is relatively much larger.

In regard to the number of female slaves, and the manner in which they are treated, I quote a paragraph from the Rev. J. Doolittle's "Social Life of the Chinese," Vol. II, p. 212. "Female slaves are quite numerous among rich families and the families of mandarins. It is said that occasionally very wealthy families have several tens, which are distributed around among the children as they are married off. This large number is not common; but many rich families are reported to have six, eight, or ten; while, generally speaking, all the families which can afford the expense, and require such help, procure one or more. It is regarded as less expensive to buy a female slave than to hire female help to aid in the care of children and in the management of the affairs of the household. Though bought with money, female slaves are treated by their owners very much as women hired to work as servants are treated in western lands, except that no wages are given them, and that they are at no expense for their food and clothing. They are regarded as a tolerably safe investment of money, for they are readily disposed of as wives or as slaves by their masters in case they become poor."

I may add that, while in respectable families it is considered disgraceful to treat a slave girl cruelly, or to compel her to a vicious course of life, my inquiries lead me to believe that cases are by no means infrequent in which they are compelled by their masters to yield to illicit practices, or in case of their refusing to do so, are treated with great cruelty. My own teacher informs me that his elder brother had such a girl in his family, who cheerfully waited upon him in the presence of his wife, but who refused to be alone with him, when his wife was absent, and who—because of her unwillingness to comply with his unlawful desires—was punished by having her flesh burnt in several places with a red hot iron. Though we may hope that in a majority of cases the poor girls are not subjected to such trials in addition to their enforced life of drudgery, we have reason to believe that such instances are not very rare.

I now proceed to state the objections to the purchase of such girls by native Christians.

1.—Such purchasing is an indorsement and encouragement of the practice of selling slave

opium question, when they say, "Foreigners bring the opium here." we frequently reply, "True; but you native people encourage them to do so, by buying it. If you would cease to buy, they would soon cease to sell." The same argument may be applied to the practice in question. Every man who purchases a slave girl gives the weight of his influence, and the encouragement of his personal sanction, to the perpetuation of the system. It may be said that the few purchases which can possibly be made by native Christians will have no influence on the general traffic. To which it is sufficient to reply that it is no less a Christian man's duty to cast all his influence against wrong, when that influence is comparatively insignificant, than when it is all-powerful. Let it be settled from the outset that Christians will have nothing to do with the purchase of slaves; and then as Christianity grows and becomes a power in the land, it will have great influence in eradicating the evil. A Christian man would not think of going to a store notorious for receiving stolen goods, to make his purchases. The principle that "the partaker is as bad as the thief" finds a response in every man's conscience. If, then, I believe it would be wrong for me to sell my daughter, or the daughter of another man, I have no right to indorse the practice by buying of those who do so.

I will not argue the general question of the propriety of slaveholding, as there are still some who defend it among missionaries in China. It is enough to say that the arguments urged in defence of slavery do not apply to the case in hand. Those arguments are based generally on the authority supposed to have been given by the Almighty for the enslavement of the descendants of Ham; and no one that I know of holds it to be right for Chinese parents to sell their children as slaves, or for any person to hold Chinese children as slaves, whether purchased from their parents or from other persons. Until some such man of straw sets himself up, we may as well save our ammunition; and when he does, a single gleam from the Golden Rule will be sufficient for his utter discomfiture.

It is further to be objected to this practice, that those who engage in it desire profit from the purchase and sale of their fellow-beings. A Christian, of course, will not sell his slave girl to be the slave of another; but he will sell her to be the wife of another, and consider that he is performing a highly honorable act in so doing. He purchased her, perhaps, for \$40. He has had her service for several years, in return for the expense of her board and clothing. He betrothes her in marriage for \$60, \$70 or \$80. He finds it a profitable investment, and is quite ready to try it again. Now, if this be encouraged among native Christians, it will soon become the rule that every family wealthy enough will have a slave girl; and the Christian Churches of China will soon become slaveholding Churches, without even the poor apology of the "curse of

Let us turn now to inquire, What are the reasons usually urged in favor of the purchase of such girls? I am only aware of two. The first is, that Christians by buying such girls may save them from a life of infamy. But this is very problematical. As I have before remarked, only the most attractive among the girls are doomed to such a life. They command a very high price, and are just the ones that native Christians would not buy. Those whom they would buy are not at all likely to be destined to such a life. I am inclined to give exceedingly slight weight to this reason, when urged by a native Christian for the purchase of a slave girl.

The other reason I have heard mentioned is, that Christians by purchasing these girls bring them under Christian instruction, and insure their marriage to Christian men. These objects are desirable enough in themselves, but have we any right to secure them, by first encouraging the traffic in slave girls by our purchases, and then by ourselves holding them as slaves? Is it right to "do evil, that good may come?" It seems to me that until we are ready to adopt this jesuitical principle, we cannot justify the purchase and holding of Chinese slave girls by native Christians. Although these are the reasons given by those who wish to purchase girls for servants, I fear that the real reasons may be found in two of the sentences already quoted from Mr. Doolittle: "It is regarded as less expensive to buy a female slave than to hire female help to aid in the case of children and in the management of the affairs of the household. *** They are regarded as a tolerably safe investment, for they are readily disposed of as wives or as slaves by their masters in case they become poor;" and, I may add, in case they don't become poor, as well.

Yet, I would not be understood as holding that it is absolutely wrong, under all circumstances, for a Christian to purchase a slave girl. If the sole object be to save her from a life of slavery, it may be right to pay to those who hold her the price they demand; on the same principle that we would purchase the freedom of a friend from a band of free-booters who were holding him for ransom. In neither case would we acknowledge the right of the parties to sell; we simply recognize the stubborn fact that they have possession, and that it is impossible for us to carry our benevolent design toward the injured party without paying the money demanded by the oppressor. If a Chinese Christian really wishes to make such a purchase, as an act of pure benevolence, he can adopt the child as his daughter. There is a regular form which he can use in such a case; and he will then have no right to treat her as a slave. This will afford a good test of his sincerity.

The conclusion, then, to which I arrive is this: That no native Christian should be allowed to purchase a girl as a slave, and to hold her as such; and that, in order to pre-

disciplinary offence for a church member to purchase a slave girl, unless he immediately frees her by adopting her as his own daughter in regular form.

I am bound to say, however, that I consider the theory of the adoption as daughters of slave girls by those who have bought them among us, without giving regular papers of adoption, to be "a delusion and a snare." They are servant girls, and nothing else; and I believe it to be our duty to put a stop to the practice. I wish, at the same time, we might put a stop to the utterly heathenish—not to say infernal—practice of *selling* daughters for wives and of buying wives like cows or hogs, for so many dollars a head. But if we cannot at once do away with the latter evil, there is at least no apology for the continued existence of the former. There is no reason of necessity, growing out of the customs of the country, to be urged in its favor. It is entirely optional with each individual to buy or refrain from buying; and it seems clear to me that we should keep the church free from the evil.

TRIP TO KIEN-NING.

(Continued.)

In my former article, we had just arrived at the city of Kucheng. This is a city of about 50,000 inhabitants, is the capital of Kucheng District, and is surrounded by a wall about 15 feet high and 10 feet thick. The river along which we traveled in getting here passes along a few rods from the wall; it has a fine bridge over it, about 300 feet long, which is very high. If the water ever rises so as to require so high a bridge, it must overflow the entire city; the stream is so quiet you would hardly recognize it as the mad stream you had seen below. The valley is about a mile wide here, and is finely cultivated. The hills around are devoted to fruit and oil trees of different kinds. But as we are getting near the Sabbath, we will speak of the religious advantages of the place. The English Episcopal Mission has a station here, but how many members in connection I am not able to say. The American Methodist Episcopal Mission station was the one we came to see, and to stir up the minds of the members of, and of course we put up there. They have a very convenient chapel, and rooms for the helper in charge and his family, and also a comfortable prophet's chamber when he comes along. Bro. B. had a love feast in the morning of the next day, and in the afternoon a sermon and the communion service; there are between 20 and 30 members, male and female, and it is quite a remarkable fact, that all the wives of all the married male members are also members; and it is

intelligent looking company of ladies together. We had a very interesting day of it, notwithstanding the clouds wept more or less all day.

Bro. B. had started with the intention of visiting this place, and from here to proceed to the station at Yen-ping. I had understood him Kien-ning-foo. When we arrived the question came up, where to go from here. As no missionary had been on the route, he decided on the latter, as a tour of observation. On inquiring about distances we found that it was much like the place the boy went to as a clerk. Writing to his mother, he said "it was a great business place and very central, as you could start from it to go to any part of the world;" so this was 240 li to Yen-ping, and the same to Kien-ning-foo and Foochow, and to another place up the river. We had made arrangements for coolies and chairs Saturday evening to be ready early on Monday; but when it came, they could not go, as the owner of the chairs wanted more cash, and it rained a little. But we would not be squeezed, and some of the brethren started out and found one chair, and the head cooley said there was another at the end of the first stage; so they decided I must ride, as I was young. Finally we got off about 12 miles into this terra incognita, where it was said that no white man had been before. We came out of the city on the north and took a course, I should say N. W., and kept near a nice little stream that wound its way through a fine valley from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide. We soon found we were in a new country, the roads generally a mere cowpath, and seldom paved. Often the bridges were only 4 or 5 poles pinned together, but the land was well cultivated at this season with a fine crop of wheat. Often there were patches of Oil plant, the only name I could ever get for it, till lately at the Custom house I heard the seed called "Oil pea." When I first came here, and saw it growing, I thought it was Mustard. The plant grows very rank and very branching; as the stems grow they put out yellow blossoms, which are followed by legumes about the size of a pipe stem, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, full of peas the size of largest shot (not cannon balls). This keeps on till the crop is harvested. When the oil is pressed in the neighbourhood where grown, the whole plant is ground and pressed as described in the last paper, though probably with a loss of product. Well, we came to the end of the stage; it was the neatest and best built place I have seen in the country. The houses were mostly brick, and with ornamental corners and doors; and there was the coveted chair. My coolies somehow got the idea that my happiness was too great for them to carry, and told Bro. B. that I had better

take the other chair. I was perfectly satisfied, as it was more comfortable, but was sorry for the boys who carried it. While we were waiting for the chair, Bro. B. was distributing tracts and preaching to the crowd. Among them I noticed a slim man about my height, who manifested a great interest in the subject; and from the working of the mind, as manifest in the face, I set him down as probably Bro. B.'s class leader of the future church here. As we were about to start, he disappeared. We went on about a li, and came to a very fine establishment; when who should be in the door but he? We could hardly break away from his solicitations for us to stop, and stay all night. If I had been Bro. B. and alone, I should have stopped, as there seemed to be a door open. We went on up the valley, passing in sight of many villages. On most of the farms, there were little joss-houses to appearance, but on coming near them, we found they were little kilns into which they collected the rice stubble and burnt it; and as I afterwards found, used it for making poudrette, which they use on the hills, while planting wheat thereon. We also saw on the hills large plantations of the tēng oil tree; they are very beautiful trees when in full blossom and leaf, which is in May. There are several varieties of them. They grow to about 15 feet, are spreading, and would make a fine shade tree about a house or street. The leaves are about the size of a dining plate, and heart shaped, and in some of the varieties three lobed, deep cut, and of a beautiful light green. The flowers put out at the end of each branch, in large open bunches, like the catalpa or horse chestnut flowers, white and large as wild roses; the fruit is round or egg-shaped, according to the variety, and appears like hickory nuts with the shuck on. One dear brother gave me his experience with them. When out on a trip, he opened the shuck and found a white substance under it. He put a little in his mouth, found it quite pleasant, and swallowed it. In a short time he was attacked with vomiting, and by the time that was over, was taken with looseness of the bowels, after recovering from which, the name was so impressed on the mind, that he remembers it still. Though near sighted, can see the trees two miles off. The oil is made in the same way as from the others. It is very poisonous, and dealers often mix it with other kinds of oil to keep the rats from them. I have thought it might be used in medicine with benefit in many cases. We came to a large village, but it was so dirty, we concluded to go on to a mill, a short distance ahead. Bro. B. went into a back street to scatter his tracts. We waited sometime, but he did not appear, and some one thought he

had got ahead by another road. So we started on, soon struck his trail, and finally came up with him at a place where the bottom of the road had fallen out, the stream having undermined it. We had to dismount, and try the experiment of walking a crack between two terraces, and run the chance of going down into the mud up to the knees, or stepping off the other side. By using my cane to fend off, I got over safely. The older heads got along well enough; so I took a smoke to celebrate the feat. We went on, and the valley becoming very narrow, we skirted along the side of a hill sometime, and on turning a point a very fine village appeared a little distance below us. The coolies whipped up on the descending grade, and soon drew up and dropped us at what they called a tavern, but which looked more like a bone boiling establishment, and did not smell well to our refined olfactories. By turning out a lot of opium smokers, they gave us a tolerable room. After supper Bro. B. took his book and went below, and for an hour taught the people. When he returned he reported this as a place of over 1,000 people, and all of the same surname. I tried to counteract the opium smoke by tobacco smoke, but had to give it up and go to bed. In the morning after breakfast and other duties were over, we started on notwithstanding the clouds were inclined to weep. Shortly we crossed the brook, and began to ascend the mountains. The road was so poor that even I was forced to walk. We came up into a very densely wooded mountain, and apparently a part of the primeval forest passed at Dragon's Breath. The trees were very large, and of different kinds; one particularly attracted our notice, and on enquiring of our head cooley, who appears to be quite a literary character, and is a big enough rascal to be such, said it was a tree that would not burn, (probably of the Bass, wood family.) Build a fire against it, and you could scorch the surface, but then it would go out. Some of them were 3 feet in diameter and 50 or 60 feet high, very full of foliage, the leaves lance shape and thick and deep green, 10 or 12 inches long. We concluded it must be the Salamander tree. We continued to ascend, and must have got between two and three thousand feet, at any rate were among the clouds, when in the thickest of the forest we came suddenly upon an extensive Taoist temple, and from here on, all the temples we passed were of that order. They worship reason, but did not show it in putting their temple up here out of the world; probably it was to get so far towards heaven, at any rate. It was a comfortable place to stop at in a shower. We passed on about on a level for a short time, and coming out of the woods, the cloud had lifted and was

all at once we had a splendid view of a lake extending for miles. Here and there rocky islets lifted themselves above the waters, covered with evergreens, and the surging waters were dashing themselves up the deep ravines among the mountains. It was a scene of wonderful beauty, and we stopped to gaze and admire. Bro. B. remarked he never had seen such a lake on the maps. Mr. C. said he had not observed it. I knew it as soon as I cast my eyes upon it. I had seen it at home 40 years ago; and I finally remarked, that the fact was we were between two clouds, and in a few moments we saw it creeping up the mountains. We descended quite rapidly along the mountain side, and observed numerous little excavations in the bank, bricked up partly in front and containing 1 to 3 jars sealed up. The people burn the dead, and put the ashes in these jars and deposit them in these places. Friend C. remarked "these must be potted ancestors," which we immediately voted as a smart remark, though he was so modest as not to claim it as original. Directly we were passing along the bottom and passed through a large village, which from the character the coolies gave it, should be at the bottom of a lake we read of. We ascended another mountain, and came to a clearing where we had a fine view of mountains covered with bamboo. We stopped, took lunch, passed down into a valley, and began to see patches of tea on the hill sides. Finally towards night we came to a large village, at the other side of a roaring mountain stream, with a fine covered bridge. The coolies dropped us as we entered the bridge, and said it was the place to stop; and verily it was. The landlord, when he found he was to have such distinguished guests, was up to the occasion, turned all creation out of doors, was here and there and everywhere in a moment, giving orders like the commander of a steam frigate clearing decks for action. He gave us the best room in the house, and as it was new and not finished, and partly over the water, was all the more airy. He cleared out all the old bedding and left us only new mats, and gathering that white folks would want from 2 to 3 beds apiece, left 10 for our use. It was beautiful to see him in the evening, after asking liberty, with such tenderness and respect, help his mother of 80 or 90 years into the room, to gratify her curiosity to see some outside barbarians before she died. The filial piety of this people is a shame to Christian nations, and probably may be one great reason for their preservation as a nation so long, notwithstanding their degradation and corruption otherwise. Well, we had a fine night's rest, and a pleasant morning to start with. The landlord thanked us for conde-

the poor accommodations he had to offer, and we from our full stomachs thanked him for his kindness and hospitality. We passed along for 2 or 3 miles in a winding valley with here and there fine patches on the hills on the one hand, and pine and bamboos with occasionally a fine palm lifting up its head among them on the other. We finally began the ascent of a long hill. On one side was an isolated hill, round as a dome, and rising 200 or 300 feet, covered with tea. On the other side was a large grove of palms. We finally reached the top, and stopped at a rest house around which was a little village. Passing on we came on to a mountain terrace. On the left, the height was some 1,500 feet, on the right, about 2,000 feet below, was a most beautiful valley of two or three thousand acres, as even as a floor, and covered with the greenest carpet of wheat. Two or three villages dotted the sides, and looked beautifully distance lending enchantment to the view. This valley apparently shut out from the world by precipitous mountains, seemed the abode of peace and content. But those temples showed that the serpent had his coils around their hearts, to mar the beauty that seemed to dwell there. We passed on, and had a constant change of mountain scenery but toward the end of the stage we had a long rise along the side of the mountain and finally came to a large gateway with a high barrier on each side—to the mountain, on one hand, and to the edge of a gulf on the other, 100 or 200 feet deep. This was the line between the prefectures of Foochow and Kien-ning. From this our way was, in the general, descending to the latter place. We now arrived into the tea district, and on all sides could see large and apparently flourishing plantations, and in the course of the day, passed quite a stream, down which the tea finds its way to a market on the Min. After it gets out of the reach of this, it finds a more convenient market at Kien-ning-foo. The form of the country rapidly changes to hills of 200 or 300 feet high, the vales of course devoted to rice in summer, and wheat and garden vegetables in winter, and fruit also is cultivated, giving it the appearance of home farms. By night we came to a little huddle of houses on the side of a beautiful valley, and just in front was a nice orchard of fruit trees in full blossom. We got a pretty airy room, with a pleasant view from our attic window, into which the perfume of the blossoms came, tempering very much the smoke from below, and we passed a comfortable night. In the morning, one of my coolies, who had declared he would go no farther, finding we were not at all alarmed, came along, as peaceful as a lamb, with his chair. We passed over

with many fine villages, and the general aspect of country and people was that of greater wealth and comfort, than of any part we had passed over. On getting at the top of a pretty high hill we caught a view of the walls and towers of the city. The view seemed to invigorate my coolies, as they started almost on a run, and left the rest far in the rear. Making good time we came out at the pavilion above the ferry, nearly an hour ahead. When the company came up, we concluded to lunch before crossing the ferry. We finally got into the city about 2 o'clock. We sent out my man to find a boat, and in an hour he came in with a boy captain who would take us to Yenping, certainly by Saturday morning, at the price we agreed on. He persuaded us to go on board as he wanted to start very early in the morning.

Yours truly,

U. S. M.

Foochow, Jan. 1870.

(To be continued.)

THE LITTLE BLIND GIRL.

[For the children of Missonaries in China. A blind girl was found near the Ponasang Station, of the American Board Mission, Foochow, China, November 12th 1868. From a paper found about her it would seem her father had either brought or sent her there. Her age was said to be five years, but she is not larger than a foreign child of two.]

'Twas a drear November morning,
And the air was very chill,
When we found a little blind girl
Lying on the hill;
Two garments wrapped around her,
Two garments worn and old,
Were all that warmed the child
Amid the cheerless cold.
A paper told the story,
The story all so sad,
Why she was blind, and starving,
And why so thinly clad;
The hand of sickness touched her,
Then she grew blind—it said,
The father—very poor,
The mother dear was dead.

I know not how a father
Could leave his blind child there;
Was it done in selfish gladness,
Or done in wild despair?
May be his heart was heavy,
And he dashed away the tear,
And murmured "Precious darling!"

Perchance—Ah, shall we think it !
 (His was a heathen mind)
 He thought " She's but a burden,"
 " *A girl* " — " then too, *all blind.* "
 We know not how he felt,
 If his heart were sad or free,
 As he left that little child—
 A waif upon the sea.

On that drear November morning
 When the air was very chill,
 And we found the little blind girl
 Lying on the hill,
 She was moaning all so sadly,
 With clothing far too thin,
 " It rains—the wind is blowing,
 O mother, take me in ! "
 Within our home of plenty
 The board was spread with cheer,
 But we did not taste a morsel
 While that poor child was there ;
 Oh no, we brought her in,
 The starving, homeless girl,
 And the name by which we call her
 Is little " Gathered Pearl."

Kind friends have made their offerings
 To comfort, cheer, and bless
 This patient little traveler
 Through Life's strange wilderness ;
 And day by day the children
 Pray God to let her see,
 To make her well, and happy,
 And that she good may be ;
 And on the blessed Sunday,
 In the crowded thoroughfare,
 Is seen our gentle blind girl
 Borne to the House of Prayer ;
 In church, and school she hears
 Of Him who healed the blind,
 May He let the light of life
 Beam full upon her mind !
 And when this world is over,
 All passed her darksome night,
 May her eyes behold the beauty
 Of heaven's eternal light !

FOOCHOW, Jan. 1st, 1870.

F.

ADDRESS ON THE MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA.

BY REV. HENRY BLODGET.

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, held its 80th anniversary, in the city of Pittsburgh Penn—convening on the 5th of October 1869, and adjourning on the 8th. During the third day, the con. John B. Page chairman of the Committee on the China mission of the Am. Board submitted the following Report:—

"The missions in China have made encouraging progress during the year. The number of laborers in the field has been increased by the addition of eleven, making in all that have been sent out under this Board, and now in

the work, thirty-eight. To this we must add the native agency of preachers and teachers—thirty-three—and we have a total of *seventy-one* persons (under the auspices of this Board) engaged in evangelizing China. The work of preparation is well begun, and the fruits of toil are just beginning to be gathered. The Scriptures are translated, schools are established, the Gospel is preached, conversions are reported, churches are formed, but the great ingathering of souls is yet to come. Should not the great question be, can we hasten it one day?"

Rev. Mr. Blodget of the North China Mission made the following address:—which we take from the supplement of the *PITTSBURGH COMMERCIAL*, Oct. 9th 1869.

This is my first attendance at a meeting of the American Board. I appear among you after an absence of fifteen years from my native land, six of which were spent in Shanghai, three in Tientsin, and five in Peking. This day I gratefully acknowledge, in your presence, the living kindness of God to me and to mine, His protecting care, providential guidance, His great long suffering, and His sustaining grace. If any thing good and praiseworthy has been wrought, glory belongs wholly to Him.

The *Missionary Herald* has laid before you the facts in the history of the North China Mission. In reading that journal you have noted the illness and death of three members of the Mission at Shanghai, the return to this country of all the remaining members save one, the removal of the Mission to North China, the increase of its members, and the establishment within seven years of four different stations, along a line of two hundred and twenty miles, in four important cities, including Peking, the capital of the Empire. You have learned also of the formation of infant churches at each of these four stations, containing in all nearly fifty members, eight of which have been added during the past few months, and you are aware of the present flourishing condition of the Mission.

For these things we are bound to thank God and take courage. During the few moments in which I may now address you, I shall present several reasons for the vigorous prosecution of the missionary work in China.

And before all, I cite the Great Commission, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature:" the promise also, "Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Be these our answer to all who look with indifference or incredulity upon this work, or who refuse to have any part in its performance. No ploughman in the field; no smith at his anvil, has so clear a warrant for the labor he performs, as he who crosses seas to remote lands to preach the gospel of Jesus.

We may well leave the success of His work to Him, who, possessing all power in heaven and earth, has plainly commanded it; and encourage ourselves meanwhile in the abundant and glorious promises of the word.

it is reason for those who tunnel mountains and join oceans to perform in cheerfulness and hope their daily toil, without concern as to the result, how much more reasonable for him who executes the plans of the Eternal God and is engaged in the work for which the world still stands?

An individual Christian proves the reality of his faith by the obedience to Christ's commands. A church proves itself to be indeed a church in the same manner. Be it ours by obedience to this plain command, which is acknowledged by the universal church, and by the faith, the self-denial, the abundant contributions, the earnest prayers, the steadfast toil and patient waiting which it will cost us in this, the most difficult of all fields, and by the rich harvest which, with God's blessing, we shall reap, in Christian churches planted all over the land to prove that we do love the Lord, that we are *truly* his church. In the centuries to come what argument from the form of government or order of worship of the churches which now support the American Board can be brought forward, so effectual to prove them to have been true churches of Jesus Christ, as that which will arise from their faithful, self-denying, successful prosecution of the work of foreign missions?

Christianity and Christian missions stand or fall together. How can any body of men claim to be a true church and yet say this command and this promise are not for them? Or, receiving these, how can they refuse to obey the one and claim the other?

2. The very magnitude and difficulty of the work is a reason for its vigorous prosecution. When such a work is before us we cannot afford to be idle, nor dare we be faint hearted. We need to form some proper estimate of what is to be done, and engage at once with all our powers in its performance.

And what work so great and so difficult as the conversion of China to God? I need not remind you of its immense domain, more than twice as large as that of the United States, being one-tenth of the whole habitable globe; nor of its great population, more than ten times as numerous as that of our own country, constituting one-third of the entire human race; of its language, the most difficulty to be mastered of all foreign tongues; of its manners, customs and institutions, the most diverse from our own, as it would seem, which are possible for a civilized nation to have; for its three ancient systems of religious belief, one of which traces back its history to the earliest uninspired records of mankind, and all of which are deeply rooted in the minds of people, and interwoven in the fabric of their society, of the numerous minor cliques or religious fraternities which exist among the lower classes of the people; of the intense nationality of all, resulting from their having one origin, one language, a common religion, and from having been for so long a time uni-

Superadded to all these there is the intense Atheism of the Chinese mind, its indifference to all religion. It is difficult to conceive such utter unconcern about the future life, whether of happiness or of misery. and such total engrossment in material interests. Their horizon of religious thought is formed by heaven above and earth beneath; the dual powers of nature which produce all things, and by "father and mother," who in many things are enthroned in the place of God. To them death is annihilation, heaven a good heart, hell a bad heart, while tranquility of life, wealth, office, posterity, longevity are the five kinds of happiness which constitute the chief good.

In so vast a nation, so welded together, and bound about by custom, language, religion, government, and withal so atheistic, what can the teacher of the Christian faith do? If his task is difficult among the disintegrated tribes of Africa, and in the islands of the sea, how much more so in China, which is, as it were, the very fortress and citadel of heathendom?

Yet the magnitude and difficulty of the work, so far from producing despondency and feebleness of endeavor, should incite to the most vigorous exertions of which the church is capable. Thus only can the result be obtained. Thus only can the duty of love and obedience to our Divine Master be discharged.

3. We must prosecute this work because many branches of the Christian Church have engaged and are still engaged in it. We must perform our part. God will have no idlers in His service. Each division of His militant host must engage in the conflict.

In the sixth century missionaries of the Nestorian Church, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries missionaries of the Latin Church made their way by long journeys over high Asia, to spread the Gospel in China. In these latter centuries missionaries of the same church have been distinguished by their patient, long continued, and self-denying efforts in this field. The Greek Church also has had for many years her representatives in Peking.

We do not pronounce judgment upon their efforts. So far as the true knowledge of God, the creator of heaven and earth, and of pardon in the blood of Jesus Christ, His son, has been taught, so far all these were builders in the temple of God, and their zeal, enterprise and self-denial should provoke us who strive to teach only the word of God without admixture of error.

At the present time, also, many branches of the church, from different lands, have entered this field. The work, so vast and so difficult, is engrossing the attention of Christians as never before. We are not alone in what we do. Let us be encouraged by their presence, and stimulated by their co-operation, while we enter into all that is valuable in what has been wrought in times that are past.

4. The providences of God call upon all Christians at the present time to use the most vigorous exertions for the conversion of China.

Before stating what those providences are to which I allude, permit me to refer to one or two facts and principles bearing upon this subject. The command to preach in all the world and to every creature is, as we all know, an *unconditional command*. There is no clause allowing Christians to wait until, by rapidity and ease of communication, China should be brought near and made an adjacent kingdom; or until, through internal weakness and the fear of foreign arms, its authorities should be compelled to concede to their subjects religious liberty and to foreign missionaries liberty in their work; or until the existing systems of heathenism should be *effete*, and the people disgusted with idolatry, and sighing for deliverance should humbly entreat the blessing of the gospel. Rather if we regard the words of the Savior and the example of the early Christians, they were to go alike to lands near, and to lands remote in the face of all opposition and all difficulties, and declare the gospel message. So far as the great commission of the Savior and the destitution of the people are concerned, China has been open to the gospel for 1800 years, and the duty of evangelizing the nation has always been an urgent one.

Although the command and the duty have always been such, yet in these last days God has removed difficulties, and made the way more easy to his people, thus inciting and encouraging them to perform this duty. By the rapidity and regularity of steam and telegraphic communication, God has, as it were, removed China and brought her near to the Christian nations of the West. Her wants are spread out before them. She stands like a dumb beggar, pleading by her manifest necessities for the help which Christians only can give. China is now distant but about forty days travel from Christian England, while twenty-four days travel separate the Churches in the Pacific States of America, and one month's travel the Churches in the Atlantic States from this heathen nation. In a few years telegraphic communication will be immediate. The journey will be really less—less in time, discomfort and danger, than those so often performed by Whitfield in his crossing the Atlantic to labor in our land.

Add to this the establishment of twenty-five colonies, composed of merchants, traders, artisans, seamen, editors, chaplains, from Christian lands, under Christian government and protection, located at various points on the seaboard of China, in the interior and in the islands of Formosa and Japan, distant, as they are, hundreds or even in some cases nearly two thousand miles from each other, thereby serving each of them, as a key to remote regions, and affording easy access, as they do, to the central portions of the coun-

tercourse regularly with each other, and with the various nations of the West, standing like bulwarks of christian civilization and power amid the hostile forces of heathenism, and we see what God has wrought for the evangelization of nations of the East. He has not only brought China and Japan near to christian nations, but has brought christian nations in their colonies, near to China and Japan, and planted them in their very midst.

Here in these colonies christian missionaries may dwell securely and teach the heathen. Liberty has also been granted to travel in China by passport, in all parts of the land. Foreign missionaries are allowed by treaty to buy land in any province and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure. Moreover, the Christian Religion has been pronounced by the Emperor in his treaties with western nations, a good religion, teaching the law of love and the practice of virtue. He has promised to protect all who embrace this religion, or who teach it to others.

Something like our present position may be seen in another light, if we might suppose a decree to have emanated from the Roman Emperor Tiberius, and to have been ratified by his successors, commending the Christian religion, and allowing the Apostles and early Christians to proceed unmolested to Italy, to Rome, to Africa, to Spain, to Gaul, to Britain, to all parts of the Roman Empire and in every place to declare their new doctrines, to baptize converts, and to observe all the customs of this religion in the most open manner, without public or private molestation, either to themselves or to their converts. I think the followers of Jesus under such circumstances would have judged that God had in very deed given the kingdom to His dear Son; and that the times of the restitution of all things which He had spoken by the mouth of His holy prophets had actually dawned upon the world. I think they would have offered themselves with an eagerness knowing no bounds to engage in the work of God, and to spread to the remotest land the grace of their crucified and ascended Redeemer.

God did not see fit to make the government of Rome at once tolerant of Christianity. He had a baptism of blood with which they were to be baptized. He called them to undergo it not only for the necessities of the times then present, but for the welfare of the Church in all after ages. They obeyed, singing psalms of praise, remembering Him who laid down His life for them. Let us remember, would that the whole church might remember, not only the precious blood of Jesus, but also the blood of our martyred

prosperity, when God has used the power of Christian nations to bind the persecuting power of heathen kingdoms, press on in their spirit to possess this whole empire for Christ! The pillar of cloud has already gone before us. The ark of the Lord and his tabernacles have to be carried forward and pitched in town and city, over the wide rolling plains, among the rugged mountains, in the fertile valleys, by the water courses and broad rivers, around the lakes and by way of the sea—that incense and a pure offering may ascend from every part of the land in honor of his name.

5. Our antecedents in this work compel us to go forward. We have put our hand to the plow and may not look back. After careful consideration of their personal duty, in a spirit of humble obedience to the command of the Redeemer, with all sincerity of heart and earnestness of purpose, our fathers in the Church entered upon the work of foreign missions. Some of them became laborers in the field; others upheld the laborers by fervent prayers, and liberal contributions. These have now fallen asleep, some of them in foreign parts, where their bones lie scattered in many lands, or even are buried in the depths of the ocean. Fidelity to the dead requires us to go forward. We must accomplish that which they purposed, and for which they prayed and toiled. It were an unworthy record that such a work languished and died on our hands.

Outside the city of Tientsin, in the open plain, is the cemetery of the British soldiers who fell in the war with China of 1860. Officers and privates lie buried together in that little enclosure, upon an enemy's territory, remote from their father land. Behold what men will do in the service of their country. Behold what a nation will do to revenge injuries, to extend trade, and to establish their power in foreign parts. Her buried dead are the price paid for the present political privileges of Britain in China. They are also the pledge of the future extension of her power.

The ashes of those peaceful warriors who fight under the banner of the cross, lie buried in many cemeteries over the hill sides, and on the plains of China, or sleep beneath the waters that girdle her coast. They tell us what men will do for the love of Jesus, and for the testimony of His name; what churches will do in obedience to His command, and to extend the blessing of His beneficent reign into all nations. They also are the price of our present enlargement, and the pledge of our future conquests. By these we claim the soil of China for Christ, the people of China for obedient subjects of His

In the face of such a history and such examples, to pause or to turn back is impossible. Our deserted work would be an insufferable disgrace. Our tower unfinished would cause men to mock and God to frown upon us. Nothing remains but that we should patiently and zealously carry forward this work to the end, waiting in its faithful performance for the coming of the Lord.

Seven years ago I performed a long journey in the province of Shansi. My way in part lay through a broad and fertile valley, bounded on the east and on the west by rugged and lofty mountains. One morning I set forth unusually early, long before the dawn of day, the night and darkness fitly representing the spiritual condition of the people among whom I journeyed. Gradually the first pale tints of light and the gray dawn appeared. Brighter and brighter grew the east, until at length the mountain tops caught the first beams of the rising sun, and shone in the glory of a new day. By slow degrees light crept down the mountain sides, chased away the shadows and the darkness, and, after long waiting, covered all the valley, entered every ravine and shaded glen, and bathed all nature in its joyous gladness.

Even so at this present time is the light of the sun of righteousness rising on China. His first beams have already fallen upon her lofty systems of error. Late has been the dawn. Yet it comes. Slowly the light descends illuminating her darkness in religion, morals, philosophy, government. Touched by its sacred rays the many millions of her people shall awake to a new life and joy. Eternity dawns upon their view. God, the creator, enters their thought. His government, providence, law, His infinite love and tenderness. From the cross stream forth pardon and peace. Human nature, emerging from its gloomy prison house, unfolds itself in this new and blessed light, which shall roll in ever increasing waves over the whole of its manifold wants and capacities.

What more shall I say? For us the Christian churches, Christian men and Christian women of America, commissioned and encouraged by the Lord Jesus for this most arduous and greatest work, stimulated to its performance by the example of the church in many ages and many lands, beckened onward by the providence of God, to stand still or to retrace our steps made impossible by our antecedents—to us the cry of dark China still is, "Light, more light."

[Our reason for inserting in the *RECORDER* the two following articles, which appeared in print nearly two years ago, is this; most of the newspapers published in Shanghai and Hongkong, are in the bad habit of supplying their readers with articles, either original or selected, very much like the first, on an average, several times a year, while they seldom contain any like the second. Our wish

justice of the former class of articles. This is done in the latter paper. We fain would hope that the admirers of such articles as "Rival Missions," will honestly and carefully consider the points made in the letter by a Protestant Observer while "Comparing Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions," before they write or print anything more on the subject. Ed.]

From the China Mail.

THE RIVAL MISSIONS.

No one who travels to any extent in the interior of this country can fail to be struck by the superior energy which is manifested by the Catholic as compared with the Protestant Missionary; nor can he remain unaware of the far greater influence which is exerted by the one than the other. While the Protestant Missionary resides comfortably at one or other of the treaty ports and makes an occasional visit into the interior, and that to no small distance, an exception, the Catholic establishes himself in some far off City; forgets all but the people by whom he is surrounded, and devotes himself with his utmost zeal to furthering the great cause to which his whole life is devoted.

He casts off his European clothes, and dresses as an ordinary Chinaman; he eats native food, lives in a native house, learns to speak the language fluently, and acquires what is of even greater influence with the Chinese, much of their peculiar style and manners. In little dirty Chinese houses, amidst poverty, sorrow and disease, he is to be found cheering the weak, helping the needy, curing the sick. He knows all that is going on in the town or district to which he is deputed; he takes a deep interest in the political and social movements affecting the Empire; and is thoroughly acquainted with its nature—with its strength and with its weakness, with its qualities and with its faults. Above all, he is careful to acquaint himself with the statistics concerning the spread of Christianity, and watches with interest the rise and progress of Christian Communities. We recollect being impressed by the discourse of a French Roman Catholic Missionary, who, standing at the top of one of the Fung-Wan-Shan hills, cast his eye round the plain which extended like a map before us and counted off the various Christian Communities in the neighbourhood—in that village so many thousands, here so many more. Such enthusiasm we thought deserved success and commendation—a life of sacrifice, of active devotion to a good cause; a complete abnegation of self—such is the career which the Catholic Missionary deliberately adopts for the furtherance of

forget his country, his friends and all other ties.

How different is the picture of the Protestant Missionary. Snug and comfortable, with home, wife, family, friends, society, all that makes life enjoyable, he passes his days at or near one of the treaty ports, in perfect security, peace and comfort. At times he may journey some little distance into the country, but staying at home is the rule, going away the exception. No doubt he does good in his sphere, but we think that sphere is too limited, too much, to use the inimitable simile of Abbé Huc, like scattering of Bibles on the sea shore, and too little adapted to the wants of a nation like China.

The quiet clergyman's house and the Church, after the model of what is found at home, is not what is required here. To accomplish any good, the preacher must be up and doing, away into the country; fearless of danger and careless of privation. This is the spirit in which the Catholic Missionaries proceed; and it is not to be wondered at that their energy is rewarded; that they are daily obtaining converts in scores to the Protestant's units. It is easy in an illiberal spirit, to attribute this to the greater similarity between Catholicism and the Chinese forms of religion, than between the latter and Protestantism. Something may be due to this, but much more of the Catholic's success results from his earnest enthusiasm, his noble self-devotion, his untiring energy.—*Shanghai Recorder.*

"THE RIVAL MISSIONS;" OR PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS COMPARED.

To the Editor of the "CHINA MAIL."

SIR,—During the last year I have noticed several papers published in China, or seen references to such papers, relating to the difference between the methods of conducting missions by Protestant and Roman Catholic Missionaries in China. In all of them preference was given to the latter, to the prejudice of the former. The course pursued by Roman Catholic Missionaries is spoken of with approbation, while that pursued by Protestant Missionaries is referred to in disparaging terms, sometimes in a manner to provoke a smile, at their expense.

For instance, an article in your issue of February 1st, titled "*The Rival Missions*," credited to the *Shanghai Recorder*, is one of the papers to which I have referred. I object to its statements as not being fair in

of the differences between the two classes of missionaries. If you will spare me room in your paper, I will state my views of the subject as briefly as possible under the circumstances.

1st.—In the first place, I object to the term “RIVAL Missions,” just as I would object to the term “*Rival*” being used to denote any differences that may exist between the German and the English or the American Missionaries, or between Missionaries of the Church of England and of Dissenters, or between Baptists and Pædo-Baptists, or between Methodist and Presbyterian Missionaries, or between English and American Missionaries. It has an ugly look and meaning, especially when used with reference to religious subjects and religious teachers.

2nd.—I have yet to learn that the Roman Catholic Missionary exerts “*a far greater influence*” than the Protestant Missionary. There was a time, between two and three hundred years ago, when the former exerted a greater influence than the latter now does in regard to several subjects. Now-a-days the former are looked upon with suspicion and dread, in some places, by the Mandarins, because they interfere between themselves and the Catholic Chinese in various ways. Many, doubtless, become converts to Romanism and remain such, because the Roman Catholic Missionary does afford them protection against the Mandarins. I deny that the Roman Catholic Missionaries in China exert “*a far greater influence*” for Good than do the Protestant, over the Chinese people generally, or even their converts particularly. If they have a greater influence, it is not for the good, the spiritual good, of those concerned.

During an extended residence in China (I arrived in 1850) I have not been able to learn that any Roman Catholic Missionary has exerted a more extended influence over the Chinese or over foreigners, than did Dr. Morrison, or others that might be named who are dead, or than Dr Legge or Dr Martin, or the Missionaries at Amoy, or Ningpo, or Foochow, and some other places, to speak of those who are living.

3.—In the article “Rival Missions,” it is said the Roman Catholic Missionary “devotes himself with his utmost zeal to furthering the great cause to which his whole life is devoted;” “learns to speak the language fluently;” “amid poverty, sorrow, and disease, he is found cheering the week, helping the needy, curing the sick;” “he knows all that is going on in the town or district to which he is deputed; he takes a deep interest in the political and social movements

affecting the Empire; and is thoroughly acquainted with its nature, with its strength and with its weakness, with its qualities and with its faults. Above all he is careful to acquaint himself with the statistics concerning the spread of Christianity and watches with interest the rise and progress of Christian communities.”

Now in all candor, let me ask, if it is not implied, that the Protestant Missionary does not do the above things? *And is not the implication false?* Are Protestant Missionaries the indolent and the ignorant creatures one would infer them to be from reading the above quotations? Are they without zeal in furthering the cause to which they have devoted their lives? Do they not speak the language fluently? at least as fluently as Roman Catholic Missionaries? Do they not cheer the weak, help the needy, cure the sick, as they have means and opportunity? Are they not as thoroughly acquainted with the several other subjects enumerated above, as are the Roman Catholic Missionaries? It is implied that they are not, but I have yet to learn if they are not much more accurately and intimately acquainted with these subjects and interested in these things. I believe those who write such articles as “Rival Missions” do not know what is being done by Protestant Missionaries, nor really what kind of people they are in their Missionary work. It is not uncommon for people who know the least about them to talk the loudest against them.

4.—Who have prepared the most accurate books and histories relating to China and the Chinese during the last 50 years? Have their authors been Protestant or Roman Catholic Missionaries? Who have prepared the dictionaries now in use in China by students of the Chinese language? And were they Protestant or Roman Catholic Missionaries? Which of the two classes carry on the Hospitals at Canton, Shanghai, Peking, Hankow and elsewhere? I could ask many more questions relating to the manifest literary and charitable works of missionaries, similar to the above, but I forbear. For I am sure that those who bestow thought on the subject cannot fail to see that Protestant Missionaries are not a whit behind Roman Catholic Missionaries in these respects, but are, on the other hand, far in advance of them. They are not the unintelligent and hard-hearted beings represented by inference.

5.—It is said that the Roman Catholic Missionary “casts off his European clothes and dresses like an ordinary Chinaman; he eats native food, lives in a native house, &c., &c.” Some of the Protestant Missionaries do all the things mentioned, but

have no reason to believe that those things recommend them to the Chinese, and that the latter more readily believe in Jesus and lead Christian lives because their religious teachers adopt some of the Chinese customs. I am personally acquainted with some Missionaries who dress in Chinese apparel. But their nose, their beard, their hair, and their whole countenance betray the fact that they are not Chinese. I have heard the Chinese deride them as "false or counterfeit Chinamen." It is a great convenience in travelling to wear Chinese clothes and to eat Chinese food, but I doubt whether these things facilitate the conversion of the Chinese,—which it must be borne in mind is the object of the Missionary. Chinese clothing and Chinese food may be a convenience and less expensive than European clothing and food prepared in foreign style, but such things do not change the heart of the Chinese.

6.—The writer of that article thinks that the sphere of Protestant Missionaries is "too limited," and he regards "the inimitable simile of Abbé Huc," where he speaks of their scattering Bibles on the seashore," as very descriptive of their labors which are too little adapted to the wants of a nation like China. I think no Protestant Missionary in China ever felt his sphere of influence too limited. He only regrets that he cannot do more in the city where he lives and labours, not that the city and the region about it are too small. I think too that the Chinese wants are precisely like the wants of any other proud and heathen nation. They need Bibles scattered on the sea shore and everywhere else.

Here let me remark that one of the most manifest differences between the two classes of Missionaries referred to, relates to the Bible. The Roman Catholic Missions do not furnish the Bible to their converts. They have made no translations into the Chinese language, although they have occupied China for hundreds of years. Since Morrison landed in China in 1807, 3 or 4 different and complete versions of the Bible have been made into Chinese by Protestant Missionaries, besides translations of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament into various local dialects, as Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, &c. An united effort is now being made at Peking to translate the New Testament and part of the Old Testament into Mandarin, the dialect spoken by nearly half the population of the Empire. Commentaries on several books of the Bible have been made; besides a large number of books and tracts designed to explain, and illustrate, and enforce the doctrines of the Bible, have been

Bibles and these books are to be obtained by purchase or as gifts, at some 12 or 13 cities in this empire. Do the R. C. Missionaries engage in any such efforts to enable the Chinese to understand the word of God? In scores, if not hundreds of places, daily, are these books offered on sale or proffered as gifts, in connection with Protestant laborers. The R. C., with all their zeal, their ability, their means, do not these things.

Again: in hundreds of churches and chapels, located in the consular ports, and in adjacent villages and cities, do Protestant Missionaries or their native assistants publicly and openly preach the doctrines of the Bible, if not daily, at least several times per week on an average. The R. C. Missionaries and their native priests never throw open the doors of their churches or chapels to the public, and invite or allow their neighbours and the passers by in the streets to come in and listen. Is not this a marked difference between these two classes? the one works openly; the other secretly—the one preaches the Gospel to all who will hear it; the other never preaches or explains it except to the initiated.

7.—Great importance is attached to the circumstance that R. C. Missionaries live and labor in the interior. It is said, "the Catholic establishes himself in some far-off city." This is true of some only, not of all, as would be a legitimate inference from the language used. How many are stationed at the treaty ports? I have not the means of knowing. I should not be surprised, however, if the number of such was as great, or nearly as great, as the number of Protestant Missionaries who live at the treaty ports. The latter are working in the country farther and farther every year. They have stations situated in the country all the way from a few miles to over 200 miles from the treaty ports. They are planning to extend more and more widely. Some of them, however, have never been able to see the duty of neglecting the large field, which the consular ports and the cities and large villages contiguous to them furnish for some far-off city. The ports are centres of trade, visited by people from the interior who are reached more or less by the Missionaries living at them, by means of chapels and books. The writer of "Rival Missions" asserts that "to accomplish any good, the preacher must be up and doing, away into the country." Where does he get any authority for such a statement? Why in the nature of things must he go into the country? Did Christ utter any such sentiment? Did the Apostles act on the principle of avoiding large cities situated

of the Chinese living in Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow, Ningpo, Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking just as precious as the souls of the Chinese living in cities or villages distant from 2 to 20 hundred miles away? Why neglect those near for those remote?

8.—This leads me to notice "the picture of the Protestant missionary,—snug and comfortable, with home, wife, family, friends, society, all that makes life enjoyable; he passes his days at or near one of the Treaty Ports in perfect security, peace and comfort." This is a correct and proper picture in my opinion, with the exception of the clause "*All that makes life enjoyable.*" For myself I don't see why they should not be "snug, comfortable, with home, wife, family &c." Protestant missionaries generally believe in such a state of things, and so do the missionary societies which send them out and the members of Protestant Churches which contribute funds for their support. And there is nothing inconsistent with the commission of the Savior, "to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," or with the spirit of the Gospel in having a home, wife, a family. Protestant missionaries and their patrons in England and America repudiate the theory and the practice of celibacy, they believe in the family institution. The influence for good of a well-regulated Christian family in the midst of a heathen people, cannot be overestimated. The influence of a missionary's wife and family over a native Christian church and community is every way desirable, as the experience of 60 or more years in other heathen lands besides China has proved; and why the same should not be true in China, it is difficult to perceive.

Lastly, every foreigner in China at the Consular ports where Protestant missionaries are located can know fully what they are doing, and how they are doing it. They have no secret about their plans, their manner of working or their result. But the same cannot be said of R. C. missionaries "*away in the Country.*" *Who knows what they actually accomplish and how they do it?* As near as I can learn, they do not labor nearly as zealously as do the Protestant missionaries. Much is said about their devotedness, zeal &c., &c. *But who knows?*

Do Roman Catholic missionaries, resident at the Treaty ports, excel Protestant missionaries in zealously laboring to save souls? Are the former more intelligent and more interested in the spread of the Gospel than the latter? Are the former better posted up in the "political and social movements" affecting the Empire, and less intelligent in

Christianity," &c., &c., &c., than the latter? If so, I have still to learn it. If they are not more active, more faithful, more intelligent than Protestant missionaries, why assert or take it for granted that those living in some far-off city (of whose personal character and labors little or nothing can be known to residents at the Treaty Ports,) are more active, faithful and intelligent, &c., than Protestant missionaries?

Apologizing for the length of this letter, I remain, yours &c,

PEOTESTANT OBSERVER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER FROM SIAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHINESE RECORDER:—

Your Recorder comes to me very regularly and I am much pleased with it. I think it ably edited and that your correspondents are the most of them able writers. Your columns devoted to Missionary intelligence are usually refreshing. It is good to observe how the Lord is overturning and overturning in China to plant the gospel and establish his kingdom among that great and wonderful people. What an army of missionaries he has in that field! While the progress seems quite slow compared with apostolic times, yet we may confidently believe that it is sure of ultimate and glorious success. A similar remark may be made of the gospel's progress in Siam. Our faith is now being exceedingly tried by the universal carelessness and indifference of the people, especially of the Siamese. I have never before in all my life of 34 years among them, witnessed such an awful destitution of the spirit's power among them. I go out almost daily to rouse up some if possible to a sense of their danger and their remedy. They universally think that they are going to hell, and that all their forefathers have gone there before them. But they hold that there is coming a time or period thousands of ages hence, when they will have suffered out all their demerit or to such a degree that they will transmigrate to this world again. What a miserable

of realizing it! It seems most horrible to me, taking the best possible view of it from the Buddhist stand point; and yet the people can all sleep on quietly, doing works of supposed merit, which they believe will relieve a little the torments of hell fire, and shorten a little the ages of its endurance. When in all this world's history, (I am forced to exclaim daily) has there been a more clear evidence of the total depravity of man than these Siamese are daily exhibiting! Truly, man by nature is "*dead* in trespasses and in sin." But the Almighty Spirit can raise and will raise the spiritually dead. This is our only hope for the Siamese. Their various improvements in government, trade and civilization, afford us no hope without the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost.

The Laos Mission in Cheangmai had been remarkably prosperous until about the 1st of last September, when the Laos King becoming jealous of its power among his people, stretched out his hand to vex the little church of seven native members and beheaded two of them in the most summary manner, and was reported to have issued warrents for all the other five. Mr. McGilvary's last letter, written with every mark of feeling in great peril, was dated the 29th September, saying that "If you never hear from us again, know that we are in heaven, and do not, we beg of you, regret the loss of our lives," (in the good work) "we are all peaceful and very happy—Two of our dear church members went up from the *martyr's stake* on the 12th September." "The price" (500 rupees) "we had thought of giving for the long letters to you may be worth more by way of conveying an idea of what probably may be our situation than the long letters we had written" (but do not send, for fear they would be intercepted by the king) "should worse come to worse—We had counted the cost beforehand and our death will not be in vain." A Burmese timber merchant under the British flag then turned up and volunteered to bring the two short letters without charge through to Bangkok, as he was about to start for this on business. Since those letters arrived, we have heard nothing

more from the two mission families in Cheangmai, excepting verbal reports that some of them were seen at their homes about the 8th of November and appeared to be well and happy. Another messenger from Lampoon, 18 miles from Cheangmai, reports, that when he left on the 14th ultimo all was quiet at Cheangmai, and he had heard of no great disturbance there, and described the persons Messrs Wilson and McGilvary, as he had seen them two months before. He was of the opinion that had the missionaries been killed or imprisoned by the king, it would have been generally known at Lampoon. These reports are somewhat comforting to us, but they need confirmation.

The Presbyterian Mission of this city have despatched two of their number, viz Messrs. M. Donald, and George, to hasten up to carry sympathy, comfort and counsel to the persecuted brethren and their families. And the Siamese government has volunteered to send on Officer or Commissioner to conduct them safely through and to carry a letter to the King, requesting him to be kind to the missionaries, reminding him that they are from America, with which great country Siam is in perfect friendship. The express mission has been gone about 28 days, and we are anxiously looking for tidings.

Yours in Christian love,

D. R. BRADLEY.

BANKOK, Dec. 4th 1869.

LETTER FROM CANTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHINESE RECORDER:—

The lectures upon scientific and religious subjects, of which you gave notice in the November No. of the RECORDER, took place according to appointment in the chapel of the Medical Missionary Society. The attendance upon them exceeded, rather than fell below what had been anticipated. The chapel was usually filled, sometimes crowded. The chemical experiments seemed to attract special attention. You got a wrong impression in supposing that these lectures

ranged by the American Presbyterian Mission. They were under the direction of the Missionary Conference and heartily supported by the members of all the missionary societies.

The literati have been making some disturbance at Unchau in the province of Kwangsi where Mr. Graves of the Baptist Mission has a station. A Roman Catholic had been trying to get a foothold there and this had attracted the attention of the students, so that at the time of the examinations placards were posted, saying that every boat carrying foreigners, which came to the city would be burned; and calling upon every shop to furnish one billet of wood for the purpose. In opposition to this, the magistrate put out a proclamation, saying, that the Roman Catholic religion had been in the country for a long time, its doctrines were good, and it must not be interfered with. This proclamation was blacked over by the irritated students, when some of the ring-leaders were called to account for it by the Magistrate, and a second proclamation posted. This was not defaced, but by the side of it placards were put up, denouncing the Magistrate as a traitor, and in league with foreigners, and so the matter ended. During all the trouble Mr. Graves' assistant went faithfully on day by day preaching as usual, and, what is of special interest, a few of the students came to hear him, and some of them became much interested in studying with him the doctrines of the Bible.

The favorable weather of the past month has been improved by the missionaries in making country trips. Nearly all have been away at one time or another. Mr. Krolczyk probably reached the farthest distance, having gone up a branch of the North River until he reached the habitations of the "Miäu Tzũ," and saw mountains so high that their tops were white with snow.

By kind invitation of some friends of the English Wesleyan Mission, I had the pleasure of being one of a party of six who made a trip of 16 days up the North River. We reached a distance probably of 150 miles, the streams, clear as crystal, and pure, bracing mountain air of that country were delightful.

We stopped at most of the principal villages near the river to distribute tracts, sell books and preach the gospel as we had opportunity. At the farthest distance from Canton we met with most readiness on the part of the people to buy books, and to the very last were continually meeting with those who had heard the gospel preached in the chapels at Canton. We came back with new impressions of the favorable position of Canton as a center of mission effort.

Mrs. Williams, wife of Dr. Williams of Peking, with two children has been spending some time here and expect to leave Hongkong the first of next month, on her way home by way of England.

In addition to the expected arrival of Dr. Happer and his family of which you have already given notice, we expect by next month's steamer to reinforce the American Presbyterian Mission, Rev. Messrs A. Marcellus, William McChesney and their wives, and also Miss Shaw who comes out as a missionary teacher.

Yours sincerely,

H. V. NOYES.

CANTON, Dec. 20th 1869.

OBITUARY NOTICE OF REV. WM. T. MORRISON.

A SHORT LIFE WELL SPENT.

To the Editor of the Recorder:—

When one, engaged in a good work, dies, it is important that he should not fall unnoticed. Justice to him who has served his generation, honor accruing to the Church from the virtues of her sons, as well as, the calling up of men, to continue the interrupted work, forbid silence. The writer believes, that all these reasons exist for calling attention to a life just ended.

Wm. T. Morrison, who died at Peking, China, December 10th 1869, was born in New York city, December 13th 1835. His father, Mr. John Morrison, is one of the stable Christian men, whose intelligence and moral worth

leaven the society of that metropolis. That the character of the son, had its root in early family influence was apparent, from the singular strength of those sympathies, which bound him to his home.

At Princeton, 1852-1859, Mr. Morrison entered with zest into his studies, and read quite extensively; hereby maturing his mind, gathering much information and laying the foundation of a sound scholarship, especially in theological studies. His conversion occurred during the latter part of the college course. Having finished his studies, he offered himself to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and was sent to Ningpo in China. He was there assigned charge of an out-station at Yeu San. The mode of life required was so trying to his health that he usually returned from the country, like an invalid seeking a sanatorium. He continued, however, spending two weeks at the station, preaching, and two weeks at home, until serious illness necessitated a change. He then took charge of the mission school, gave theological instruction to several young men, whose evangelical labors have been followed with rich results. As this training of a native ministry, was Mr. Morrison's ideal of missionary work, so he was specially fitted for it, by his own solid education. But he broke down under the climate, and after five years, a hasty departure barely saved his life.

By spending two years in America, he was prepared to resume labor in the bracing climate of North China. Since his coming to this city, less than two years since, his zeal and fidelity—as well in study as in preaching, have commanded the esteem of all. His favorite form of labor was not ready for his hand—strong, however, in his convictions, he sought, though with repeated disappointments, to draw from his boy's school, some material for a native ministry. In the meantime, he

did not the less endeavor with his own lips and his own earnestness to win souls for Christ. Along with this diligence in working, there was a constant striving after higher spiritual life. He held that the first aim, even of a missionary, should be personal holiness; in the observance of the Sabbath, he was unusually scrupulous; and it will be remembered here as characteristic of him, that the last time he left his house, it was to attend a social prayer-meeting. In no contrast with these traits, but blending with them, and adding to their excellence, there was in social intercourse, a natural vivacity which enlivened his home as well as the wider circle of friends. His sudden death moved deeply this whole community.—We claim, for our deceased brother that his short life was well spent.

That preaching the gospel to the heathen, is the Master's own work, no Christian questions. It may be little that is accomplished through the instrumentality of any one man, but the great movement is helped onward. The out-station at Yeu San is already a flourishing Church, whose obligations to Mr. Morrison, affectingly acknowledged by the young men of the Ningpo Presbytery, connect him with all the results of their labors. His short ministry in Peking has had no apparent results. But every building must have a foundation that is out of sight, beneath the ground, otherwise no imposing super structure can be reared. The early labors of a missionary at any station are of this inconspicuous kind. One practical thought.—An earnest missionary has fallen; let some earnest man rise up to take his place.

Yours truly,

LESLIE S. M. J.

The Chinese Recorder

AND

MISSIONARY JOURNAL.

Rev. Justus Doolittle, Editor.

FOOCHOW, FEBRUARY, 1870.

BIRTHS.

At Peking, December 18th, 1869, a son to Mrs. W. T. MORRISON, widow of the late Rev. W. T. Morrison, of the American Presbyterian Mission.

At T'ung Chow, November 19th, 1869, a son, Edward Dwight, to Rev. L. D. CHAPIN, of the American Board Mission.

At Hongkong, Jan. 5th, 1870, a son to Rev. GEORGE E. MOULE, of the Church Mission, Ningpo.

At Foochow, January 22nd, a daughter to Rev. JOHN R. WOLFE, of the English Church Mission.

DEATH.

At Peking, December 10th, 1869, Rev. W. T. MORRISON, of the American Presbyterian Mission.

To contributors of articles for the CHINESE RECORDER: *You are respectfully and earnestly requested to write plainly on white paper with black ink, and dot the i's and cross the t's. Such compositors as are obtainable here, find it exceedingly difficult to make out copy written in pale ink on highly glazed, blue paper, and even on white paper, if the i's are not dotted and the t's are not crossed. The first proof sheets from such copy are appalling to one with little time to devote to proof reading.*

Please also punctuate your articles as you wish them to be printed.

Correspondence and items of Missionary intelligence should be here by the 15th to insure insertion in the following issue.

The Editor does not hold himself responsible for the sentiments of articles inserted in the RECORDER.

SALUTATORY.

In entering upon our duties as Editor of the CHINESE RECORDER AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL, we desire to say that we shall try to furnish such a periodical as shall deserve to be widely circulated in China and in Western lands, and that shall be regarded, wherever known, as reliable and indispensable, and of which none of its friends shall have any reason to be ashamed. We hope to keep it fully abreast of the age.

We are making some efforts, the ultimate design of which, is, to increase largely our subscription list in England and in the United States, as well

Hongkong. We hope to double the number of paying subscribers in the course of a year. In order to achieve this desirable object, we solicit the powerful aid of our present friends and subscribers. Should they all heartily enter into the enterprise of doubling the present number of subscribers, we have no hesitancy in saying, *it will be done.*

We hope no one will decline to subscribe for it, or to commend it to friends for their subscription, on the ground, that they do not believe in all the sentiments and opinions advanced in it. The Editor himself does not acquiesce in many of the theories and views advocated or defended in its columns. Probably there is not a periodical of its size and circulation published in the world, the sentiments of all of whose articles are adopted by all of its subscribers. The question should not be, are all of its views sound and worthy of support? But this, on duly considering its price, size, scope and the general character of its contents, is it not a journal well deserving of a much more widely increased patronage?

Some have urged that the price be increased. But we prefer that it should remain at \$2,00 per annum, its present terms for China, and that the number of subscribers should be doubled, rather than that its price should be increased, with the prospect that its list of subscribers would be diminished. If those who would gladly pay \$3, or \$4, per annum for the RECORDER will only take more copies for their home friends and interest themselves in obtaining new subscribers both in China and in their native countries, the object aimed at will be in a fair way of attainment. A certain gentleman who during the past year has taken only one copy of the RECORDER proposes to take five of the volume commencing in June next, and he thinks it highly probable that he can secure 20 or 25 new subscribers. Should his laudable example be widely imitated by the other present subscribers, the CHINESE RECORDER, would undoubtedly have many more subscribers than did the CHINESE REPOSITORY in its best days.

Several of the present subscribers send, from 3 to 10 copies of the RECORDER to their friends, or to literary societies, public institutions, or reading rooms in England, the United States and other countries. We would suggest, whether their course could not with profit and interest to all concerned, be much more largely adopted in the future. Can \$2,50, or \$2,25, be employed in sending home a present more truly valuable and acceptable than in procuring the RECORDER to visit monthly some relative or friend, or literary, or religious institution in the distant West?

To former CORRESPONDENTS and CONTRIBUTORS, we send our grateful salutations. We respectfully and earnestly solicit their continued favors. To them and to other literary gentlemen in China and Japan who are, or who may become contributors, we would say:—*Your papers on the Archæology, Ethnography, Geology, and Natural History of China and Japan, (to adopt the language of our Editorial predecessor) as well as on the various phases of the Missionary work, and related subjects, will be warmly welcomed. We feel that the scope of the Recorder is ample enough, and we rely on you to supply such articles as shall continue to make it interesting, valuable, and popular. If the original articles, published in it, are lacking in any of these characteristics, it will be because such are not supplied by those who contribute to its pages: The RECORDER will be what its contributors and correspondents make it.*

Selected articles will be admitted only when circumstances seem to call for their insertion. We prefer that they should be very few.

In closing, we have to suggest that our friends can largely aid us in making the RECORDER more interesting and valuable, by soliciting contributions of articles for its columns from Gentlemen in China and Japan whose tastes and whose pursuits have led them to investigate subjects of general importance and interest. While we continue to welcome papers from those who have al-

ready received articles from new contributors on any of the subjects which come within the scope of the RECORDER. By the generous aid now solicited and expected from present subscribers and contributors in procuring new subscribers and new contributors, we shall not fail soon to make the CHINESE RECORDER surpass the CHINESE REPOSITORY in the variety, value and interest of its articles. For with the large increase of subscribers and contributors, it is our intention to increase the average number of pages in the journal.

—Since the above was in type, we have heard with much regret that the publication of NOTES AND QUERIES IN CHINA AND JAPAN "has been suspended. We are however glad to learn that the cause was not a lack of support from contributors or subscriptions. For three years that periodical has held its own, and advanced to a high place in public estimation. The matter found in its columns—its variety and originality—proved the advantage of a receptacle for the fruit of study and intelligent observation of various matters relating to China. The contributions to its columns formed an array of ability highly creditable to the useful purpose for which the paper was established, and it would be a matter of lasting regret should the cause of Science and Literature suffer from the want of an organ to preserve the work and researches of their votaries in China.

Rather than that such should be the case, and that what has been so ably instituted and conducted should fall to the ground, we are willing to do what we can to continue the usefulness of our late contemporary by opening our pages to original contributions on subjects which come within the scope of the "Notes and Queries." Though Literature, Science, Civilization, History have not been foreign to the purposes of our Journal, still the departments in question have not been so fully represented in our columns as we could have wished, and therefore we hope that now will be fully realized our desire that the "Recorder" will be recognized as

ers and workers in all the above departments of science and literature, who are engaged in the laudable effort to increase the general knowledge of oriental lands and their inhabitants. All work of this nature by adding to our information, and correcting erroneous impressions, we hold to be aiding in the cause of Religion and Civilization.

We earnestly trust that our present invitation to the contributors and correspondents of the Notes and Queries for their literary favor will meet with a hearty response, and that the constituents of that periodical will generously adopt the CHINESE RECORDER and become its warm friends and supporters by giving it their patronage and by recommending it to other literary gentlemen of their acquaintance for their subscriptions.

—Terms of the RECORDER for clubs or individuals ordering 5 or 10 copies have been fixed upon. They will be found on the fourth page of the cover. Subscriptions receivable at any time. But such has been the demand for back members that only a few subscriptions for previous numbers of this volume can be supplied in the future.

DELEGATES FROM FOOCHOW TO THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

The Week of Prayer, January 3rd—8th, was observed by the Foochow Missionaries in their usual manner. Six meetings were held, at which the subjects previously selected came before them for meditation, remark and prayer.

On Thursday afternoon, January 6th the subject was "Christian union; Prayer for the Divine Blessing on the assembly of Christians from all countries to be held this year in New-York." In view of the circumstance that Rev. S. L. Baldwin of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, and Rev. S. F. Woodin of the American Board Mission at Foochow, expect to be in the United States at the time of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, they were appointed delegates to represent the Foochow missionaries at that confer-

to write out a paper to the above effect, and sign it in behalf of the body of missionaries here, and hand to each of them. It is directed to the Committee of arrangements for the General Meeting of the Alliance in New York.

It is respectfully suggested to the other Missions in China and the East, to consider whether it would not be advisable for them to appoint as delegates to represent them such of their number as are expected to be in the United States at the time of the convening of the Evangelical Alliance in New York sometime during the autumn of 1870. In such a case all the delegates who could attend, might meet by themselves sometime during the first days of the conference, and prepare such resolutions as seemed suitable to present to that body, and take such other action as they might deem advisable. In this manner, they might perform a great and a good work in behalf of the cause of the Gospel in China. Is it not too rare an opportunity to accomplish something for China to let it pass unimproved?

—Our contemporary, the *North China Herald*, at the beginning of the new year, absorbed the *Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, and made a change in its form, approximating, more nearly than its former shape, to the CHINESE RECORDER, which is, of course, an improvement, on which we present our hearty congratulations, adding also our best wishes for its continued and increasing prosperity.

—We have received a copy of "The Annual Report of the Boys' Boarding School, Foochow, China, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, under the charge of the Rev. Arthur W. Cribb, C. M. S." There are eleven pupils in the School, six of whom are supported by Ladies' Associations in England, and three by individuals. There are two "unassigned;" and we suggest that some local contributions to this School would not be amiss, and that in these days of "ruinous losses," some of our merchants could not do better than to put \$40 per annum into an investment that is sure to pay,

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

PEKING.—Dr. Dudgeon referring to the missionaries of the American Board, writes, Nov. 24th:—"Their difficulties in the renting of a house in the interior are not yet adjusted. The people have been threatened, and they are most anxious to repossess themselves of the title deeds. Property ought to be held in the name of the church and the members, the trustees. The Roman Catholics are obliged to observe this rule now. This is the interpretation put upon the clause in the French treaty by Tseng Kwo-fan. This is very hard. No station can be commenced anywhere, without first a nucleus to enable property to be rented. The authorities hold out the most liberal views, and the greatest toleration, and yet threaten their people, if they should rent or sell to the foreigner."

Under date of 15th Dec. he writes, in reference to the same subject, "Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Stanley have gone to the outstation at Ichow. We do not know what will be the result of this action. This place is near the Western Imperial Tombs, and therefore may be taken as an exceptional case, and not as a crucial one, if the mission have to give up the house they have rented."

The Bible Translators here are revising the Gospels.

Rev. Mr. and Mrs. McCoy have arrived to join the American Board Mission here, and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Sheffield to join the same mission at T'ung Chow." Miss Thompson joins the same Board at Peking.

CHEFOO.—Rev. H. Corbett, under date of December 22nd writes:—"Mr. Mateer and wife have been absent itinerating for more than a month. Their church members are meeting with a good deal of opposition in the interior. Recently a house was rented for a chapel at Chou-yuen about 100 miles from here. The widow and her son, the owners of the house, were beaten by the mandarin, and afterwards suffered much from seven or eight men who went to their house and beat and abused them. Our work here is encouraging, though nothing very special. Three persons were baptized a fortnight ago. There are several inquirers with us now. Some of them are quite encouraging."

TIENTSIN.—We learn that Rev. Mr.

place to reinforce the Mission of Amer. Board.

SHANGHAI.—Per New York, Rev. W. J. Boone and wife, (son of Bishop Boone), Rev. D. Lyon and wife, Mrs. Holmes and child, arrived on the 7th of January. We learn from home papers that Mr. Lyon is going to Hangchow, to join the Presbyterian Mission. Mrs. Holmes will probably go to Chefoo, or T'engchow, her previous fields of Missionary labor.

FOOCHOW.—Rev. S. L. Baldwin and family left for Hongkong on the 26th ult. expecting to proceed to the United States in the February Steamer. Mr. B. came to China, the second time, in 1862; and hopes to return in two years, should Mrs. Baldwin's health be sufficiently restored to allow him to do so. He requests that all persons who may have occasion to correspond with him, will address their letters to him at 1168, Broad street, Newark, New Jersey, U. S. A.

We understand that Sir Rutherford Alcock, during his visit to this port, in December, had an interview with the Viceroy in regard to the difficulties in the Ló-ngwong district, and strongly insisted upon all the damages done by the mob being repaired, and the guilty parties punished.—Since the Annual Meeting of the M. E. Mission, Rev. Sia Sek Ong, one of the ordained preachers, has baptized 58 persons on the Ngü-ká Circuit.

Dr. and Mrs. Osgood arrived on the 12d January to join the Mission of the American Board. Dr. Osgood intends to open in connection with some other member of the same Mission, probably Rev. Charles Hartwell, a station somewhere in the country, where he hopes to have a dispensary.

HONGKONG.—Rev. J. Chalmers and wife arrived per "Borealis," Jan. 1st. We suppose that they reinforce the London Mission at Canton, their former location.

CANTON.—We learn that Rev. C. F. Preston and family are to leave for the United States by the March Steamer from Hongkong. Mr. P. came to China in 1854, and is now to make his first visit home, after 16 years of service in

STATEMENT

OF

BR. MAJ. GEN. O. O. HOWARD

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

IN DEFENSE AGAINST THE CHARGES PRESENTED BY

HON. FERNANDO WOOD,

AND

ARGUMENT OF EDGAR KETCHUM, ESQ.,

OF COUNSEL FOR GEN. HOWARD IN SUMMING UP THE CASE UPON
THE TESTIMONY BEFORE THE COMMITTEE.



NEW YORK:

BRADSTREET PRESS, 18 BEEKMAN STREET.

1870.

GENERAL HOWARD'S STATEMENT.

The Hon. Fernando Wood, introducing his charges against me, used these words:

"That General Howard had been guilty of malversation and dereliction of duty on the following points:

"*First*, That he has taken from the appropriations made for, and the receipts of, that bureau, more than five hundred thousand dollars, improperly and without authority of law, for the Howard University, hospital, and lands."

In reply, I do not deny the amount alleged to have been appropriated to the Howard University, including all the buildings constructed therewith, the hospital, with its several wards and out-buildings, and the lands, so far as the indirect aid in their purchase and the necessary grading and sewerage connected with the structures are concerned.

But I do deny that this amount, or any amount whatever, with my knowledge and consent, has been expended "*improperly and without authority of law.*"

A portion of this money has been expended in the structures themselves.

By reference to the appropriation act, approved March 2, 1867, it will be seen that Congress appropriated \$500,000 to the rental, repairs, and construction of buildings for the education of the people committed to my charge, and for asylums; this was for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868. Subsequently, by act of Congress of July, 1868, all unexpended balances in the hands of the Commissioner not required for the legitimate purposes of the bureau are devoted to the work of education, according to the laws already existing. These laws, and the authorized regulations of the bureau under them, directed the educational aid from the regular appropriation to rental, repairs, and construction, the transportation of teachers, and supplies for the schools, also to the payment of superintendents, clerks, and agents, engaged in the school work. This method of expenditure was set forth in my request for the appropriation, and is evidently intended by the wording of the act of July, 1868 (section 2).

The freedmen's hospital in this District, including the main structure, all the wards and necessary outbuildings, was demanded in the reduction of the number of hospitals in different parts of the country. It was necessary to make provision somewhere for the aged, the infirm, the deranged, and the imbecile that were already on our hands, for whom it was impossible to make provision in the different States. Very many came from Virginia, Freedmen's Village, for example, where there were none to take care of them. The former system of providing for these indigent people in families became im-

practicable, especially where large numbers of the inhabitants had lost their property by the war. Families to which some of the freed people belonged had become scattered or extinct, and where this was not the case I had no power of compulsion. I could not send a decrepit or imbecile freedman to a family that refused to receive him.

Upon breaking up the hospital at Louisville, Kentucky, neither the State nor the city could be induced to take charge of the poor inmates, and I was obliged to bring many of them here. In my judgment the hospital, or, more accurately, the asylum for aged and infirm freedmen, became an absolute necessity. Possibly the "improperly and without authority of law" may have been asserted in the charge because the government did not itself hold the land upon which these buildings were erected. There was no other method of holding land than by trustees. The act of Congress, approved March 2, 1867, which provides that the Commissioner may transfer sums of money from the "Freedmen's and Refugees' fund" to institutions incorporated shows a recognition of the organizations which may properly execute the trusts conferred by the several laws bearing upon the subject of education. There was no direct method of holding land by the government, either for educational buildings or asylums, provided for in the law itself; therefore I chose two methods that I deemed safe and right: one to use corporate bodies that from their charters could properly receive and execute the trusts imposed, and the other by an order, or orders, to impose special trusts upon selected trustees to carry out the object of an appropriation, or to aid me in the exercise of existing discretionary power. The latter method has been employed in very few cases indeed, and only when some pressing necessity seemed to me to render this course unavoidable.

The trustees of Howard University had their powers conferred by Congress, and willingly undertook, not only the work of education pertaining to the classes especially committed to my charge, but offered me the advantage of a portion of their land for the asylum. Certainly the University in its medical department receives benefits from the asylum, and will do so as long as it shall continue. Yet I can conceive of no better advantages, none more economical, than are here afforded to me as Commissioner of the bureau for its purposes.

It is found by the testimony that a portion of the \$500,000 named was transferred to the University for its use. This came from the "Freedmen's and Refugees' fund" and was therefore in exact accordance with the act referred to above (act of March 2, 1867).

If it be claimed that the University charter does not call for the education of refugees and freedmen, or their children, the answer is, that its charter is not limited; that in the reception of all the funds derived from the government the University corporation formally accepted the conditions expressed in the order of transfer and in the contracts for building. The deeds of transfer of the buildings also expressly demand and secure the fulfillment of this important condition.

The uniform interpretation of the law with reference to "Refugees' and Freedmen's fund" has been, as it was doubtless originally intended, to comprehend any incorporated institutions that would obligate themselves faithfully to educate refugees and freedmen and their children.

The preliminary meetings of the trustees of the Howard University show beyond question that the original design was the education of freedmen and their descendants; and the classes in the several departments, from its beginning till now, show that that design has been carried into execution—the charter is not limited, but was intended to comprehend this object.

Do I not, then, rightly claim that the appropriation made for, and the receipts of the bureau which have been devoted to the Howard University, hospital, and lands, have been used properly and with express authority of law?

"Second, That portions of the land alleged to have been sold for the benefit of the Howard University fund were disposed of improperly to members of his own family and officers of his staff."

The second point is not true. No members of my family nor officers of my staff have owned any of the land. Some officers of the bureau have purchased land, as did other people, at the market price, and I have never in any way sought to influence or control the sales in their favor.

"Third, That bonds issued in aid of the First Congregational Church of the city of Washington were taken in payment for a portion of this land, which have not yet been redeemed or paid, nor have they been returned in his official accounts as such."

The third point is not true; certainly I have no knowledge of any such transaction. If it were true it would in no way apply to me, for I could not officially account to the government for the property of the University.

"Fourth, That the University building and hospital were built of patent brick furnished by the American Building-Block Company; in which General Howard, Charles Howard, General E. Whittlesey, and J. W. Alvord, all attached to the bureau, were interested as stockholders."

The fourth point, so far as my interest in the Washington Building-Block Company is concerned, is not true. I was in the company, but left it before commencing to build the structures of the University of the material in question.

The other gentlemen named remained in the company, as I firmly believe, with no intention of wrong-doing.

The operation in the manufacture gave employment to a large number of colored men that were then out of employment. The specimen material seemed excellent, and they believed they were doing a good work by this investment of their means with no very considerable prospect of profit at the low price at which they proposed to furnish the block. The business head and manager, as well as the employés at the yard, had no government position. As now appears, no dividend was ever declared, and these gentlemen have realized nothing thus far from their investment.

"Fifth, That the specifications for the construction of those buildings provided that the material used in their erection should be taken from the brick made by this company, thus preventing competition, and securing the use of that brick, and no other, for that purpose."

The fifth point is a mistake. By reference to the University,

hospital, and dormitory contracts it will be seen the specifications were confined to the class of material, viz.: "American building-block," not to the company, as specifications always do provide for specific material in any given building. The competition, it is true, was not great, because this company could make block for less than it could be made and transported from New York and Philadelphia, where were the nearest works of manufacture.

The company never put the block or its heavier material, *e. g.* the corner blocks, water-table, &c., at as high prices as at New York. I was much pleased with the building-block; the recommendations were abundant from our first scientific men and experts; the specimens were handsome, those that had age were very fine. Our trustees, without any exception, approved of the material and asked for its use by a unanimous resolution.

The University and dormitory stand so firmly that experts and experienced builders express complete confidence in their safety and durability. I have had no mercenary motive whatever in the use of this patent block.

"*Sixth*, That the brick so used was unfit and nearly worthless; parts of the building have fallen down in consequence, and other parts have since been repaired and rebuilt, at an expense of \$13,000."

The sixth point will certainly not apply to the University nor to the dormitory, and I doubt not a different report would have been made even of the hospital building had it not been subjected to so unfavorable conditions in building—to frost, thaw, and heavy rain.

It will be observed that the University, including all that was added to perfect the structures and the present hospital building, including the loss, compare most favorably in point of cost with any other large buildings in this city or elsewhere.

"*Seventh*, That by his consent and knowledge lumber belonging to the government was used by this company and appropriated to its own benefit, being resold to its employés."

The seventh point is far from being true. The University did lease an old building or buildings to the company (Coyle's old sand lease of one acre became the company's), and the University repaired these buildings; I never authorized the issuing of lumber to the Building-Block Company.

Once an officer said to me that some lumber had been improperly taken to the works, and I told him to demand payment of the company if this was true, as has been shown in the testimony of Major Brown.

"*Eighth*, That he pays rent to the Howard University from the funds of the bureau for the privilege of a headquarters."

The eighth point is true. I have rented most of one floor and part of another for the purposes of the bureau since the building became the property of the University, not before. When in town the buildings I was obliged to rent cost much more, and the pay went to private parties, while now the money goes to pay the teachers of the children of freedmen. In this way we have economy to the government and have secured good accommodations for the bureau work.

"*Ninth*, That he draws three salaries, viz.: one as a brigadier general in the United States army, another as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and a third as head of the Howard University."

The ninth point is in no sense true. The salary of the president, which is fixed by the recorded resolution, I have never drawn. To draw the salaries of Commissioner and of my rank in the army at the same time would not be possible. I have never attempted it. I have drawn my army pay and allowances, which are less than I would have received commanding a department. The sum fixed by law for the Commissioner has been saved.

"*Tenth*, That he has paid from the funds of the bureau over \$40,000 for the construction of the First Congregational Church in this city, taking the church bonds in return, which he has either returned in his accounts as cash on hand or sent South for the purposes of the bureau."

The tenth point is surely not sustained by facts. The treasurer and agent of the University and the treasurer of the incorporated Normal School at Richmond, Va., did invest in the notes or bonds, secured by deed of trust upon the church property, but not by my orders or instructions. The security is good, and I have no doubt of the propriety of this investment. The institutions have suffered no loss by it, and it is intended by all parties concerned they shall not.

"*Eleventh*, He has advanced a large sum from the funds of the bureau to the Young Men's Christian Association of this city, taking their bonds in payment, which have been sent to Tennessee to help the Freedmen's schools in that State."

The eleventh point is not true at all. I have only given my private subscription to the Young Men's Christian Association, and never directly or indirectly any government funds whatever. I did sell, as has been shown in evidence, \$1,500 of the Young Men's Christian Association stock that I held, to a corporate body, the Fisk University, guaranteeing it at par, and have since fulfilled my guarantee.

"*Twelfth*, That he caused or knowingly allowed lands in this city, owned by an officer of the bureau, to be transferred to a freedmen's school in North Carolina, the officer taking the money appropriated for that school and the school the lands in this city; thus perpetrating a fraud both upon the government and the freedmen."

The twelfth point gives, as I view it, a false impression. Surely no officer of the bureau, other than myself, has ever, to my knowledge, transferred any lands to any freedmen's school. If there is blame in the actual transaction doubtless referred to in this point I alone must bear it. I received through J. M. McKim, Secretary of the Freedmen's Union Commission from England, some money to invest in land for freedmen, or in some agricultural operation connected with them. It was when the black men were not so popular as they are now, and lots could not be purchased by those in need except for cash. Through Dr. J. M. Thompson I learned that I could obtain a square or half square of land from Moses Kelly, Esq., by the payment of part cash and the rest in mortgage notes with deferred payments. I wrote to Mr. McKim and asked if I had not better invest the money (about \$1,000) in this land, and sell lots on time to the freedmen, and as the money came in reinvest it for a similar purpose. He expressed his cordial approbation of my plan.

The Virginia avenue, which passes, touching the land on the north, had an appropriation for completion. This appropriation was not enough for the work, and proper access to the land was delayed. I therefore resolved to sell it as a whole. I gave five cents per square foot. At the same price I offered two thirds of the square bordering on Virginia avenue to the Saint Augustine Normal Institute in North Carolina, for the investment of any fund that was not immediately needed. Land on the next street east was at the time held at thirty cents. The Virginia avenue was in process of completion, and the new railroad (Baltimore and Potomac) to pass near it. The transfer of the land was agreed to and made, and the money derived from it used to take up the notes. The original fund was again invested for the agricultural department of the University, in which students without means are working for support. If it be asked where the Saint Augustine Institute received its money for this investment, I answer it was from the dividend of that raised from the Barry farm. Since the property has belonged to the Saint Augustine Institute I have allowed it to be graded, especially and mainly to give work to destitute freedmen and also to enhance the value of the property. The grading gave work and bread to a large number of industrious colored people after the extreme hardship and destitution of the winter, during the spring and summer following. The most of them were purchasers of lots on Barry farm, of which I will speak under the next point.

"*Thirteenth*, That he was interested in the purchase of a farm of about three hundred acres, near the lunatic asylum in this county, for which the public funds and other property of the government were used. Buildings were erected thereon built of lumber belonging to the government and then let or sold to freedmen at exorbitant prices; and that he and his brother Charles Howard were personally interested in this transaction as a private pecuniary speculation."

The thirteenth point I regard a misstatement, containing a charge having no foundation in fact.

I will give a brief history of the "Barry farm" transactions. Let me first present the order which is already in evidence, viz.:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS,
WASHINGTON, April 23, 1867.

SPECIAL ORDERS, {
No. 61. }

II. Brevet Brigadier General George W. Balloch, Chief Disbursing Officer of this Bureau, will transfer the sum of fifty-two thousand (\$52,000) dollars to a Board of Trustees, consisting of S. C. Pomeroy, J. R. Elvans, and O. O. Howard; this amount to be held in trust by them for the benefit of three normal collegiate institutions or universities, embracing the education of Refugees and Freedmen; said institutions being incorporated, or as soon as they shall be regularly incorporated; one located in the District of Columbia, one in the State of Virginia, and the third in the State of North Carolina. The said Trustees may invest the said fifty-two thousand (\$52,000) dollars

in land, with a view of relieving the immediate necessities of a class of poor colored people in the District of Columbia, by rental, by sale, or in such other way as their judgment shall direct for this purpose, provided all proceeds, interest, or moneys received for rental or sale over and above necessary expenses shall be annually transferred to the said three institutions, and in all cases to be divided equally between them.

By order of Major General O. O. HOWARD, *Commissioner*.
A. P. KETCHUM, *A. A. A. General*.

This order explains itself.

Now with regard to a few facts that constrained me to the course I pursued.

A gentleman living on Meridian Hill, prior to the issuing of the above order, had a long row of government sheds used for barracks or hospital purposes during the war, situated on lands valued at \$1,500 an acre. In these buildings refugee colored people had taken up their residence from all quarters. Some were cultivating small gardens, and some had no employment. They could not possibly pay him rental, and he was constrained by circumstances to sell his land. The colored people were very poor and destitute and he disliked to turn them off, so that he did what hundreds of others have done in perplexity—came to the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and asked him what could be done. I said to this gentleman that there were thousands in the same condition, and I did not know what could be done. I was charged with "feeding people in idleness," and I must not make paupers of them. I got into the carriage with him, and we rode to the old buildings. I called out all the men I could find (some of them were quite intelligent) and talked with them; asked them what they wanted to enable them to become self-supporting. Several answered "land." They realized that they could not stay long where they were. I said, Now if I could manage to secure you a homestead, say an acre of land apiece near the city, might I rely upon it that you would work and repay the outlay? Some promised earnestly to do so, and received aid as I will explain—others hung their heads and said nothing. Now this is a description of quite a number of communities at that time in Washington and its vicinity. In meditating upon this condition of things, and this pressing necessity, I thought it would be well to take a portion of the "Freedmen's and Refugees' Fund," which had been accumulating mainly from the rental of abandoned property, and which I had already devoted in my discretion to educational purposes, and purchase a farm as near Washington as possible, divide it up into acre lots, give lumber enough for small and comfortable tenements, and sell to the poor freedmen on time, on a bond to be followed by a deed in fee as soon as the terms of the bond should be fulfilled.

I had great difficulty at that time in finding anybody who would sell, and had, finally, to purchase without being known in the matter or without having the object of the purchase revealed. After selecting trustees and taking legal advice, the purchase was made and the plan was carried into execution.

The following tabular statement will exhibit the condition of the fund when I turned it over to my successor:

1. Original purchase money.....	\$52,000 00
2. Expended for roads, streets, and surveys.....	7,517 95
3. Lumber for houses.....	16,407 60
Total.....	<u>\$75,925 55</u>
Amount returned to fund while I was Treasurer and appropriated as per account current.....	\$31,178 12
Amount on hand turned over to John A. Cole, my successor as Treasurer.....	10,081 41
Unsold lots valued at.....	12,426 76
Amount due on contracts April 17, 1869.....	28,783 71
Total.....	<u>\$82,470 00</u>
Balance in favor of fund.....	\$6,544 45

This balance is sufficient to cover the interest on the money used for the time invested. Now, as to the character and use of this fund: It can not be assumed that the "Barry farm" fund is public money of the United States if the original order of expenditure was in accordance with law—it became at once a fund held in trust for the three institutions designated by the trustees. Therefore an investment of the fund in accordance with the request of the official representatives of these institutions became proper after the transfer to them of any sum in the hands of the treasurer.

The Normal School at Raleigh, N. C., invested a portion of its dividend in the two thirds of square No. 1025, as explained under the last point. The Normal School at Richmond, Va., invested its first dividend in the mortgage notes or bonds of the First Congregational Church.

The latter investment was a good one; the former, the land is worth three or four times its cost, and the officers of the school now highly value their investment. I parted with this land at precisely the same figure that was given, viz.: five cents per square foot, except that a small alley was reckoned out in the purchase and reckoned in at the sale—not affording enough gain to cover interest on the notes, the surveys, and other expenditures.

Not regarding the fund as belonging to the United States, I did not act as a United States disbursing officer, but deposited it, as instructed by the trustees, in the Freedmen's Savings Bank, and invested it from time to time in United States bonds and such other securities as the trustees approved, in this way increasing the fund by the interest till the dividend should be made. I was not, as is charged, interested privately in the purchase of this farm; have not made a dollar of gain by it in the purchase and sale of lots; nor has my brother or myself been interested in the purchase of lumber as a private pecuniary speculation, and never, to my knowledge, was there a single instance of exorbitant charge for the lumber furnished to the freedmen. I never heard of a complaint of that to any officer or agent who came in contact with the settlers.

"*Fourteenth*, He has discharged the duties of the office of Commissioner of the bureau with extravagance, negligence, and in the interests of himself and family and intimate friends."

This is not true. Extravagance and negligence on my part can not be proved. I have labored hard, with fidelity and success—as the results accomplished will show—in securing the reward of labor to freedmen; establishing justice; providing for the poor without pauperizing them; caring for the helpless indigent, the sick and orphan children in asylums, leaving but one asylum as a legacy to the government; and more than all, in coöperating, according to the requirements of law, with benevolent and educational associations—upward of thirty in number—so as to more than equal the appropriations of the government in the establishment of schools of every description from the primary to the University.

These schools have been more than two thousand, with pupils at times numbering two hundred and fifty thousand.

A careful, dispassionate survey of my work and that of the officers and agents who have aided me, instead of intently gazing at the flaws which every human enterprise must present, will completely vindicate me from this charge.

The only member of my family who has ever had any connection with the bureau is General C. H. Howard, my brother, and he came into it not at my request, but was first detailed by the War Department, at General Saxton's request, in South Carolina. I consulted not *his* but what I believed to be the *public* interest in his retention. For according to my deliberate conviction his individual interest would have been better subserved by a discharge long before it took place; and as to intimate friends, permit me to say that they have become so by a faithful discharge of public duty. No corrupt interest of any of them has appeared or been favored by me.

“*Fifteenth*, That he is one of a ring known as the ‘Freedmen’s Bureau Ring,’ whose connections and influences with the freedmen’s savings banks, the freedmen’s schools of the South, the political machinery of a party in the Southern States; and whose position has been to devote the official authority and power of the bureau to personal and political profit.”

The fifteenth point is imperfect in its expression. The charge of “Freedmen’s Bureau Ring” is denied, unless it is to be understood that certain individuals who are and have long been earnest workers for the benefit of their fellow men are *intimate and united in good works*. The “ring” is placed in good connection with the freedmen’s savings banks and the freedmen’s schools of the South, but the political party is not specified. I hope those who work against the poor and lately enslaved are not intended; if so, I deny the connection. But as to devoting the official authority and power of the bureau to personal and political profit, I am in no way guilty. There are no facts to sustain such a charge.

ARGUMENT OF MR. KETCHUM.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It was said by Sir Francis Bacon, the king's solicitor, in a judicial charge upon the commission of the Oyer and Terminer, held for the verge of the Court, that "It is the happy estate and condition of the subject of this realm that he is not to be impeached in his life, lands, or goods, upon flying rumors, or wandering fables or reports, but by the oath and presentment of men of honest condition, in the face of justice."

We too, happily, stand in the face of justice; but all our efforts have failed to obtain an acknowledgment from any one who has appeared before you that he is the originator or procurer of these charges. True, indeed, the honorable gentleman from New York, my own Representative, has declared himself responsible, as he is responsible, for the action he has taken; but he has at the same time declared in the House, and in this room, that he had no personal knowledge of the matters brought hither, that he had no acquaintance even with the accused person, and that he had no feeling against him, but was rather predisposed in his favor upon his war record.

I proceed now, sir, to examine these charges in their order. I take, therefore, the

FIRST CHARGE.

"That he has taken from the appropriations made for, and the receipts of that bureau, more than five hundred thousand dollars, improperly and without authority of law, for the 'Howard University, hospital, and lands.'"

We say government funds have been used for these objects, as follows: *First*, from the appropriation by Congress for educational purposes (act of July 13, 1866, and act of March 2, 1867); *Second*, from the Refugees and Freedmen's fund (act of March 2, 1867). But one fund, namely, the appropriation fund, has been used for the erection of hospital buildings.

The lands used for the university and hospital buildings were not purchased by the government, but by the corporate body known as "Howard University." The Howard University derives its funds partly by transfer of money from the refugees and freedmen's funds and partly by gifts from societies and individuals. The lands have been paid for from funds so derived and from funds arising from the sale of lots.

First authority. The act to establish a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees, approved March 3, 1865, enacts as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established in the War Department, to continue during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter, a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, to which shall be committed, as

hereinafter provided, the supervision and management of all abandoned lands and *the control of all subjects* relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel States, or from any district of country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the bureau and approved by the President. The said bureau shall be under the management and control of a commissioner to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, whose compensation shall be three thousand dollars per annum."

In the act making appropriations for this bureau, approved March 2, 1867, for the year ending June 30, 1868, an appropriation was made for building of schools and asylums, including construction, rental, and repairs, five hundred thousand dollars.

The act continuing the Freedmen's Bureau, taking effect July 16, 1868, sec. 3, provides as follows:

"And be it further enacted, That unexpended balances in the hands of the Commissioner, not required otherwise for the due execution of the law, may be, in the *discretion* of the Commissioner, applied for the education of freedmen and refugees, subject to the provisions of law applicable thereto."

These acts allowing construction give ample authority for the expenditure of money in the erection of Howard University.

Now, as to the funds transferred from the refugees and freedmen's funds, the words are: "That the Commissioner be hereby authorized to apply any balance on hand, at this date, of the refugees and freedmen's fund, accounted for in his last annual report, to aid educational institutions actually incorporated for loyal refugees and freedmen."

The interpretation of this last clause has been uniformly considered to embrace incorporated educational institutions that had the intention, or had already assumed the trust of educating loyal refugees and freedmen. Any other interpretation would render the act ineffectual, for we know of no institutions whatever that have been incorporated *expressly* and solely for the education of refugees and freedmen. More enlarged powers are found in the act approved June 15, 1866, which has never been modified or repealed. These words occur in it:

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That where accounts are rendered for expenditures for refugees or freedmen, under the approval and sanction of the proper officers, and which shall have been proper and necessary, but can not be settled for want of specific appropriations, the same may be paid out of the fund for the relief of refugees and freedmen, on the approval of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen." Approved June 15, 1866.

The only requirement with respect to this fund in any given case is to show that the expenditures for refugees and freedmen were "proper and necessary," and approved by the Commissioner in the exercise of the discretion plainly given him.

In this discretion the expenditures for Howard University were embraced. With regard to the hospital, the appropriate name is asylum; for the majority of its inmates are not really sick, but aged, infirm, imbecile, or insane.

This asylum is the provision made by the Commissioner for con-

solidating the numerous hospitals and asylums throughout the Southern States.

The authority for the expenditure of money for asylums is found in the act above referred to and approved March 2, 1867.

This authority is clearly conferred by the act approved April 7, 1869, as follows:

“An act relating to Freedmen’s Hospitals:

“*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen is authorized and directed to continue the freedmen’s hospitals at Richmond, Virginia; Vicksburg, Mississippi; and in the District of Columbia, including the asylum for aged and infirm freedmen and for orphan children: *Provided*, that the expense thereof shall be paid by the Commissioner out of moneys heretofore appropriated for the use of the bureau: *And provided further*, that said hospitals shall be discontinued as soon as may be practicable in the discretion of the President of the United States.” Approved April 7, 1869.

Here, sir, I may say at the outset, while looking at the law, that the gentlemen on the other side were under a mistake when they made the comparisons in regard to appropriations and expenditures, as was very apparent from the evidence of Dr. Brodhead, when he testified before the committee. They thought the Commissioner was restricted to the specific item in making expenditures under a given appropriation. That was an error.

The act of May 8, 1792, Statutes at Large, vol. i., sec. 9, p. 281, provides: “That the forms of keeping and rendering all public accounts whatsoever shall be prescribed by the Department of the Treasury.”

Now, under that act the Secretary of the Treasury did issue his warrants, and they have been produced before you in evidence, bringing all the work of the bureau under one specific head, and the accounts all stand under one head accordingly. Both Brigadier General George W. Balloch, Chief Disbursing Officer of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, and the other officers of that bureau have uniformly rendered their public accounts under the forms prescribed by the Department of the Treasury.

And our opponents were mistaken again, for they alleged more differences than the figures show. They took the appropriations for the two years, comparing them with the expenditures for four years and upward, whereas it might be found upon examining the whole of the amounts of appropriations and expenditures that there is but a single instance in the years 1866 and 1867 in which the expenditures under a particular head were beyond the appropriations under that head, namely, that of clerks.

But under the head of clerks have been included agents, and so it may appear that \$198,600.73 were expended in excess of the particular appropriations, amounting to \$165,600. Further than this there is no excess, and this difference is in no wise material. A single head covers the whole work and characterizes the account of the bureau.

Yet even without the act of 1792 and the warrants of the Secre-

tary of the Treasury under it, the act of 1868, which provides that all unexpected balances are to be expended in *the discretion* of the Commissioner, would be sufficient for us on this point.

SECOND CHARGE.

"That portions of the land alleged to have been sold for the benefit of Howard University fund were disposed of improperly to members of his own family and officers of his staff."

No proof whatever has been brought to show that land of the Howard University was sold to any members of the family of General Howard. But it has been understood from the beginning that one lot was taken by General Howard himself. There have been no lots sold to officers of his staff, for General Balloch and Mr. Alvord are not accurately officers of his staff. It means, I suppose, officers of the bureau; and we are willing to accept it as meaning that and to answer it accordingly.

Now, sir, as to the lot taken by General Howard. You will remember that the Smith farm was without any improvements, and that it was outside the limits of the city. Doubtless the owner sold it gladly; and when these parties purchased it they had a great work to do. There were one hundred and fifty acres of land without even an inclosure. It was procured for a university. But that would not occupy one hundred and fifty acres, and nothing else should come upon the land that would injure the university or the neighborhood.

You have learned from evidence here that General Howard had his own dwelling in G street; that it was worth and was sold for \$10,000. That was located nearer his place of business and more conveniently for his mode of living. But there was something to be done, and the object was to establish the Howard University.

The question was, can it secure such improvements as will advance the character of the neighborhood? can it attract men hither of spirit and ability, friendly to the object, and ready to help it forward? I do not wonder that they offered General Howard an acre. He seems to have been prominent in procuring the land. General Whittlesey was with him; but I think it clear that General Howard was the principal actor.

Under these circumstances why should not these men who had charge of this matter, in order to induce General Howard to begin the improvement, offer him this acre of land? It was the most natural thing in the world.

They did offer the land. General Howard was engaged in his official duties here and in the South, and an answer does not seem to have been promptly made. The parties here were all friends; there were no suspicions lurking in any bosom; there was no apprehension that any person would put by anything to bring it into such a court of inquiry as this, or to tell what happened in the meetings, or whether General Howard was advised to accept or not to accept.

He resolved to build his house on the ground, and seems to have left the offer unanswered for a while, but in August, 1867, he formally declined it. Then a committee is appointed to fix a valuation upon the lot. It is on Seventh street, upon the high land, and over-

looks the city. They fixed the price at a thousand dollars, a trifle more than it cost, for they gave \$147,500 for the one hundred and fifty acres. They put in a condition that he should build a house on the lot to cost not less than \$10,000. Was not this a fair consideration? It has been emphasized that General Howard got a house-lot there for \$1,000 which might have been sold for \$2,000 or \$3,000. But it was more than a money consideration when they could bring General Howard with such a house there, and so begin their work and get it in a state of forwardness. I say, therefore, he gave the fullest consideration for the lot. The house, which was to be worth \$10,000, has been shown to be worth more than \$15,000.

As to the purchase of lots by the officers of the bureau: General Balloch gave \$4,300 for his lot, and he built a valuable house upon it; Mr. Alvord purchased a lot for \$3,100, and he, too, built a good house. Are they to be condemned for doing this?

THIRD CHARGE.

"That bonds issued in aid of the First Congregational Church of the city of Washington were taken in payment for a portion of this land, which have not yet been redeemed or paid, nor have they been returned in his official accounts as such."

That charge was certainly made without knowledge, by some person who heard the "flying rumors" or "wandering fables and reports," but who was not at all acquainted with the facts. There has been no attempt to prove it. "That bonds issued in aid of the First Congregational Church were taken in payment for a portion of this land." Does it mean that Howard University sold lots for these bonds? It did not do so. Of course what follows falls with this.

FOURTH CHARGE.

"That the University building and hospital were built of patent brick, furnished by the American Building-Block Company, in which General Howard, Charles Howard, General E. Whittlesey, and C. W. Alvord, all attached to the bureau, were interested as stockholders."

Little need be said of this. The committee remember perfectly well that General Howard, after beginning this enterprise with the others soon left them. The project was to procure the manufacture of this building-block in Washington. But when the trustees of Howard University chose to have it for the new building General Howard quitted the enterprise. He sold out his interest some two months before the first blocks were made for Howard University. That charge, therefore, is disproved, and by testimony which was produced on the other side. The note given for that interest was dated in August, but the arrangement for its transfer was made prior to the 9th of July, as fully proved.

FIFTH CHARGE.

"That the specifications for the construction of those buildings provided that the material used in their erection should be taken

from the brick made by this company, thus preventing competition and securing the use of that brick, and no other, for that purpose."

This is incorrect. There is no company named in the specification. The material is named in it. That is no specification which does not name the material of which the building is to be constructed. It is the very nature of a specification to do this. "Thus preventing competition, and securing the use of that brick, and no other, for that purpose." But there was a price fixed, and it was \$40; upon that every one would estimate. The specification named the material and the price, which was five dollars less per thousand than it was sold for anywhere else. The transaction was fair and open, and could not operate unjustly toward any one.

SIXTH CHARGE.

"That the brick so used was unfit and nearly worthless, parts of the building having fallen down in consequence, and other parts have since been repaired and rebuilt at an expense of \$13,000."

No part of the case has been more fully investigated. Artificial stone in itself is no novelty; cities are built of burnt clay; but this block is differently made. Some have approved of, who afterward condemned it; some have doubted, who afterward believed in it. We have in the testimony ground for a reasonable judgment. The report of the commission of General Hardee, J. W. Rumsey, and others, minutely describes the material and its manufacture, and the building of the hospital and its fall. Major King, who made the experiments for the commission, and Mr. Rumsey have also testified on this trial, and Mr. Vanderburgh, the patentee. The testimony shows that the stone so made is as truly stone as any produced by natural causes, and that it will become as hard as any. The elements of both are alike. This is shown by Mr. Vanderburgh, whose enthusiasm never obscured his clearness. But opinions differ; Mr. Clarke and Mr. Mullett testified against it, and the Rev. Dr. Sunderland. Mr. Clarke had thought well of it but changed his mind. The hospital fell. Few could volunteer a defense of the new material at such a time. And here I call the attention of the committee to the fact that when a part of the north wall of the dormitory fell, while under construction, the cause of it was a bad foundation, which had been laid without sufficient bonding, so that it opened and let down the superstructure. The proof on this point was complete, and showed there was no fault in the building block. I said few could volunteer a defense of the new material at that time; yet defense could be made.

Large buildings had been constructed of it in various parts of the country, and they stood firm; and so did the University itself—as Mr. Rumsey said, "strong and safe, and with as few cracks in its walls as any building of its size he ever saw." If panic must prevail the University must be abandoned and lost. It had cost \$150,000 and supplied a want never met here before, and *seemed* to be strong and safe. Was it to be sacrificed with all the hopes and interests depending on it?

The majority of the trustees (General Howard was absent at the

time from Washington) differed from the president, Dr. Sunderland, and he retired, leaving on record his opinion, which was unfavorable.

I do not blame Dr. Sunderland for retiring. He has left on record his opinion. And yet the building stands firm, and is of excellent use, and Mr. Vanderburgh said that when this Capitol should be crumbling in ruins that University would be adamant. The reason he gave was that those elements of the atmosphere which corrode marble harden the block.

The length of the hospital building ran north and south. In the middle was a hall-way formed by two cross walls running east and west. The block was made in cold weather and used sooner than it should have been. It was laid up in November and December and exposed to the weather, and the mortar became frozen before it could set, and frost produces expansion. At each end, therefore, of the cross walls they exerted a great pressure against the exterior walls, tending to throw them outward.

It was near twelve o'clock on a morning in December that the east wall fell out. The sun had thawed the mortar, and then, according to the testimony, the wall "sloughed off," opening a semicircular space like an inverted arch. The fall was not by the crushing of the material, but by the sliding out of the whole mass, and it was thrown out where it had been met by the cross walls and not at the ends of the building.

After one o'clock, when the afternoon sun was upon the west wall, that thawed and fell out also, and the appearance on that side was like the other. The cross walls and the end walls stood firm.

This description, which is drawn from the testimony of Mr. Vanderburgh and the report of the commission appointed to examine the case, may show the error of those who imputed this injury to the use of the building-block, as if that had been the only reason why the building fell.

The story went forth in the newspapers that this block was worthless, and alarm was felt concerning the University building on the part of its friends, and its enemies plied their arts to convince the public that it must be abandoned as unsafe.

Those men were courageous who bore up against this influence, and they deserve praise. They have their reward in the present condition and continued use of the buildings on the University grounds.

To show that the cause which produced the fall of the hospital would have operated in a similar way upon walls in the like condition, built of burnt brick or stone, I quote Peter Nicholson, the author of an English work, "The Mechanics' Companion," which is of high repute.

He says: "There is nothing so prejudicial to a building as alternate rain and frost, if exposed; for the rain makes way through the pores into the heart of the stone and mortar, and when the freezing comes on the water is converted into ice, which expands beyond the original bulk with such power that no known force of compression is capable of resisting its expansion. In consequence of this the heaviest stones and even the largest rocks have been burst."

And I beg leave to refer to the report of President Barnard of

Columbia College, in New York, who was a Commissioner to the French Exposition, giving a description of the Coignét artificial stone.

It was remarked upon the trial that this was a very different thing from our building-block, but I think it will appear on examination that the two substances are very much alike. It is sand and lime with moisture and pressure, but Coignét had also a little cement. The foundations of the building for the French Exposition were built of this material. And a good reason is given for it. It can be made in large pieces, so that a wall can be constructed with fewer joints, lessening the liability to settle and crack the walls of the superstructure. And this material can be made in beautiful forms without the expense of cutting. So iron buildings are constructed. The metal is run into the mold and it is soon ready. But the iron is more costly than the sand and lime. This material is much cheaper and may be as beautiful. Why should it be utterly condemned?

The time may come when this block will be in common use notwithstanding the obloquy cast upon these men for the faith they had in it.

Mr. Rumsey, a witness for the prosecution, said that if the University were built of pressed brick it would have cost \$25,000 more than it has. And another said that if the cornice surmounting that building were made of brown stone it would have cost as much as all the exterior walls of the present University. If the trustees of the University instead of constructing this building of a material so cheap had used what was more costly, could they have escaped censure? Then the complaint would have been that they had expended so much more money.

This sand was good and it was near. An important object was to give employment to the poor, that paupers might earn their living. It was not to give them money. It would be well to give them a fair remuneration for their work; they would be taught that "he who will not work neither shall he eat," provided he can get work to do.

A witness not friendly to the material said it was fascinating in its appearance, and was in good repute when these contracts were made. There are gentlemen in New York who built their houses of it. They ridicule the idea of any danger. The steeple at Morristania fell from the ignorance of those who erected it, the immediate support of blue-stone giving way.

The honorable Representative from New York (Mr. Wood) has said—and I refer to it again because he was absent when I alluded to it this morning—that he never had any acquaintance with the officer accused; that he had had no business with him; that he had no feeling against him, and that his prepossessions were rather in his favor on account of his war record. I was glad to hear that, and I thank him for it. I hope that he has no more hostile feeling now than he had at the beginning.

As to the loss of \$13,000 by the fall of the hospital. That is a mistake. We have found it is \$22,000, which shows how misinformed these accusers were.

It could not be otherwise than that common brick should be used

instead of the block in rebuilding the hospital. The common brick was as cheap, and care would be taken to prevent a renewal of the former calamity, and there would be a silencing of evil tongues; and so the common brick was used.

You remember that General Howard built his own house of this material of which the University and hospital were constructed. Surely a man under covenant to expend \$10,000 on his house, and who expended over \$15,000 for it, where his family were to live, would take care to have it safe. It has been said that it fell. But it never fell. In the rear of the house, before the leader from the roof had been provided, the water came down spreading and freezing upon the wall, the ice standing an inch thick on a surface of several feet in width. As soon as this came off the damage appeared on the face of the block. The effect was to scale the surface. General Boynton and Mr. Harvey said it fell. Mr. George Cook, who did the work, said it did not, but was repaired by removing the outside half of the blocks and substituting new pieces. Peter Nicholson in his book has told us that *any* material will suffer in that way if thus exposed. General Boynton spoke of other buildings falling there, but soon corrected himself, saying he did not mean they fell, but that portions were taken down. But George Cook told us how that happened; that the frost affected them in the same way; that the buildings were not finished, and, being injured in a similar manner, had to be mended. The house of General Howard has not been painted, and stands very firm in all its parts.

SEVENTH CHARGE.

"That by his consent and with his knowledge lumber belonging to the government was used by this company, and appropriated to its own benefit, being resold to its employés."

As to the last part, there is no word of proof upon it. Here again is shown what "wandering fables and reports" the authors of these charges sent abroad.

The contrast between the rest of the charge and the proof becomes absurd, but must be shown. All that was proved was that two colored men with two carts took government lumber, part of the *débris* of an old shed, and carried it to this hill. The witness failed to state who gave the order. He inquired of the men and they said General Charles Howard authorized them to take the lumber. But this is mere hearsay and no proof. The quantity of this lumber so taken was five hundred feet, and it was worth one and a half cents a foot, or \$7.50 for the two loads.

Mr. Alvord shows an order from the assistant commissioner signed by Major Clark for lumber, and says the lumber was for sheds for the University but that it was never delivered, enough having been obtained for the purpose from the material of other sheds taken down.

EIGHTH CHARGE.

"That he pays rent to Howard University from the funds of the bureau for the privilege of a headquarters."

And so he does. Why not? Boys sometimes call a companion an

Indian giver: he gives and then snatches away. That is not fair even among boys. But if this Howard University is legally transferred to its corporation why should it not have rent? This thing was not done in a corner, it is set upon a hill as a city that can not be hid.

The Treasury Department has the report of it, and Dr. Brodhead, the second comptroller, who came here as a witness, and who knows the law perfectly, has either passed the accounts or will pass upon them as the law requires.

Here is a charge that "he pays rent to the Howard University from the funds of the bureau for the privilege of headquarters." Yes, he paid \$5,000 to strangers, and here he pays \$3,000 to friends—I mean strangers or friends in respect to the great work to be done for the freedmen. But he pays \$3,000 for the rent of better accommodations than the bureau had before, and the money goes to the support of the other part of the house, which is a great object.

The expenditure is within the purview of the law, within the object and intent of Congress, and above all within the object and intent of the nation, and why offer reproach for this? I think it to be praised. I think this thing, and all these things—for several others like it appear in this history—go on like a river with successive falls, at each of which the power is used beneficently, the same waters, fresh and vigorous, turning mill after mill in all their progress to the sea. But it is noticeable that while the former rent was \$5,000 this is only \$3,000. Yet here is an officer who "belongs to a ring and goes for his friends." How is it he did not choose to pay \$5,000 to the University? The accommodations were better and he had a discretion. The reason is he was a true economist. He was not to squander merely because he had money under his charge, as enemies pretend he did. He was not watching for a hole in the bag out of which the money could be taken. No, he acted as in view of the whole world, and with a good conscience.

Right here it is natural to recall the picture of Mr. Rumsey, who was a witness, who was a brother member with General Howard of the Congregational Church, who built the church edifice and who built the University—to recall the picture of Mr. Rumsey, disappointed at having been underbid by Mr. Cook upon the job of the extras for the University, exhibiting in the bureau office his dissatisfaction at the furnishing to the Sunday-school children of the premiums for bringing into the school new scholars without examination into the color of the eyes and skin, and at the non-recognition by the Commissioner of the bureau (a brother member of the same church) of Mr. Rumsey's right to have the job without competition, and at his own price. General Howard was administering the law for the public interests and not in the interest of friends. He might have been compliant and Mr. Rumsey might have remained friendly. But he was faithful to his duty and Mr. Rumsey went his way.

I was much impressed with the proof brought to show that the Commissioner warmed the rooms of the bureau by a heating apparatus which allowed the warm air to escape into the upper rooms occupied for the University. The expense was \$40 a month. It was a small thing to bring into this case in connection with the dealings of this officer with the interests of four millions of people with a fund

of \$13,000,000. But such charges characterize this proceeding generally. I am not speaking of the gentleman who brought the resolution before the House; I offer no reproach to him for bringing in the charges. I hold them responsible for this who are at the bottom of it; because there is a spirit here that marks the whole case, and must be exhibited to the committee and to the country for the understanding of it.

Here is a small committee-room. The House is larger in its numbers and in its area. But the people fill the country. Was it the plan that these charges should go out and things be so fixed that without hearing both sides—and without an opportunity of hearing both sides—there should be suspicion and malediction all over the country on account of this bureau? They knew some hated it; they knew it was very popular among the masses of the people; and now is it to be so misrepresented and belied for the purpose of blackening the name of the man put in charge of it, of blackening the character of those who have sustained him, defaming the Congresses that have sustained him with their enactments and their sympathy? Is that the object? If it *was* the object then ought such proofs as these to appear along with the charges, so the spirit that prompted them may be made manifest.

NINTH CHARGE.

“That he draws three salaries—namely, one as brigadier general of the United States army, another as Commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau, and a third as the head of Howard University.”

There is not a word of truth in this, and not a word of proof to excuse it. But there are plenty of people all over the country who have no more doubt that General Howard has done this than that the Capitol is here. They say “It is a shame.” “It is a good way of making money.” There may be men in office who do such things; but it has not been done here, and not a word of testimony has been offered to show it.

Sir, is there no responsibility for this on the part of those who have invented these charges? “Shall a man scatter firebrands, arrows, and death, and say, Am not I in sport?” Upon highest authority he is responsible and shall be condemned.

General Howard is the president of Howard University, and you know under what circumstances. Others preceded him and they departed. At last he was called at a salary of one dollar per annum (merely nominal, of course), and he is subjected to this reproach. It may appear in the course of this argument that the authors of these charges knew this one to be untrue. There *was* a resolution that \$5,000 should be paid to the president of the University when he should perform the full duty required by the office. But General Howard received notice, with the appointment, that his salary was one dollar per annum, and he answered it, “I accept.” Is he to be blamed? Ought not a man who will do so to be praised rather than condemned for it?

EVENING SESSION.

MR. KETCHUM resumed his argument on behalf of General Howard. He said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: Thanking you and the committee for your indulgence, I will now proceed with what I have to say upon these charges. And first, I beg leave to add a few words respecting the lumber. I omitted to say this morning, what has been shown in the testimony, that a rumor did come to General Howard on that subject, through Major Brown, and that he immediately ordered the seizure of all the lumber on the University grounds, and it was seized accordingly. Therefore, so far as General Howard was concerned, his duty was performed.

I beg leave to add a few words on that first charge in reference to the order for the transfer of \$125,000 to the Howard University, which order was made on March 12, 1869. The act of June 16, 1866, has, in the second section, these words: "That where accounts are rendered for expenditures for refugees or freedmen, under the approval and sanction of the proper officers, and which shall have been proper and necessary, but can not be settled for the want of specific appropriations, the same may be paid out of the funds for the relief of refugees and freedmen, on the approval of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen," giving authority to the Commissioner, and permitting his fiat to pass the account in the Treasury Department. That is the act of June, 1866. The order runs that Brevet Brigadier General George W. Balloch, Chief Disbursing Officer, will transfer the sum of \$125,000 to the Howard University institution, &c., under the act approved March 2, 1867, said sum to be paid out of the balance on hand March 2, 1867, of the Refugees' and Freedmen's fund. Now the amount that was on hand March 2, 1867, of that fund was not equal to \$125,000. That has appeared in the testimony. If this order had been correctly made it would have given the date, as to the funds on hand, not March 2, 1867, but March 12, 1869, the date of the order itself. The money was then on hand—\$145,000 and more. A part of the \$125,000 was on hand on the 2d of March, 1867, but not the whole of that amount. This order stood well enough in respect to so much as was on hand on the 2d of March, 1867—say \$97,000 or less; and it would amount to an inaccuracy as to the specification of date.

I turn now to the act of 1868, chapter 63: "*And be it further enacted*, That unexpended balances in the hands of the Commissioner, not required otherwise for due execution of the law, may be, in the discretion of the Commissioner, applied for the education of freedmen and refugees, subject to the provisions of law applicable thereto." This act of 1868, along with the preceding acts, fully empowered the Commissioner in the premises; and the error was in the date, and it is for the authorities to say how it shall be corrected if it ought to be corrected. I am not informed whether these accounts have been passed in the Treasury, but the gentlemen there understand their duty, and if there is an error they will see to its being corrected. It is only a clerical error.

MR. HOAR. Of what are you now speaking?

MR. KETCHUM. Of the transfer of \$125,000 to the Howard University by the order of March 12, 1869, which order directs that that money shall be transferred by General Balloch out of the balance on hand of the Refugees' and Freedmen's fund on the 2d of March, 1867, at which date there was not \$125,000 of that fund in his hands, although a larger sum was in his hands after that date and at the date of the order. That is the explanation to be given of it. I recollected to-day that it was a matter of particular inquiry by Mr. Wood and Mr. Bradley.

MR. TYNER. And your view is that that order of March, 1869, is based on the act of June 15, 1866?

MR. KETCHUM. And also on the acts of 1867 and 1868—all three of them come in to give authority.

I reach now the

TENTH SPECIFICATION.

"That he has paid from the funds of the bureau over \$40,000 for the construction of the First Congregational Church, taking the church bonds in return, which he has either returned in his accounts as cash on hand or sent South for the purposes of the bureau."

Here again is shown a total misconception of facts. It is wholly untrue, and seems to have grown out of the impressions those witnesses had who came here and told the committee they heard General Howard say in meetings of the trustees that he had, or would have, money of the bureau, which he could lend for the benefit of the church; and that if they would make bonds he would lend money on them. This specification has been drawn in accordance with that story, but it is an entire mistake, and they were entirely mistaken in their impressions.

"He has paid from the funds of the bureau over \$40,000 for the construction of the First Congregational Church." He never paid a dollar, and had not a dollar of the bonds of the church, and was not therefore to return a dollar as cash on hand, and was not to send the bonds anywhere for purposes of the bureau. But it will be recollected perfectly well that a fund had been transferred, and had been for a certain time in the hands of General Balloch, the treasurer of the University, for the University; that it was a charity fund which was to be invested, and of course to bring interest; and the question was where it should be placed. The trustees of the University resolved that they would loan it on some of those bonds, and they did so—it was *not* the *Refugees' and Freedmen's fund* after that transfer and acceptance, and could not be. The Retained Bounty fund of which these men spoke was not a fund which could be transferred for educational purposes. That had another object, and another use altogether. As a matter of fact, therefore, that fund never was given to the University, and it never did in any way reach the hands of these church people. It has been amply brought before the committee by the testimony, although it has been suppressed from those partial reports in the newspapers that have been spoken of to-day, that the property of the church was worth more than \$100,000, and that the church mortgage was only \$40,000, or,

to speak more exactly, \$38,000. Senator Pomeroy has spoken of the value of those bonds, and of his willingness to take them if the Howard University did not want to keep them; and Mr. Rumsey himself, who was not friendly to the accused, said these bonds were a most ample security.

Now it is true that the trust deed did not contain the provision that careful conveyancers insert in such papers, for an insurance, making it for the benefit of the holder. The treasurer thought that it did, but when examined more carefully it was found that the clause was not in the trust deed itself. But the insurance is made, and is made for the benefit of the holders of the trust deed, and of the persons interested beneficially under these bonds. But the land itself is ample security without the house; it is ample security for \$38,000. In the State of New York, in loaning the United States Deposit fund, no note is taken of buildings, but the land on which the loan is made must be worth a certain proportion of value beyond the loan. I refer to that provision as having been drawn by wise men with great care, and having existed nearly forty years with safety to the fund; and I say that this trust deed is ample security for the money advanced, and that the Howard University can go into the market and get the cash for these bonds if it wishes to do so. If it were otherwise, if it were as the old Chancery bill of foreclosure used to say: "a slender security for the same," and if the fund was put to risk by means of that, it would be a different thing. But even then this charge, as made in this paper, would fall, and we have a right to say that we stand here on the charges made. We are not here to solicit changes in these specifications. They stand or fall as they are. And what is said of the loan by the University upon these church bonds is to be said also of the loan by the Normal School at Richmond, Va., on some others of them. Nothing could show clearer than the testimony of Mr. Manley of that institution how free it was to loan or not upon that security, and how freely and cheerfully it loaned upon what it took. But it was the trustees of the University and the trustees of the Richmond school that invested the money, and it was the corporation of the church that borrowed it. The Freedmen's Bureau and its Commissioner neither borrowed nor lent.

ELEVENTH SPECIFICATION.

"He has advanced a large sum from the funds of the bureau to the Young Men's Christian Association of this city, taking their bonds in payment, which have been sent to Tennessee to help the freedmen's schools in that State."

I suppose that in a court of law this would have fallen as soon as the testimony upon it was heard. It is entirely untrue.

"He has advanced a large sum from the funds of the bureau to the Young Men's Christian Association;" all the rest depends upon that, and that is not true. General Howard has not advanced any sum from the funds of the bureau to the Young Men's Christian Association. He did individually hold \$1,500 of bonds or stock of this Young Men's Christian Association, and a school in Tennessee did

choose to invest that money in these bonds, being guaranteed for a year that they should be at par, and then within a year General Howard individually took up the bonds at par and interest.

That is the whole of it. It is personal and not official. It was not the money of the bureau. This specification, therefore, is entirely without foundation. It is another evidence of the recklessness of those who accused this public officer before the country.

TWELFTH SPECIFICATION.

"That he caused or knowingly allowed lands in this city owned by an officer of the bureau to be transferred to a freedmen's school in North Carolina; the officer taking the money appropriated for that school and the school the lands in this city, thus perpetrating a fraud both on the government and on the freedmen."

If this were so it was hazardous to leave such a public officer in charge of the money which remained in the bureau during the weeks of this investigation. It would be strange if such a thing could be said with any truth and that officer be left in full exercise of the large powers conferred on him by law. But it was too reckless and wrongful an accusation to inspire fear.

I will refer to the testimony. The committee recollect that Mr. McKim, secretary of the Freedmen's Union Commission, informed General Howard that he had two hundred pounds sterling, which friends in England thought could be well employed in getting homesteads for the freedmen. Months passed before an answer was sent to Mr. McKim, when General Howard wrote, saying, "I think I have found a place where this can be done. There is a square (describing square 1025) which can be obtained and so employed; what do you think?" Mr. McKim replies, "I think well of it, and I send you the money." General Howard invested that money and gave his own obligation for the difference, and that was some \$8,400. So it remained for a time; but there are difficulties in the way of placing the freedmen on that property. The people do not like them in the city. There are hindrances which we all understand and which operated to such a degree that the original idea in connection with this land was changed. The piece of land I refer to is square 1025 east of the Navy Yard, on the eastern branch of the river, near the shore, and on Twelfth street East and Virginia avenue. It was found that would not do. They could not well and wisely place the colored people there. In the mean time they find that they can get a far better piece of ground, more extensive, and which will accomplish far better the end they have in view.

That is the Barry farm, which is three hundred and seventy-five acres in extent. The Barry farm charge comes in just after that upon this square 1025. They are linked together very closely.

MR. HOAR. I should like you to state with as much particularity as if we never heard it before, all about this land, the sources from which the money came, the original transactions, and what became of the property.

MR. KETCHUM. If you permit me, then, Mr. Chairman, I will just bring together for that purpose the Barry farm and this square 1025.

While holding square 1025 the Barry farm comes in view. It was learned from the land agent that Barry farm, across the river, near what is called Union Town, and running up to the asylum grounds, might be purchased for \$52,000. Senator Pomeroy, who came here and testified before you the other evening, was very anxious that that enterprise should be undertaken. He urged it very strongly, and believed that if a settlement could be made on that ground these colored people would have comfortable homes for small prices, and that they would be able to pay for them. The problem was how to do it. Nobody would sell land to colored people. This plan was devised: That there should be trustees, and that a fund should be transferred to these trustees, destined ultimately for three educational institutions of the higher order, in equal parts. Therefore first the \$52,000 must be taken by the trustees and invested in land, and then the land must be sold and the proceeds given to those institutions. Senator Pomeroy, Mr. Elvans, and General Howard were made the trustees under that order, and received that fund; but owners of land would not sell to colored people, and if those names appeared the person who was to sell would reject the contract. So the land agent advised that Mr. Elvans should go and get the land. Senator Pomeroy went with Mr. Elvans, took the money, and got the land, and Mr. Elvans immediately conveyed it to the trustees. Now the school at Raleigh was to receive one portion of that fund; but it had no need to use this money at that time, and as Rev. J. Brinton Smith testified here very heartily, the school chose to take the square 1025 and invest so much of the money as was then coming to it in that square. There was nothing personal in that except the obligation of General Howard for the deferred payments of square 1025. It was not that he was engaged in a money-making operation. It was that he was engaged in an enterprise to further the great object which he had in view, that these poor colored people should not have to dwell in Murder Bay and such places in this city, paying all they could get for wages in high rents for wretched domiciles, filthy and miserable. That was the story of this square 1025. It was purchased at five cents a foot and was conveyed at five cents a foot, so much of it as was conveyed. A part which was nearest the shore was taken by the Block Company. Five acres of square 1025 were taken by the school, and Mr. Smith says they would not sell it for \$13,000, which is much more than they paid for it. Dr. Thompson testified that the square was worth \$35,000, that it was worth about eighteen cents a foot, and it cost only five cents a foot. In the next street land had sold at thirty cents a foot, but that was more improved.

Here I may call the remembrance of the committee to the fact that this land was rough, that one part of it was higher than grade, and another part of it lower than grade. There was a ravine, as Mr. Bradley called it. The school at Raleigh held that property in fee. There came a time in a season of cold and want when these Barry farm occupants and owners were without employment (and so without money) and without food and clothing. It is well known that from the beginning the government had been engaged in distributing charity among these people, and that they have been sus-

tained with rations and supported in various ways. Large sums of money were so expended. What should be done with them now? Something must be done; they could not get work in the city at that time; they were destitute and ready to starve. This plan was devised. There should be work done in grading that piece of ground belonging to the school at Raleigh, and instead of giving money to these people to feed them during the season of want they should be given work and paid wages. A contract was therefore made with a fit person to do that grading, to take off the hill and throw it into the ravine, and then to pay these men for their work instead of bestowing upon them charity. From early in March until September, 1869, they worked on that ground under contract with Mr. Vanderburgh, who came here and told the committee all about it, and showed that some \$30,000 out of \$32,000 in all had been paid for the labor of these colored men, and for horses and carts, the difference being all that he received on his contract, which was only a fair and reasonable remuneration.

Therefore this charge is refuted, but it has been sent over the country as it stands, and the guilt belongs to those who sent it.

THIRTEENTH SPECIFICATION.

"That he was interested in the purchase of a farm of about three hundred acres, near the lunatic asylum in this county, for which the public funds and other property of the government were used, buildings were erected thereon, built with lumber belonging to the government, and then let and sold to freedmen at exorbitant prices; and that he and his brother Charles were personally interested in that transaction as a private pecuniary speculation."

That is already seen to be untrue. It is severe, like the rest, and imputes fraud in very plain terms; but it is not true. He was not individually interested in the purchase of the farm, nor was his brother interested in it in any way. "For which the public funds and other property of the government were used." Well, public funds devoted to the use of the freedmen had been transferred to the trustees and in their hands were used in the first instance to pay for this land.

"Buildings were erected there, built of lumber belonging to the government." Yes, \$76 per house was used in building dwellings on the acre lots.

"And then let or sold to the freedmen at exorbitant prices." They were not let, they were sold and contracts were given for deeds upon full payment of the purchase money, and the purchasers were to pay installments on these acre lots; they paid \$10 a month, which was not more than they would have been paying anywhere else for rent without acquiring any interest in the land, rent would have been a loss of so much money, but here the \$10 was a payment toward the fee simple of the property and went toward the extinguishment of the debt.

Now as to the exorbitancy of the price. That charge is easily disposed of. The price of one of these acre lots with the house was from \$125 to \$300; the average was \$225. That is very cheap for

an acre of land and a dwelling near this city. An acre is equal to sixteen lots of twenty-five feet by a hundred. And here they had the acre and also the house for \$225, at an average. Was that exorbitant? It was far otherwise.

"He and his brother Charles were personally interested in that transaction as a private pecuniary speculation." Mr. Chairman, if this were spoken against a man of bad character it might not trouble him much; and if it were uttered against a man of very good character who could immediately expose it, it might not trouble him much; but for such a charge to be sent over the country for weeks and read by men who never hear of its refutation, or of the condemnation of the accuser, this is aggravating. It stands here and is presented before this committee and before Congress against General Howard. It is a great wrong but it is now exposed.

MR. HOAR. Was it or not in evidence that these lots with the houses were sold to persons who bought them at the average cost of the lot and lumber without profit?

MR. KETCHUM. It was. They were sold without profit. So there was every disposition to benefit the freedmen and not the slightest disposition to deal hardly with them. And look at the consequences. I may here recall for a moment the case of square 1025. Fifty cents per day of their wages was left undrawn by these workmen of their own accord—not by stipulation, but of their own accord, which shows their character and disposition. Under the advice of a very worthy man, Mr. Vanderburgh, the contractor, this fifty cents a day of their wages was left behind and paid on their debt for their land; so they not only got their living for these seven months, but were able to pay the balances on their homesteads, and to come out free.

But the expenditure of the \$32,000 on that square has been telegraphed over the country as a dishonest act on the part of General Howard, by which his own land was improved to that extent by the use of the public money. That would have been robbery indeed, but it has appeared in proof that the statement is wholly untrue.

Perhaps some of the gentlemen of the committee may have seen Barry farm. I have. A man will be found there who will tell you that he has been in every great city in the world; that he was a steward on steamships; and he will tell you that his place as he has improved it has cost him \$3,000. You will see his house, well painted, on the west side of the road toward the lunatic asylum. It has rooms on both sides of the hall. It is nicely carpeted, fitly furnished, humbly and plainly. Pictures of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, and General Grant, hang on the walls of his parlor. That man's son walks seven miles each day to the Howard University and back, getting his education there. That is the condition of one man. You may see another, some thirty-six years of age, very black, very strong, very happy, working on his place. He will welcome you. His little house cost him some ninety dollars. You will see his mother. That aged "aunty," as she raises herself up to look at you, will tell you that she has had eleven children, and that all of them were sold away from her. She lived down in Louisiana. The man will tell you that he was one of those children. He went down

to Texas, and when he came up through Louisiana and Alabama he found his old mother and brought her up here with him, along with his wife and son. And there they live. "Have you paid for your place?" you may ask him, and he will say, "Don't owe fifteen cents on it, sir."

You go into the school, and you see a boy of ten years old who will answer any question in geography when the others fail, though they may be older; he is a bright boy, though of dark complexion.

These people are happy there, having homes and having comforts. And this is the enterprise in which these gentlemen are engaged, under the authority and means provided by Congress. Surely, Mr. Chairman, these were not things to abuse anybody for who had a part in bringing them about. This is the Barry farm.

FOURTEENTH SPECIFICATION.

This, indeed, does not *specify* anything—which is my embarrassment. It says that "he has discharged the duties of the office of Commissioner of the bureau with extravagance and negligence, and in the interests of himself, family, and intimate friends." It must be considered in the light of what has been said, and of what may be said hereafter.

Then the

FIFTEENTH SPECIFICATION,

"That he is one of a ring known as the Freedmen's Bureau ring, whose connections and influences with the freedmen's savings banks, the freedmen's schools of the South, and the political machinery of a party in the Southern States; and whose position has been to devote the official authority and power of the bureau to personal and political profit."

As to the fourteenth specification, of negligence and extravagance, I can only say there has certainly not been any personal negligence in the administration of office, because it has been shown to the committee that more than the office hours were devoted by General Howard to the business, and that his time and attention were given assiduously to this work, and the world knows that it has been very extensively and beneficently performed.

As to the many things announced to be under this head which flitted before this committee and passed away, some of them quite undefined and none of them proved, I can hardly know how to refer to them without a waste of time.

Take for instance the Mr. Alden who came here from Florida, and who had a claim against the bureau on account of some property of confederates which he had leased, and which had been restored to the former owners under President Johnson's order. He told of sales of rations which men who were bureau agents told him they had made. It did not seem very credible on the face of it. He did not come before the committee in a very good aspect. There were circumstances attending his case which were suspicious, for there was reason to believe he came to testify because he had not yet succeeded upon his claim before the bureau. And it turned out after he left that Gen. Ely, whom he named as the bureau officer whose clerk made

confessions to him, was *no* bureau officer, he having been mustered out of service some time before. He never was a bureau officer in Florida at all, but was in South Carolina, and was discharged long before. There was a vagueness about all this witness said which deprived it of the character of legal testimony.

So far as the matter of the house in Florida and the stealing of it by a Mr. Sutton was concerned, it was of small value, but was believed to have been taken away illegally, and immediately the Commissioner gave orders for the prosecution of Sutton, and professional aid was employed for that purpose. Here there was no fault.

Possibly the sale of the hospital lot for \$6,000 to Howard University, after it had been purchased for \$12,000, may be brought under this head.

The explanation of that is that the Retained Bounty fund was in the hands of General Balloch as its trustee, that its earnings of interest were \$6,000, and that the principal only had to be accounted for. Under the order of the President it was brought into the bureau, and under the order of the Commissioner of the bureau it was placed in the hands of General Balloch, and he must be ready to answer to any bounty claims at any time they should be authenticated. But they were to be answered to the extent of the capital only, without interest.

The land which had been bought for \$12,000 was sold to the University for \$6,000, and the Retained Bounty fund remained intact, and the gain enured to the benefit of the Howard University.

It was designed by General Butler originally that that fund should be for the benefit of the poor freedmen, and it can now be seen how they are deriving benefit from this operation.

MR. HOAR. I do not think that I am quite possessed of your explanation; be good enough to state again.

GEN. HOWARD. General Butler had command in North Carolina and Virginia. He retained by an order of his a portion of each colored man's State bounty, for the benefit of the women and children. It remained in the hands of General Butler's disbursing officers in North Carolina and Virginia. Operating under the President's order when I took charge of the Freedmen's Bureau after its organization, that money came into my hands, and I made General Balloch trustee thereof, and he invested a portion of it for a school up here prior to any law. I reported it to Congress and asked for a law, and a law was passed, and I was subsequently authorized to invest that sum in government securities.

This order of General Butler's was in 1864. I took charge of the bureau in 1865, and the investment was made January 3, 1867.

MR. KETCHUM. The investment in this land was prior to the act of Congress approved 2d of March, 1867, the enactment of which General Howard procured, giving a legal character to the fund, and authorizing its investment in government bonds.

This land was sold to the Howard University for \$6,000, and the money was, with the rest of the Retained Bounty fund, invested by General Balloch in government bonds under the act of Congress.

MR. HOAR. From whom was this land purchased?

MR. KETCHUM. From strangers.

MR. HOAR. At what price?

MR. KETCHUM. At \$12,000, including the building.

MR. HOAR. And it was paid for out of this Retained Bounty fund?

MR. KETCHUM. Yes; and after it was paid for it was rented at \$1,200 a year for two or three years.

MR. HOAR. Having purchased it from the Retained Bounty fund at a cost of \$12,000 you sold it to the Howard University for \$6,000; was that because the price of \$12,000 was too large, or was it because the other \$6,000 was not needed as a gift?

MR. KETCHUM. The \$6,000 had become a gain by rent, or interest, or both. There was no injunction or obligation to increase the fund; there was only an obligation to hold it safely. This gain accrued to the Howard University, and the Retained Bounty fund remained intact. The Howard University, for the hospital and the asylum, obtained this house and land for \$6,000, instead of \$12,000.

MR. HOAR. In other words, you gave to the University, by reason of making that sale at \$6,000 less than the cost, the \$6,000 which had been a gain, and you kept your original fund intact?

MR. KETCHUM. Yes, sir; that was the operation.

General HOWARD remarked that the four years' occupancy of the house had injured it very much and reduced its value.

MR. HAMILTON inquired where this fund was invested.

MR. KETCHUM. It was invested in a piece of land where the hospital now is, prior to act approved March 2, 1867; but it is now invested in United States bonds, which I believe the Commissioner of the bureau caused to be purchased.

There is another item to which I may refer. Just south of the Capitol you may see prominent a row of frame houses, buff color, with gables facing toward it. They are on square 640, and there are ten houses that cost \$1,300 each. The land belonged to the University; the buildings were erected as tenements for the poor, and were rented to them. They are in good order, better than tenements ordinarily found for poor colored people in this city, or in any other city, I suppose. The people who dwelt in them are comfortable and pay their rent. Under the order of the Secretary of War and Judge Holt's opinion they were transferred to the Howard University by the Commissioner of the bureau, and they now belong to the Howard University, and it receives the rents, which form part of its revenue.

Squares 1054 and 1055 have been referred to in the testimony as Lincoln Green. They lie east of the Capitol, and almost as far from it as the Treasury Department is west. These two squares of land were conveyed to the same trustees that hold the Barry farm, Senator Pomeroy, Mr. Elvans, and General Howard. There are seventy-six tenement houses on them. They are the houses that were built where the sand was brought of which testimony was given here. They cost about as much apiece as the other houses on square 640. When General Grant was Secretary of War he recommended this work to be done for the aid of the freedmen.

The money derived from this property is devoted to educational purposes for the freedmen. There is no evidence before the committee that the houses were extravagantly built, or that they were un-

necessary, or that they were unused. No rent has been lost, nor anything done in regard to them which would show extravagance, negligence, or want of care.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that these belong at present to the Howard University?

MR. KETCHUM. No, sir; they are held in fee by the trustees, Senator Pomeroy, General Howard, and J. R. Elvans, the same trustees who hold the Barry farm. They are held for educational purposes generally, the funds to be devoted, under the laws concerning the Freedmen's Bureau, to those objects.

GEN. HOWARD. They are not limited to those three institutions mentioned before.

MR. HOAR. Under what authority of law do you say that this fund was so disposed of?

MR. KETCHUM. I understand it to be under that discretionary power which is given to the Commissioner for the use of those moneys, that is, for the benefit of the freedmen, and for their education, &c. That I understand to be the authority which is broadly given by those sections to which I have already referred.

GEN. HOWARD. That and the absolute necessity there was to provide tenements for the poor.

MR. KETCHUM. And here, Mr. Chairman, it may be well to express a thought which has often occurred to me, and which may have occurred to members of this committee. Here is a bureau of the War Department. It is really a civil service and not military. There is a bureau in the Treasury called the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The act concerning internal revenue is very long, with many sections. This Freedmen's Bureau has been treated very differently by Congress. The sections referring to it are few, and the discretion and authority given are large. Now if Congress believed that this officer was a bad man it certainly would not have left him with so large discretion. It would have bound him with many directions and limitations. I refer to this because the question brings it up, showing the discretion which the Commissioner had, and showing how he has been exercising it to the best of his ability, and with the best counsel he could get in Washington, from gentlemen in the Senate, and in the Departments, and even from gentlemen on the bench. It was testified by Senator Pomeroy that the Barry farm enterprise was not undertaken without prior communication with the excellent Dr. Brodhead, of the Treasury Department, the Second Comptroller, and even with the Chief Justice himself.

THE CHAIRMAN. What was the cost of that property on square 1054?

MR. KETCHUM. The cost of the houses was about the same as that of the houses on square 640—\$1,300 each.

GEN. HOWARD. The cost of the two squares, 1054 and 1055, was \$25,000. The houses averaged about \$1,300. That was Major Brown's testimony.

MR. KETCHUM. These poor people were scattered all over the city, in various barracks and other places, where the land belonged to private owners, who demanded a restoration of their property and who were to have it. It was therefore necessary to remove all of them, and they would have been homeless if provision had not been made

for them, and under the advice referred to, of the Secretary of War and now President, General Grant, this enterprise was undertaken that they might have homes. That was the necessity of the case, and the houses have been so occupied since.

"In the interest of himself and family and intimate friends," the charge goes on to say.

He has no family but his wife and little children, and "his intimate friends" is too broad and vague a term for me to notice more particularly.

In the fifteenth specification it is charged that "he is one of a ring known as the Freedmen's Bureau ring."

Now, Mr. Chairman, what is a ring? We do not find a definition in the dictionary. I think Edmund Burke said that "A party is an association of men with the object of promoting the public welfare on some principle of government on which they are agreed." That is a party formed for the welfare of the State.

But a ring is very different. And I undertake to give a definition of the ring. It is a secret association of dishonest persons (sometimes pretending to be opposed to each other) for committing depredation on public or private interests for their own advantage. That is very different from a party. It is of less magnitude; it is selfish instead of patriotic, and it is secret instead of public. Its existence may be suspected or may be known but will not be acknowledged by its members. They keep their ways secret. They are dishonest. They want to commit depredations on public or private interests, and too often they do it; and it is for their own advantage. That is what this charge must intend.

So the difference between a party as defined, and a ring as intended by this charge, is as wide as the difference between patriotism and treason—between virtue and vice.

Party is necessary to give effect in government to the popular will. The same thing is necessary for success in any great public service. There must be men associated for its advancement, and they must be of one mind in respect to the animating principle. And they must know, and understand, and confide in each other.

In England the Stuarts and the Star Chamber could not be resisted and overcome by a single man. The patriots of that country were combined for strength, and they established the rights of the people against tyranny.

A hundred years ago, when independence was to be achieved by the United Colonies of America, there must be agreement and coöperation between Washington and Franklin, the Adamses, Jefferson, Hamilton, Sherman, and the rest, whose wisdom and courage won what we enjoy to the full—independence, freedom, and prosperity.

So the vast work, opened before this country at the close of the rebellion, for the protection, relief, and elevation of the enslaved race made free, demanded talents for administration, and a distribution of labor among men of congenial spirit, with a heart for the work.

Such men, with this accused officer at their head, became enlisted in this service, in the spirit of patriotism and of true religion.

It is no wonder that when there was government aid under law for the freedmen there should be schools and savings banks. No wonder

that education and industry and thrift should go hand in hand, raising the people who for two hundred years had labored without wages, and lived without rights which their masters or any others were bound to respect.

General Saxton, before the Freedmen's Bureau was created, began a Freedmen's Savings Bank at Beaufort, S. C., and had gathered from the people there, who were working industriously, some \$200,000. It was my privilege to invest this in government bonds, and under General Saxton's direction to turn it over to this Freedmen's Saving and Trust Company, upon its being chartered by Congress.

The influence and operation on these poor people was very good, and will be lasting. This savings bank has received in all thirteen millions of dollars of these people all over the country, and has now about a million and a half remaining on deposit.

Colonel Eaton, the actuary, has testified here that the average duration of deposits is three months, and he says that the money already drawn has been drawn by depositors mainly for the purpose of paying for land—that they have invested in land, and are getting homesteads for themselves. There is nothing evil in that. They are not political institutions, they are kept and carried on for the benefit of these people themselves.

Something has been said here about certain expenses that were paid by the bureau. When the bank was established in Washington, the Commissioner of the bureau allowed the cashier who testified before you to occupy a cellar room, and afterward, on the corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Nineteenth street, to occupy a room where there was a bureau officer in one part and a bank clerk or cashier in another part. Certainly this was not extravagance or negligence—it was for the benefit of the freedmen. You will recollect that the only thing to be paid out of the gains of this bank are its expenses, and that all beyond expenses was to be divided among the depositors. Therefore, whatever expenses the bank incurred would be so much lost by the depositors, and whatever it saved would be so much gained by them. But the bureau derived an advantage from the services of these bank officers in various ways, in regard to bounties, education, &c. That has all been explained in the testimony. It is one of those things that seem too small to make so great clamor about.

The freedmen's schools are also a part of the wrong charged against General Howard. Certainly no one who was concerned in getting up these charges ever went to the South and entered any of these schools—never went there to see what kind of people were there and what benefits were bestowed and received. They hate the bureau and General Howard, and so they calumniate the schools with them. The freedmen's schools are blessings to the people and the country, while these accusers see nothing in them but political machinery for operation to their injury.

Mr. Chairman, it is a shocking perversion of truth to say that the devoted self-denying men and women who composed the body of laborers for the welfare of the freedmen, from the chief in Washington to the humblest teacher in the plantations, composed a "ring."

Their animating principle was benevolence, and the daily fruits of their labor appeared in the improvement of the freed people.

That man is to be pitied who, looking upon all this can see nothing in it to commend, but only something to revile.

“As heaven's blest beam turns vinegar more sour,”

so benefits and blessings, however abundant and visible to the good, are only bitterness and gall to the malevolent. And this is the due reward of malevolence.

“Truth dwells with all that truth prefer,
But seeks not them that seek not her.”

Upon them, under a law divine and just shall be sent strong delusion that they should believe a lie, losing all the rich enjoyment that God gives to man in the perception and promotion of truth in the world.

General Howard had friends around him from the centre to the circumference of the field he occupied, courageous and faithful; not dishonest or unworthy.

He would not to-day win the verdict of the committee or the approval of Congress by the sacrifice of one of those faithful and excellent persons.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BY THE BUREAU.

Now, sir, allow me to call attention to what really has been done by the Freedmen's Bureau. Let me remind you of General Sherman's march—that march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, back through Georgia to Resaca, thence through the mountains into Alabama, down central Alabama to Gaylesville, then again to Atlanta, and then to Savannah.

Here was a great extent of country traversed by our army through a width of two hundred miles. In all that country the population became chaotic. As the army marched it was approached by the poor and wretched, who thought, and had a right to think, that here was freedom for them. They gathered about the army, clung to it with all their poverty and wretchedness, their raggedness and nakedness, their hunger and thirst, their weakness and sickness; and they were not repelled. The army went from Savannah to Beaufort, South Carolina, and from Beaufort to Columbia, thence eastward to Raleigh in North Carolina, and thence to Richmond. At Wilmington, North Carolina, it was necessary to ship eight thousand of these poor people southward to the Sea Islands, in charge of General Saxton, for it was necessary that they should have some resting place, and there they could be sustained. There were in different places in the South one hundred and forty-eight thousand of these poor refugees and freedmen to whom the commissary department had been issuing rations, and these were to be transferred to their future homes, or to homes where employment could be found. If only a hundred thousand of them had been supplied with rations for the five years in which the bureau has been performing its work, at twenty cents for each a day, that would have cost \$36,500,000, and if that hundred thousand people (not the one hundred and forty-eight thousand, you perceive) had been supplied with clothing at \$10 a year each, that would have cost \$5,000,000 more, so that it

would have cost \$41,500,000 to keep these hundred thousand for five years as paupers. This was the operation that was going on at that time.

Then began transportation. These poor people who had followed our army were to be sent to homes; were to be set to work if possible; were to be shown to some way of living. And this became the work of the bureau.

It is a matter of history that General Howard commanded the right wing of General Sherman's army in its march to the sea; that he saw these people on the way, knew their condition and that of the country, and knew their wants. That march completed, and Mr. Lincoln, who had already selected General Howard for the place of Commissioner of the bureau, being taken away, Mr. Stanton took care to place him where Mr. Lincoln had designed him to be, and President Johnson made the appointment. Thus he came to the work with a full knowledge of what was required, and he immediately set himself about it.

Then a plan was formed to organize joint-stock companies to take up plantations and work them by free labor. These joint-stock companies were more profitable to the poor, who get a partial support from them, than they were to the members, for they lost much of what they put in, and the companies were in many cases a failure. Their benevolence was rewarded by partial good to the poor, but they made nothing for themselves. It will be remembered that as the months rolled on the hope of profit from the culture of cotton was dissipated, and the crop became an utter loss. The people had nothing to live upon, and authority was then given by law to issue rations to all classes. Seventy-five thousand people were thus fed in South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, in five months. Then came a great trouble. The abandoned lands which had been put in charge of this bureau must be taken from the freedmen and others and restored under the order of President Johnson to those who had held them, and many controversies grew up, some specimens of which have appeared in the testimony here. Peace and good order must be maintained, and they were. Eight hundred thousand acres of this land were restored to applicants. You have heard very little complaint here on this subject, and such as came did not, I think, commend itself to your respect.

Then the administration of justice had been abolished. There was no law, there were no courts; the strong might overcome the weak—the poor especially under charge of the bureau were defenseless. So it became a necessity that the bureau should establish justice, and it did so. Its officers exercised authority to effect arbitrations. The officer of the bureau would be an arbitrator with some planter and some other person, and they would hear the case and determine it; and this went on until the habit returned of looking to some authority and submitting to its decisions. And after this practice had been established it was found safe under Mr. Johnson's reconstructed governments to transfer this jurisdiction to those authorities, but always with the concession on their part that the colored man should be a witness. The colored man in the South had never been a witness until these operations of the

bureau secured his right to be heard as such in courts of justice. That was a great advantage, and it was won by this bureau. We have heard no praise of the bureau for this from the other side. In North Carolina there were three thousand four hundred and five such cases in three months, and there were a hundred thousand cases in all in a year, under the administration of the bureau.

It will be remembered that when, early in 1865, the bureau took charge of issuing rations to colored people there were one hundred and forty-eight thousand persons so supplied by the commissary department of the army. It will be interesting to see how these numbers became reduced. In September, 1865, the number was reduced to seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and fifty. There had been a rigid examination of each applicant, and every one was rejected who could help himself. There was a continuous reduction, so that on the 1st of September, 1866, the number had become twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and in the next year, 1867, to eleven thousand six hundred and fifty-eight. And then aid was only given to the helpless and the destitute freedmen and refugees.

There was a special fund of \$500,000 (afterward increased) set apart by the Commissioner, under the sanction of the Secretary, and fifty-eight thousand persons, white and colored, were fed daily in 1865, upon authority of the act of Congress then passed, under the necessities of the case. In the year ending 1st September, 1868, there was an average number of sixteen thousand eight hundred and four persons fed under that law, and in 1869 the average fell to one thousand nine hundred and eighty-three. During the same period clothing was distributed among the destitute to the amount of \$252,547, besides old clothing from quartermasters that was unfit to issue to the troops. Employment was found for multitudes, who were put in a self-supporting condition.

But one of the very early things done in this work was to secure the rights of the freedmen by contracts under which they should do the work and have their pay secured. These contracts were printed and written, and in a single State no less than fifty thousand in one year were drawn and executed in duplicate. The good results that followed the use of these contracts became well known to the country at that time.

By the operation of the medical department, hospitals and asylums for the sick and infirm old people and orphans who had been abandoned by their former owners were provided, and the death rate was reduced in the first six months from thirty per cent. to four per cent. The number of hospitals established by the bureau over the country was fifty-six. The number of patients in 1867 was one hundred and forty-four thousand one hundred and forty-nine; in 1868 one hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and forty-nine; in 1869 sixty-five thousand six hundred and thirty.

The bureau has had under its care seven hundred thousand sick and infirm persons, for whom no provision was made by the regular authorities. Insane persons are included in that number. For more than a year efforts were made to transfer these to the local authorities. Now the fifty-six hospitals are reduced to one, and the five orphan asylums are reduced to one, and these are located in this Dis-

trict. I will ask General Howard to read a paragraph which I have marked on page 10 of his last year's report:

General Howard read the paragraph, as follows:

"A vast amount of such testimony to the industry and progress of the freed people could be gathered from the records of this office, and it is confirmed by the fact that the great mass of freedmen are now self-supporting, and that many have commenced planting and other business on their own account. In spite of all disorders that have prevailed and the misfortunes that have fallen upon many parts of the South, a good degree of prosperity and success has already been attained. To the oft-repeated slander that the negroes will not work, and are incapable of taking care of themselves, it is a sufficient answer that their voluntary labor has produced nearly all the food that has supported the whole people, besides a large amount of rice, sugar, and tobacco for export, and two millions of bales of cotton each year, on which was paid into the United States Treasury during the years 1866 and 1867 a tax of more than forty millions of dollars (\$40,000,000). It is not claimed that this result is wholly due to the care and oversight of this bureau, but it is safe to say, as it has been said repeatedly by intelligent southern men, that without the bureau or some similar agency the material interests of the country would have greatly suffered, and the government would have lost a far greater amount than has been expended in its maintenance."

MR. KETCHUM. By the first section of the act of June, 1866, Congress provided that all the public lands in Alabama, Mississippi, and other States should be opened to settlement according to the stipulations of the homestead law of 20th May, 1862. Under that law homesteads upon the government lands in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Florida, were obtained and the freed people were encouraged to get them. Four thousand families availed themselves of the opportunity. In South Carolina alone, under the influence of Governor R. K. Scott, late Assistant Commissioner, forty thousand acres were purchased by the freedmen and are held by them now.

Then as to the school work: at the beginning of the war, in 1862, the work began of teaching these people on the Sea Islands, and I had the pleasure of seeing it there at that time. The work went on and when this bureau came into existence it was found that the benevolent associations which had been engaged in it had accomplished much, and therefore it was provided in the act of 16th July, 1866, that the Commissioner should at all times coöperate with private benevolent associations of citizens, in aid of freedmen and with agents and teachers duly accredited and appointed by them, and should hire buildings for purposes of education. These associations did as much for the government as the government did for them and sometimes much more. Take for example the American Missionary Association, whose representative, Rev. George Whipple, was examined before you. In the work of that association there was expended from 1862 to 1869, \$1,650,000. This was in teaching the freed people. The bureau by rental, construction and repairs, and by transportation as authorized by the act of Congress, appropriated \$213,000 of this—not one seventh of the whole amount above mentioned. The \$213,000 was not paid to or received by the American

Missionary Association. The great part of it was disbursed by the bureau itself in the way of construction and repairs. These things were necessary. The Rev. Mr. Whipple testified here of them. One of the unpleasant things that followed his testimony was that it was next day reported in *The Cincinnati Gazette*, whose correspondent here is H. V. Boynton, a witness for the prosecution, that the Rev. George Whipple, the secretary of the association, had testified that it had got \$240,000 out of the bureau through the hands of *myself*, their treasurer, the counsel of General Howard, and that a large portion of the money had been sent over to Charles Howard, the Western secretary at Chicago. Next, the same thing appeared in the *Journal of Commerce* in New York, with this slight addition that "of course for these curious proceedings there was no authority of law." And so the stories have gone forth concerning the American Missionary Association. It shows the spirit which animates the men who make this pursuit. That American Missionary Association expended six times as much as the government in the work it did. It is a noble institution and has produced important results. You heard from it that it had sent forth four hundred colored teachers qualified to instruct their people. You heard from Mr. Whipple that the association is attending more and more to normal school instruction, and that the four hundred teachers it has sent out are but a tenth of the number the people want.

A circular was issued by the Commissioner as soon as he came into office, calling upon the benevolent associations to make known their willingness to coöperate with the bureau, and some thirty of them responded—associations composed of men of various religious denominations of the country. None were excluded.

Perfect liberality has been shown by the American Missionary Association in its work. It is not sectarian. And a large catholicity has been shown by the bureau in its coöperation with benevolent associations, apportioning its aid according to the amounts invested by them.

And here may I not refer to the very singular exhibition made one day, when General Avery of North Carolina, who had been a bureau officer, declared with so much vigor, if not bitterness, that he had protested against the appropriation of money to the Normal School at Raleigh, in North Carolina, because its trustees had been rebels? He was an inspector of schools, and yet he did not take the trouble to go and see that school. He saw the position in which that placed him, and he began to explain that he had been very much engaged on court martial duty, and so had not been to that school, the building for which had been erected during that time. But before he was on court martial duty the school had been kept in another house, and he acknowledged he had never visited that. He was indignant because the bureau gave money for the benefit of that school, the trustees of which, he said, were notorious rebels. I was very glad when the Rev. J. Brinton Smith came here to tell us how that matter was. Those trustees were selected by the Episcopal bishop. They belonged to his church and were men of excellent character. And I was pleased to learn something of Colonel Cox, one of those trustees. It appeared that Colonel Cox, who had been

a confederate officer, had "accepted the situation" and had come in as a Christian gentleman and an American citizen to do his duty faithfully to the country, and that he had been elected by the Republican party county attorney. That was the indorsement which his neighbors had given him. And yet here was a protest which General Avery made against General Howard's administration on that ground. Now who can doubt that General Avery had some personal reason for coming here and saying what he did?

But as those "protests" came in it was seen that they established the more clearly the justice and liberality with which this office had been administered by its incumbent.

Remember that the act of July 16, 1866, sanctioned all the Commissioner had done, and enlarged his powers. The bureau coöperated with private associations. In every State at least one normal school has been established for the freed people; the University in this District was also established.

At this point I desire to express my acknowledgments as a citizen to the Hon. Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts, a member of this committee, for the very interesting and instructive speech made by him in the House of Representatives on the 6th of this month, upon "Universal Education as a National Concern and a National Necessity." I have been much impressed by the history he gives of the desire of Washington for national education. In his first speech to Congress (1789) he recommended to their patronage the promotion of science and literature, concluding a paragraph on that subject with these words:

"Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aid to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberation of the legislature."

But Congress took no action upon this recommendation. Then in 1796, when the Farewell Address was to be made and Washington received from Hamilton the first draft, he returned it with regret that the topic of education was omitted, and praying that a section might be introduced expressive of the sentiments he then repeated.

Hamilton replied, wafering a piece of paper on the original, in which, in the short paragraph as it now appears in the Address, the expression was given.

Again in his last address to Congress he renews his recommendation, and especially the desirableness of a national university, but this was also fruitless.

At last in his will he inserted the paragraph so earnestly desiring this object for his country, and devoting \$10,000 toward the endowment of a national university. He had before that time selected a site for it—the same now occupied by the National Observatory in this city.

It is affecting to read the concluding paragraph on this subject, on the fourth page of the speech, and I beg leave to quote it here:

"Congress, so far as I can learn, has done nothing to accomplish this the great living and dying wish of Washington. Let us remember that he spoke to our generation as to his own. Every year that the accomplishment of his cherished wish is deferred is a new dis-

obedience and a new ingratitude. Perhaps in the mysterious Providence of God the realization of the dream of Washington has been deferred until the enfranchised race, whose enslavement he lamented, could be admitted to their share of the light of knowledge. To our endless shame be it spoken, the legacy bequeathed by Washington to his country for purposes of national education was suffered to revert neglected to his estate, while the command which, to use the language of his will, he did 'most positively and most solemnly enjoin should in every part thereof be religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect, or delay'—that his emancipated slaves should be taught to read and write—was disobeyed because a compliance with it was prohibited by law."

Is it not remarkable that a University should now be founded here in that which is before you, receiving all applicants irrespective of race or color or previous condition of servitude, and that this should owe its existence to the just action of the Commissioner toward the freedmen, under the discretion given by Congress?

But this present year—may I not say it?—signalized by the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, sees your public servant, under whose administration of affairs the freedmen have been conducted hitherto and this University established, arraigned for alleged offenses that, if committed, would banish him from the society of honorable men.

Would Washington, in view of what is before you, have sanctioned the spirit or the conduct of the assailants?

It is true indeed that the university proposed by Washington was to afford the wealthy home education for their children instead of foreign, which was then, he said, too common, little qualifying them for usefulness in a republican country like ours, while the University looking from its northern eminence upon this Capitol instructs chiefly the poor who must earn something by daily labor to meet their small expenses. But this is to the advantage of the latter. It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth.

In the recently published diary and correspondence of Henry Crabbe Robinson, the English barrister, he tells of a member of the House of Lords, of great wealth, who, approaching the lord chancellor, asked him how he should make his son a great lawyer. "Make him a poor boy," said the lord chancellor. And the mind at once recurs to Lord Eldon, the great judge of equity, and Sir William Scott, master of the civil law, the sons of a coal-heaver of London.

I will ask General Howard to read the paragraph at the bottom of page 11 of his report.

General Howard read as follows:

"My former reports on this subject and those of the general superintendent of education have been so full that a very brief review only is here needed. I found many schools already in existence in those localities that had been for some time within the lines of our armies; these had been established and maintained to a great extent by benevolent associations of the North. As early as September 17, 1861, the American Missionary Association commenced a school for 'contrabands' at Hampton, near Fortress Monroe. On the

8th of January, 1862, Rev. Solomon Peck, D.D., of Boston, established a school at Beaufort, South Carolina. Another was opened at Hilton Head the same month by Bar and K. Lee, Jr. A more general movement was inaugurated by the efforts of E. L. Pierce, Esq., of Boston, and Rev. M. French, and on the 3d of March, 1862, about sixty teachers and missionaries were sent out by societies organized in Boston and New York. Others followed, some working independently, others supported by local churches, and others by new relief associations formed in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other towns. In the early part of 1864 an efficient school system was instituted in Louisiana by Major General Banks, then in command of that State. I did not attempt to supersede these benevolent agencies already engaged in the work of education, but gave them every possible facility for continuing and enlarging their operations."

MR. KETCHUM. In the first year there were ninety-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight pupils reported and there were nine hundred and seventy-five schools. The schools are now two thousand one hundred and eighteen and the pupils two hundred and fifty thousand, and there are a million and a half to be instructed.

MR. HOAR. Do you mean a million and a half of the school age?

MR. KETCHUM. Yes, sir.

MR. HOAR. In that you count something besides colored children?

MR. KETCHUM. Only colored children. This I gather from the reports and authorities of the bureau put in evidence. I will now ask General Howard to read from page 12 in reference to teachers.

General Howard read as follows:

"Too much praise can not be bestowed upon the noble band of Christian teachers who have carried on successfully this work of education. Many of them have come from the very best circles of refined and cultivated society and have been exposed to privations, hardships, and perils which would have discouraged any who were not moved by the spirit of the Divine Teacher. To them belongs the credit in great measure for all that has been accomplished. They have done the hard work; they have been the rank and file in the long fight with prejudice and ignorance. When they first entered the field as teachers, so general and bitter was the opposition to the education of the blacks that scarcely one white family dared to welcome them with hospitality. When they were insulted and assailed very few had the courage to defend them; but their good conduct finally overcame prejudice and better sentiments have gradually grown up in many parts of the South. Hostility to teachers and schools has in a great measure ceased."

MR. KETCHUM. The colored people have themselves given in the last year for school-houses and teachers no less than \$200,000.

Now a few words as to bounties. The soldiers were everywhere defrauded by agents. Since April 17, 1867, the total amount of the bounties paid to soldiers through the agency of the bureau has been \$5,831,417.89, and the balance in the Treasury on these bounties not yet called for is \$1,220 67 6.52. A part of the system is a full, complete, and minute record of each case, so that its history can be easily traced.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN EMANCIPATION.

The British government in 1833 abolished slavery in the colonies, giving \$100,000,000 to the masters, with an apprenticeship of the freedmen for seven years; but Bermuda and Antigua waived the apprenticeship and had very favorable results, while elsewhere, with apprenticeship, there were disappointment and disaster, so much that the complete liberation was afterward anticipated by two years.

This government gave instant freedom to four million of slaves, and devoted some \$13,000,000 through this bureau to the benefit of the freed people; and education was provided for, and industry enjoined upon them.

Pauperism was soon reduced and independence grew up on every side. In five years the work has been done so well, with the means employed, that the experiment of emancipation has become a great success, and the nation has a right to regard its colored population, once slaves, as a most hopeful element of strength, rapidly growing in knowledge, prosperity, and usefulness.

We boast not of our slavery, but of its overthrow and of the policy and fruits that followed it. In the past we refined upon the cruelties of ancient Rome in the ingenuity of our system for the supremacy of the master over the slave; but, led through the wilderness of our rebellion by the Hand that governs the universe and turns the hearts of men as the rivers of water are turned, we have been brought into a land of peace wherein dwelleth righteousness.

It is guilty Manasseh who humbling himself in his affliction is brought again to his kingdom. It is Saul of Tarsus which persecuted in times past now preaching the faith which once he destroyed.

So appears our nation in the contrast between ten years ago and the present time.

A VIEW OF LOSS AND GAIN.

Allow me now to show you what is the loss and what is the gain by the action of General Howard in some of those things in respect to which he is most bitterly assailed by his accusers.

In the first place, I may say here that as to the sand, of which we have heard so much, and as to which it was said there was a loss of \$4,030, there is a great mistake. The testimony which came in afterward by Major Clark showed that there were six thousand surplus bushels at squares 1054 and 1055 at the time Mr. Perkins was discharged, and then three thousand of those bushels were used, leaving only three thousand surplus. So the loss by the mistake in bushels—which was a mistake as to the number of bushels in a load—amounted only to \$1,935. What was saved by the use of the building-block for the University, instead of pressed brick, was \$25,000. What was saved by the lumber bought in the State of Maine, about which there can be no dispute whatever upon the testimony, was \$7,086.98. And when it was complained that there had been a loss by sea from the want of insurance, it turned out that the government never permitted insurance. There was saved by the Smith farm to the University as follows: Paid for the farm \$149,500; received for sales of lots \$172,234; excess over amount of purchase money \$24,734. And there remain fifty-two acres of that land which are reserved to the University, and they are

worth at least \$3,000 each. That would be \$156,000, making a total gain from the Smith farm of \$180,734. Obtained by donations for the Howard University, from private sources, by General Howard's own personal efforts, \$58,000. Total gains \$270,820.98. Loss by the fall of the hospital, \$22,000, and expense of extra work on University building, \$5,000, and loss by the sand at squares 1054 and 1055, \$1,935, making a total of \$28,935. This deducted from the above leaves a net gain of \$241,885.98.

WHO ARE THE ASSAILANTS ?

Mr. Chairman, I alluded this morning to the fact that no person appearing before this committee had acknowledge himself the originator or procurer of these charges. But we are not blind. And I think I ought to make some examination of the evidence before you with a view to his discovery.

I say that if any of those who have appeared before the committee are at the origin of those charges as prompter and solicitor, we have a right to expose them, for the assault is upon a man high in office greatly trusted by the government and the country, a soldier who has fought bravely in its defense, and a man whose Christian character is dear to his associates and to multitudes of good men throughout the land. At an early period of this trial I presented to a witness called by the prosecution—a gentleman of some eminence, the Rev. Dr. Boynton of this city—a pamphlet, and I showed him pages 2 and 5. He admitted he wrote them. On page 2 it was complained that General Howard in a public assembly, where people were gathered to contribute as Christians toward the foundation of a church in this city, had made an appeal for aid, presenting himself as one for whose sake the money should be given. That is the spirit of the charge. That extract is copied in the testimony. It was explained in evidence that in Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn in 1866, at the meeting of the Congregational Union, the reverend gentleman who was the witness had preached a sermon, and that one of his people, General Howard, had been called up and had made an address. In fact there was much enthusiasm. Many persons sent up money for the object; some was specially marked as a gift to General Howard, and Mr. Beecher handed it over in the pulpit saying, "This is for you." But it was at once made a gift to the church. "It is all your gift to the church," said Mr. Beecher in that undertone of his which is allowed to be heard by the whole congregation. General Howard, so cordially received, did say to those people: "Well, if you are disposed to give me anything, give me a house for the Lord in the national capital, where I want to see it established." He was engaged in that movement and greatly aided it. But on page 5 it is complained that General Howard in the Sunday school had offered rewards to the scholars for bringing in other children, without respect to color, whereby colored children had been brought into the school without consulting the pastor. Why was this treasured up by that witness against General Howard and made prominent in that pamphlet which he admitted was written by him? It was a bitter attack upon General Howard and was widely distributed over the country. I feel humili-

ated as I refer to it. But the surgeon must look upon what is repulsive and so must the advocate. And here is one of those repulsive things. Especially I desire to deal considerably with one who is a teacher of religion, and I leave him here with the wondering words of the Roman poet:

“Can such anger dwell in heavenly minds?”

Now another witness appears in this case, Henry V. Boynton. He testified that in a church of which it appears from his testimony his father was the minister, something occurred which led him to say to General Howard one evening at the close of a meeting, when persons of both sexes were present, that if he (General Howard) had two arms he would attack him, and that if any of his friends would say what he had said he would settle the matter at once. With pain I refer to this, and from necessity. “Affliction cometh not from the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground.” What is on these papers and what has been before Congress and this committee and before the country came not without a cause. It has cost much labor. It must have cost much money. And there has been a bitterness in it which can not be accounted for except there be something besides a desire for the public welfare. Some heart must have been set upon revenge.

Allow me to refer to some things notorious: attacks in the newspapers every day, and all over the country. Four of them are corresponded with by this witness, one by letter every day, and the rest by brief dispatch; and two hundred more by exchanges. That is a great power, and he knew that it was a great power. We have heard of it on this trial, and I call attention to it here because I think it has much significancy.

In the summer of 1868 two persons witnesses here called at General Howard's house—Dr. Hiram Barber and Mr. Delano. They sat with him holding earnest conversation. There were difficulties in the church, and they were of the church, and they set before General Howard the power of the press, the fact of his being a public man, the value of the friendship and favor of those who wielded the power of the press, and the terrors for those who defied that power. They set before him the value of winning regard and not provoking enmity. They set before him the probability that he would desire public favor, and they recommended him to provide for it, and come over to their side and to the side of that minister (the Rev. Dr. Boynton) whose pamphlet I have referred to—which pamphlet had not yet been published. The committee excluded the pamphlet from the evidence, all but those two passages, and I do not regret it. There is enough of it in to show the animus. There was a father and there was a son. Whether, as in the case of the old Carthaginian, the oath of eternal enmity was put to the son, or whether the son volunteered an oath of eternal enmity, I know not. But that the son was determined, whether for causes connected with a father's changed position (for it appeared that he quitted the church) or not, to have revenge upon those who had been concerned in the dismissal of his father, there can be little doubt. These are some of the facts, and here

are some of the results. General H. V. Boynton, was summoned here as a witness the first week, and from day to day he was in the corridor. And sometimes when the committee was not in session he was inside. He was in full concert with the counsel and the honorable gentleman who introduced the resolution on which this inquiry was based. He was waiting at the door to catch the witnesses as they entered or retired and to gather what he could from them, and to send it off, not honestly, but garbled and falsified.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it necessary to go into this matter of conspiracy?

MR. KETCHUM. I have not a particle of animosity against this man, and yet so great has been the wrong perpetrated by him, so constant his assault upon my friend, this accused public officer, so widespread the effects of them, that if I should let this only opportunity pass of presenting his conduct before the committee, and so before the House and the country, I should feel that I greatly failed in my duty. But the moment the chair interposes I will suspend.

MR. TYNER. I think, Mr. Chairman, that if Mr. Ketchum thinks it necessary in the line of his duty to examine here into the conduct and the spirit of these witnesses with a view to show the origin of these charges he has a legal right to do so.

MR. HOAR. One of the witnesses has testified to important matter obtained by him in conversation with General Howard, and I think it clear the counsel has a right to proceed—of course not intimating how the argument may affect the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Confine it as closely as possible to what came before the committee.

MR. KETCHUM. I will do so. You recollect Dr. Barber and his testimony. He was not friendly. Dr. Barber on the first day told us, what would certainly impress the mind of a hearer, that the Howard University had given to General Howard an acre of ground. I asked General Boynton whether he had obtained on the first day a report of the testimony of Dr. Barber given that day, and he was uncertain. I did not get a direct answer. But I think he soon perceived my object, and then he said that on the first day of his testimony Dr. Barber had refused to tell him what it was. I understood very well why he said that. The papers over the country had published it as a fact that General Howard had taken as a gift an acre of ground purchased just before with public money for the Howard University, and thus had put \$1,000 into his pocket out of those public funds. But the next day it appeared in evidence, after all the difficulties of Dr. Barber about identifying the book of records of Howard University containing the minutes he had drafted—it appeared from the original minutes in his own handwriting that it was not so, but that General Howard had declined the gift, and the witness was brought to the recollection of that.

The second day of Dr. Barber's testifying I took care to ask him whether he had informed any one what his testimony was on the first day. He said, "Yes," he had told his wife. "Anybody else?" "Yes, I told Mr. Stevens." "Anybody else?" "Yes, General Boynton." So we had it on the 21st of April that Dr. Barber on the day before, the 20th of April, had told General Boynton what he had testified. But

weeks after, when General Boynton testified, he became quite clear in his recollection (after some obscurity) that Dr. Barber did not tell him on the first day what he had testified, and he came to remember it (as such witnesses commonly do upon pressure) by a fact that came to his mind, and that was that Dr. Barber explicitly declared he would not tell his testimony of that day! But we know the contrary of this. So hard is it in this world to circumvent *truth*.

But then to help General Boynton's recollection I got the *Cincinnati Gazette* of the 21st of April, and found that on the 20th of April, when General Boynton said Dr. Barber had not told him what his testimony was, he (Boynton) had telegraphed to the *Cincinnati Gazette* that Dr. Barber had testified the University had given an acre of ground to General Howard, and then General Boynton, seeing this, acknowledged it.

I asked him if he had acted as clerk to Mr. Wood in this investigation, and he said he had not. I asked him if he had not served as clerk for Mr. Wood in getting papers from the Treasury files, but he denied it. At length, upon close inquiry, he said that he had gone to the Treasury Department when Mr. Wood could not go, and had taken an order or request from Mr. Wood to get a paper he was to testify to, and had copied it and brought it away to Mr. Wood.

Now a fair-minded witness who corresponds with newspapers would not be testifying so. He would understand the meaning of language better. This witness denied the name but he proved the character.

He denied that he had furnished any briefs or drafts of interrogatories to be used on this trial. Yet he admitted, after much pressure, that he had written papers and given them to Mr. Wood, who had brought them here for use. That is not a fair witness. That is not a witness on whose testimony a man like General Howard should be impeached. He denied that he was the originator of these charges or the prompter of them. But he spends his time in writing for the papers against him; and he told Mr. Wood he had written to the *Cincinnati Gazette* all the facts about General Howard, and that if Mr. Wood's charges were in accordance with those letters he felt bound, as a public man who had made them public property, to supply the proofs to sustain them.

Now was he honest in denying that he was the prompter? If he was not, this trial leaves utter darkness upon this subject. But light streams through the openings—openings that all the art and all the conscience, such as it is, of this witness can not close. Here is a man who tries to hide himself. He says:

"Nay, never shake those gory locks at me;
Thou canst not say I did it."

Poor refuge of the guilty—always sought, but always vainly.

Did you notice, Mr. Chairman, how, when I tried to find whether he had not said that he would get an investigating committee out of this Congress, and if not out of this Congress then out of the next—did you notice how he said at last, after much deliberation, "Well, if you put it in that shape, I say no." Was that the way an honest witness would have spoken? Wasn't it the way of a man who was trying to pacify his conscience, such as it was, by catching at some form

of words, or lack of words somewhere, by which he could make an answer to conceal the truth?

Mr. Chairman, an honorable man would have shrunk from doing another thing this witness did. General Howard was willing to converse with him. He had been under the pastorate of his father, and there could be conversation without animosity. But observe that after the subject was disposed of which General Howard introduced, that is, the incorrectness of some newspaper report which had been ascribed to General Boynton, he said, "Now, General Howard, as we are talking in a friendly way, let me ask you a question on another subject." And here, in so friendly a way, he inquires about some other things. They were things he had before reported, and which he has since brought into these charges.

But why did Boynton open this? It was that he might say there was a conversation on the subject between them. Then he could trust to his own heart and pen to shape the language for the injury of the man he was pursuing. Would any *gentleman* do that? Would any one fit to be a public teacher and guide, having a sense of honor and a mind to do good, do that? It was a private conversation, where no thought of publication was entertained by General Howard. Suppose General Boynton had said, "General Howard, sit down; I wish to draw out from you now something to make use of to your injury. I wield that power of the press Dr. Barber set before you a while ago, and as you did not fall in with the plan for creating you as a public man, I intend to destroy you soon, and you will, if you please, just supply me with some weapons; and I can get all I need if you only give me a chance to say we talked together on this subject." Would General Howard have been "pleased" to afford General Boynton that opportunity? Not readily. But if that was General Boynton's purpose he ought to have said so. On the other hand, if it was not his purpose at that time he should never have brought that private conversation here. But in his enmity he has come before this committee, and taking his part in this pursuit he has come to supply out of the treasury of his heart and tongue any lack of testimony. That labels the man. Yet he came here on the second day to testify, and volunteered at the beginning to correct something he said the day before "in justice to General Howard." We extend the hand, not to accept but to reject his proffered justice. We have heard of Joab's salutation of Abner, and of what attended it.

But what occurred here in your presence, Mr. Chairman? General Boynton was asked by one of your committee whether he had obtained from any of the parties or counsel here, bound to secrecy, any of the matters of the trial, about which he had been sending reports to the newspapers. He said yes. From whom? From General Howard and Mr. Ketchum, and from Mr. Bradley and Mr. Wood. I had exchanged no word with him, and so noted on paper to the member. So he was asked when Mr. Ketchum had told him anything, and he answered: Not Mr. Ketchum himself, but those to whom he talked, had told him. When pressed to name them he broke down and said he could not.

Then as to Mr. Wood and Mr. Bradley. "Had he been present in Mr. Bradley's office when he and his associate counsel were talking

with other witnesses?" He said no, but when they were talking with each other. "But didn't Mr. Bradley request him to leave the room?" Yes, he did, but it was impossible for him not to hear portions of what was said. "But did he consider it honorable to publish what he got in that way?" Note his answer. "I did not say I published it. What I heard I used to explain in my own mind information obtained from witnesses."

But an honorable man would have instinctively answered, "I never did publish it!" Because such a man never could have done so.

Then another question, "But you heard it when you ought not to hear it, and then did make use of such information?" He answers, "I do not know that I made use of such information, except as I said, to explain," &c.

He does not know that he made use of that information! He does not venture to say he *did not* use it; and with such a man before me I see as clearly that he used it as I see the character of the man.

We repudiate his testimony. It is disingenuous. General Howard would readily repeat here what he said in that conversation; but he would differ materially from the witness in his narration of it.

This same General Boynton visited the University grounds and told the committee of what he had seen. He had spent two hours in looking at the cracks in the University walls, and in counting the places where new material was put in. There were twelve different cracks and there were three hundred places mended by putting in new material. He went over the ground and looked at the ruins of the hospital and he had spent four hours at the navy yard in witnessing the experiments of Major King with the Hardee committee, which he described with great fluency, giving exactly the relative strength of all the different materials down to chalk, and declaring that chalk was stronger than American building-block. He said he had a "fixed opinion," and it was that the building-block was worthless. He had utterly condemned the University building in his newspaper reports, and so in all his testimony here he did, and he said that nothing would satisfy him to the contrary, his opinion was so fixed. But in the four walls of the University building there are more than twenty-five thousand superficial feet, without including projections and returns, and the three hundred blocks, if renewed, would make but one hundred superficial feet, the two hundred and fiftieth part of the whole; and yet because he saw these cracks and these mendings he condemned the whole building.

Yet Mr. George Cook, a true expert, a man of open, honest countenance, the contractor for the extra work on the University, said this penknife blade of mine could not be inserted into one of those cracks.

A large portion of this mending was on the north side, where there had been exposure to frost, and scaling in consequence. It was local and not general. Yet here is a witness, a public instructor and guide, determined to blast this building and sacrifice the \$150,000 it cost without once going inside to see if it might not after all be safe; not willing even to inquire of Mr. Rumsey, the builder, his father's friend, whether it could not be safely used.

General Boynton (educated as he said he was) did not know ex-

actly what the water table was. He did not know, either, what to call the raised margins of a panel. I do not blame any one for not knowing what they are called, but when a man claims to be a *civil engineer* and an *expert* on building materials and can not tell such things, I do blame him because he shows himself ignorant where he claimed to have knowledge, and that to injure one toward whom he was hostile. He did not know that between the second and third stories heavy panels took the place of the common building-blocks, although his two hours' examination of the cracks made him sure they ran from top to bottom through the wall in the line of the windows. He did not know whether that wall would carry on it another wall like itself and as high without crushing, though he seemed disposed to say it would not. Yet Major King, a really scientific man, knows and says that it would carry the weight of three other walls just like itself without crushing. That is the testimony of Major King, after conducting these experiments at the navy yard.

General Boynton said on appearing the second day, as already alluded to, that he wished "in justice to General Howard" to correct a part of his testimony the day before, about the General's having said in conversation with him that he could lend money to the church out of the Retained Bounty fund. He thought now he might have been mistaken, and that he said it was out of some other bureau fund.

Perhaps he had discovered (although two or three of his friends had been swearing to the same thing) that it was impossible, because the Retained Bounty fund was never used for educational purposes, and as other moneys were, he saw a good time to correct himself and escape into a broader field where he could be more plausible. Besides, he began to feel (if he had not felt before) that a shade of doubt might pass over the minds of the Committee as to his entire impartiality and disinterestedness as a witness. Here, therefore, he could put his amendment to two good uses by opening the morning's work with something "in justice to General Howard."

It would have been an honest act on his part if he had come in here on the second day and made some atonement for the persistent untruth with which he had plied the newspapers through so many days, which any one could see, who understood anything of the case, was designed to produce impressions on the public mind never to be effaced. *That* would have been justice to General Howard.

There is another thing to which I must call attention. Judge Coons was cited here from Tennessee to prove bounty frauds. He came before the Committee, and at the public expense—an expense amounting to some hundreds of dollars—and with the expectation on the part of the prosecution that his testimony would injure General Howard. But they had found in the bureau his report on the intended bounty frauds, and when Judge Coons entered the room they were disposed to dismiss him without examination. The report of Judge Coons will show that he charges one General Burbridge with coming to him and proposing to make \$400,000 out of the colored soldiers of Tennessee and Kentucky, upon a plan which he said had the approval of the bureau. He proposed making some arrangement by which for a small sum the rights of the soldier should be bought, and

assignments of them taken, and that thirty per cent. should go to him (Judge Coons) for helping along the plan as an officer of the bureau. It was a good chance, he said, to make money. Judge Coons listened to him all through. He allowed General Burbridge to tell his story, and then, like an honest man, he said no. It was just the same with General Runkle. General Burbridge and his associates had raised \$10,000 for a fund to carry on the enterprise and their purposes were foiled.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the men who got up the charges knew all this. They had called in Judge Coons' report and had examined it. My much-respected opponent, Mr. Bradley, who had been serving here had looked into that report and he understood its purport and effect.

Mr. Burbridge, the witness, came here and I made no objection to his testimony, but the committee ruled out the interrogatory of the prosecution.

The Hon. Mr. Wood then offered to prove by this witness that General Runkle and Judge Coons were engaged in a conspiracy for committing bounty frauds, and that General Howard knew it.

He was required to prove, first, that knowledge of General Howard, but declined to do so, and put his offer on the record to stand there.

The originators of these charges are responsible for the wrong thus done to General Howard. They study the case outside. They plan, and plot, and prescribe. They sent away without examination the honest witness who detected and defeated the conspiracy for committing the bounty frauds, and brought in one of the conspirators with an offer to prove by him what they knew very well they could not prove.

You recollect how this witness was received by the prosecution that called him. He was asked his occupation; he said, after a pause, "Well, call me a speculator;" and after another pause he added—"and a distiller." Then the Hon. Mr. Wood said, "We don't think in New York that such people have a very high character." It was a rebuff not usually given by an advocate to his own witness.

After that announcement of the estimation in which their witness was held, and after dismissing Judge Coons as they did it was a wrong to "offer to prove by this witness that there was a conspiracy with Judge Coons and General Runkle, bureau officers in Tennessee and Kentucky, with the knowledge of General Howard, to commit bounty frauds," and those men are responsible for it who planned and have carried on this prosecution. Some may be deceived by the show of that offer upon the record in the absence of testimony that would have shown it utterly without foundation.

Mr. Hoar here read from the minutes what took place on that subject, as follows:

Extract from proceedings of committee, June 8, 1870:

MR. BURBRIDGE. I never had any conversation or communication with General Howard, except that which has been introduced here to-day.

MR. WOOD. I offer to prove by this witness that the agents of the

bureau, General Runkle and Mr. Coons, were *particeps criminis* in purchasing these claims at a ruinous rate of discount as agents of the bureau, one of them having \$10,000 in money for that purpose; and that General Howard was made acquainted with the facts, but not by this witness.

MR. HOAR. I move that Mr. Wood be at liberty to proceed to prove that knowledge of the facts which he states was brought home to General Howard, and that when he has proved that General Howard had knowledge of them he may then prove the circumstances to which he refers.

MR. MCNEELY. I move as an amendment that Mr. Wood be at liberty to prove the fact which he has stated, and that he then be at liberty to prove that it came to the knowledge of General Howard.

MR. MCNEELY'S amendment was rejected; yeas 2, nays 4.

MR. HOAR'S motion was agreed to; yeas 4, nays 2.

MR. WOOD. I can only prove the fact by this witness that this thing did occur, and if I am not permitted to prove that fact I have no further questions to ask him.

MR. TYNER. I move that the chairman of the committee be directed to subpoena this witness again as soon as the fact of General Howard's knowledge has been proven by Mr. Wood. Agreed to.

MR. KETCHUM. I thank Mr. Hoar for this reference, it makes very plain what it was my object to show.

At this time I am constrained to say something of that power of the press which Dr. Barber was sent to expatiate upon at the house of General Howard.

That power exercised for the public welfare is a good gift of Providence, but employed for the indulgence of personal malice and revenge it becomes a curse.

Dr. Barber and his prompters were mistaken. A common man with some smartness may happen to reach a place from which he can correspond regularly with several newspapers and gain access through affiliation to several hundred more, and he may for a while fill the air with "flying rumors and wandering fables and reports," may daily reach with pointed paragraphs a great many minds and poison public opinion, and defame personal character, and hinder important enterprises, but the end is near and the punishment condign. Truth rises steadily through all the débris of malice and falsehood that were to smother and destroy it, and lifting its head into the open air looks down upon the falsehood and it perishes.

The scene shifts amuse with their flashes of powder for lightning and rolling cannon-balls for thunder, but when they imagine themselves gods and begin to throw squibs and pieces of iron among the audience they are promptly expelled and punished. Then all men see what pigmies besmeared with the grease and lampblack of their vocation the thunderers were.

It will not be tolerated that men who command little respect in society, who delight in mischief and indulge the basest passions under the pretext of maintaining the public welfare, shall go on successfully in their wickedness.

I honor General Howard for treating the solicitations of Dr. Barber

as he did. His response was like that of Joseph to his tempter—of Daniel to his persecutors. The disciple of his Master, he instinctively followed His example. He resisted the devil. But he who resists has the promise never broken, that the devil shall flee from him.

The persecution of this public servant bears resemblance to that which long since pursued another. A boy out of college, he made speeches for independence. Entering the army he was soon called to the side of the commander-in-chief and so went through the war of the Revolution. He rendered great services as a soldier; and then as a citizen, in devising and establishing the constitution; and afterward as a member of the cabinet, in laying the foundations of administration of the government, and of industry and prosperity among the people—foundations that now lie at the base of the vast structure his prescience contemplated and which we after three generations behold. He possessed abilities that, employed for his own personal advantage, might have won for him any wealth he could desire, yet he devoted himself to his country and died without estate.

It was Hamilton, the friend of Washington, and his Secretary of the Treasury, that was charged with the abuse of his trust by fraudulent uses of the public money. And at last he was aroused to answer his assailants, and at the opening he said: "Lies often detected and refuted are still revived and repeated in the hope that the refutation may have been forgotten, or that the frequency and boldness of accusation may supply the place of truth and proof." Strong words, that show human nature to have been at the that period very much like what it is now. What Hamilton did in his place in the Treasury for his country, Howard has done in the Freedmen's Bureau for the colored people liberated by the war, and for the nation of which they are so important a part.

This work has been a triumph, and it is very natural that its author should meet with assaults from enemies. It was said by Edmund Burke—that great man whose sentences will often supply maxims for our instruction and comfort in the perplexities and sorrows of our human affairs—that "it is in the nature and constitution of things that calumny and abuse must be an essential part of triumph." And the history of the Freedmen's Bureau verifies it.

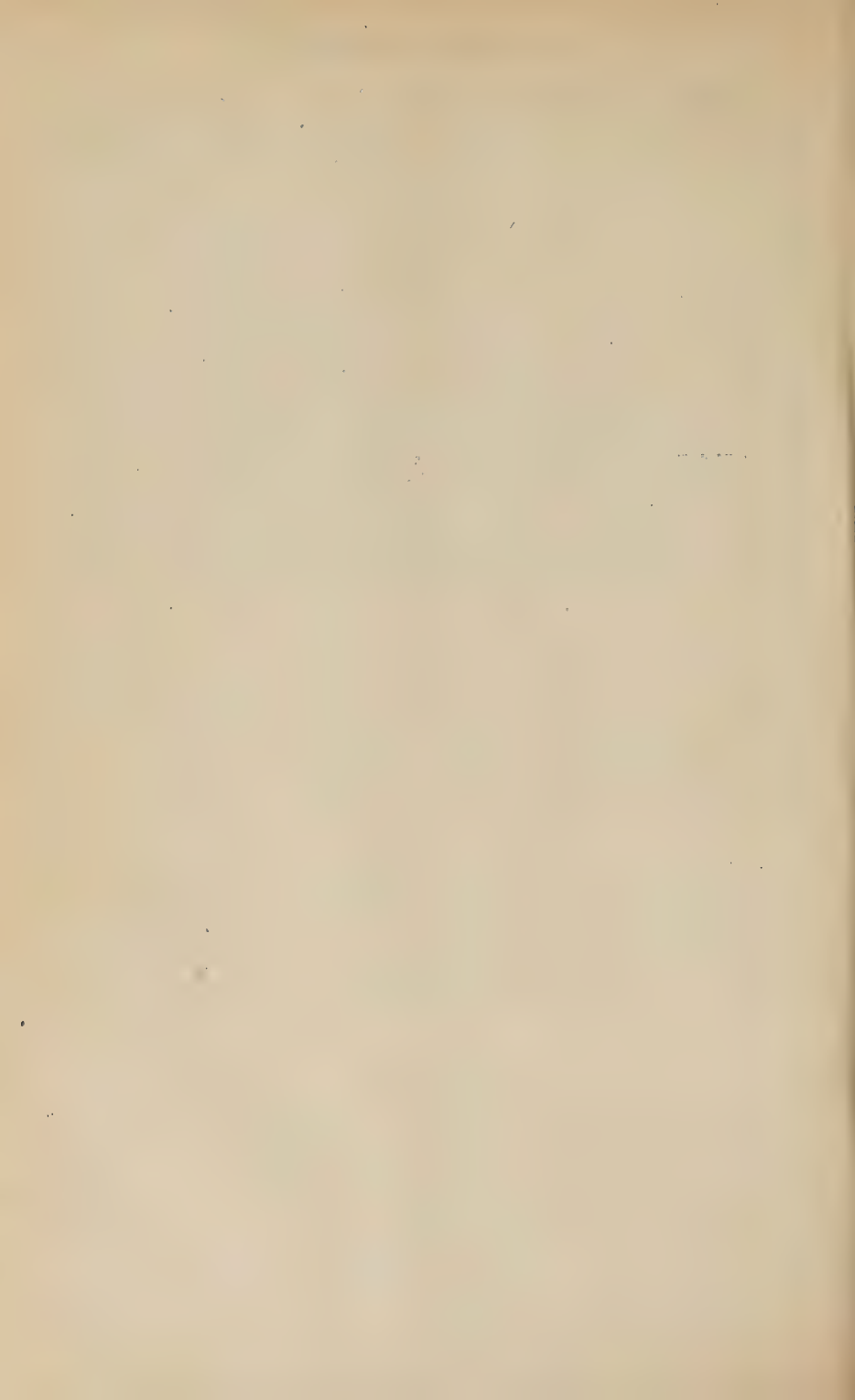
THE MAN REQUIRED.

Mr. Chairman, the work reviewed before you required at its head a man of wisdom, of courage, of experience, with knowledge of the southern country and its people; an army officer and one who would regard the woes and the wants of the freedmen and refugees and carefully provide for them. It wanted a man having the confidence of benevolent and Christian people so as to win their coöperation, which was of so great value that the bureau could not have succeeded without it. Aid came through the churches and Sunday schools, and the aggregate was large. It wanted a man of integrity, honestly to apply the large sum of money intrusted to him with such wide discretion to the objects the nation had in view.

It required the ability of a statesman also, providing not only for

the present but for the future, establishing education and labor so that the disabilities of the colored people should be removed and their capacities made available to the country of which they were becoming citizens.

Now, for this Mr. Lincoln selected General Howard, and he was called to it by Mr. Lincoln's successor through Mr. Stanton, his Secretary of War. General Howard has performed the service, and for the manner of it he deserves well of his country. There is nothing that shows him to have been either negligent or unjust. And this I am well convinced you will find and report, and more:—that this man who gave his right arm to his country and ever held his life at her service—who at her call gave all his powers, physical, mental, and moral to the organization and development of a plan for the elevation and advancement of her freed people, distinguishing her among the nations of the earth, came not hither “upon the oath and presentment of men of honest condition,” but upon “flying rumors and wandering fables and reports,” the creations of malice and the accepted tools of political hostility and design;—that this public officer, whom enemies seeking concealment have endeavored to destroy, deserves not the censure of his country, but her love and praise.



AN APPEAL

AGAINST THE POLICY OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AMONG THE ARMENIAN CHRISTIANS.

*Read at a Special Meeting held in the City of New York, United
States of America, in 1867.*

IN presenting to this honoured assembly a condensed account of the existing differences between your Missionaries and the Armenian Protestant Churches, I fear that some of my hearers will not hesitate to think that we—the Armenian Protestants—after having received incalculable blessings from the American Christians through their missionaries, instead of expressing gratitude are demonstrating an unchristian spirit and evincing ingratitude and dissatisfaction. I beg, therefore, to say that such feelings do not exist either in the hearts of my brethren or myself; and I can assure this assembly that we have always considered the Christians of this country, as well as their missionaries, our most respected benefactors. Feeling that their desire is to spread the light of the truth in dark countries in a way they think best, we—as far as it concerns us—think it our bounden duty to point out to them their mistakes in policy and operation, that the light may be spread more and more, till the earth is filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord. We feel that we are in a condition to do this because of our better acquaintance with the peculiarities of the people, and our knowledge of the manner in which the policy of the missionaries is affecting them.

You have, Rev. Gentlemen, before you a person to deal with who will be very glad to receive your advice; if he is mistaken in one or in all points, nothing will give him more delight and pleasure than to be corrected; and, when he returns to his country, it will give him great satisfaction to communicate to his brethren the opinion formed by this assembly, after a careful investigation of the points under question. I firmly believe that the result of this would be a reconciliation of all parties.

I wish it to be understood plainly that, as far as I am concerned, I have not any personal interest in prosecuting this matter. If you give to my people a better education, after being a father of a few children there is no probability of my having any share in it. If you increase the salaries of those employed by your 'missionaries, it will be no advantage to me; I have long ago determined to live and die with my people. As to treatment, I confess that the missionaries, with few exceptions, have behaved towards me with kindness and regard before these questions were raised. Then what induces me to speak? It is because I am convinced that if we do not attempt to remedy the existing evils, there will be danger of a reaction in the work, which will cause great pain to all who love the kingdom of Christ.

Perhaps some of you will be inclined to ask, are these complaints general, or in some Churches only? I have little doubt my friend, Dr. Wood, will reply: "They are only in Constantinople and its vicinity." We all of us are liable to forget things that are past. If he, in his leisure hours, takes the trouble to look into the Missionary Reports of the last fifteen years (preserved, I believe, in the Mission House), perhaps he himself will be surprised to find complaints, here and there, now and then. If he carefully examines all these, he will discover that there have been complaints in nearly all the stations where the missionaries reside; and his surprise will be still greater when he finds that these grievances are almost all marked by their peculiarities; these were stopped either by dismissing the complainants, or, for their high esteem and love to the missionaries, they did not dispute with them further. The fire, however, is under the ashes. I had the opportunity of seeing many of the pastors, preachers, and members of different Churches; nearly all of them have some complaints, only they are unable to trace them to fundamental principles. And what is most remarkable is, that the most intelligent among them have the most complaints. But suppose these are few; are we to look at the cause and nature of the complaints, or at the number of the complainants? If we find that they have reason for dissatisfaction, shall we say, because the great mass of the people are ignorant, we need not, therefore, remove the cause? If there is a leak in a boat, and only a little water flows in through it, shall we say it is of no consequence, this small quantity of water cannot endanger the safety of the boat? Does the danger lie in the quantity of water, or in that small leak by which the water flows in? Is it not the wisest way to take every measure, as soon as possible, to stop the leak which threatens the safety of the boat? A few years ago they used to say, "Only Pastor Simon Utijian and his Church are dissatisfied with missionary policy;" after a short time the Church at Haskeuy, then the Churches at Constantinople. Find-

ing the numbers of dissatisfied Churches were increasing, the missionaries began, for the comfort of the Christians in America (perhaps their own also) to use the collective term, "Constantinople and its vicinity," instead of enumerating the churches. Who can understand how many Churches they mean in these collective words? Perhaps more than ten Churches.

Suppose we find that these Churches have some ground for dissatisfaction; will you leave them in this condition simply because the policy of the Mission is such as it is? Ah! policy is a good thing when it is adapted for a desired end; but after all policy is not gospel; it is framed by a few short-sighted human beings. They may make a mistake, and, indeed, a great many mistakes. It is, therefore, our duty to give due attention to those who complain, and either to satisfy their demands or to convince them of their errors.

The Christians in this country have spared neither money nor men to plant these churches. Now I ask you, my Christian brethren, to spare a few hours or days to find out a remedy for these difficulties.

I shall now proceed to state, briefly, the principal points of complaints, at the same time submitting them to your consideration.

First, the Church organization. When the missionaries found themselves under the necessity of organizing the first Churches, I have no doubt that they then did whatever they thought best, sincerely and prayerfully; but they must have known that this arrangement could only be temporary. Now, the circumstances are changed; there are numerous Churches with their own pastors, and many congregations which will soon be formed into Churches. It is evident—at least, from the Protestant point of view—that the Church herself is endowed with the right to choose the form of her organization. The present condition of our Churches, in consequence of their organization, is such that they are entirely disconnected, and have no sympathy with each other; they are longing after such an organization as shall contain unity among all individual Churches in profession, practice, and discipline, without destroying the rights of each individual congregation. Any organization which does not contain this simple element will prove, not only a failure, but will offend those to whom we intend to preach the Gospel. All those who are acquainted with Church history are aware that an organization which is peculiar to the Occidental mind cannot be adapted to the Oriental mind. What is the cause that the Roman Catholic Church, which has become the dominant Church in the West, has not succeeded in spreading itself in the East? The Oriental mind has always an inclination on the side of a form of religion which contains in it some elements which unite the whole race together. The Roman Catholic missionaries, having

learned this great lesson, have given permission to their converts to have their choice. By this wise toleration, they have gained, and are gaining, a great many converts.

I cannot see what advantage is to be gained from keeping our Churches in their present isolated condition, the unavoidable consequence of which must be alienation from one another. We have Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries, some of whom are very extreme in their views, and impart their notions to the Churches under their care. Some missionaries advocate re-baptism, while the others condemn it. Churches under the former re-baptize, while the Churches under the latter condemn, and sometimes even go so far as to threaten to have no communion with them. Another branch springs out and says, "You have no authority in your Church; we prefer the Episcopalian form." A missionary preaches, it is said, dangerous doctrines in regard to the Holy Trinity and atonement; Churches under his care are leavened with his doctrines. All these things are done on the responsibility of the missionaries themselves; the Church has not a legitimate voice at all in these matters, only it is passive, subject to their views. If doctrinal and denominational differences are a part of missionary work, and desirable too, it will come to pass very soon; but for the present, while the Protestants in our country are so limited in number, is it wise to keep them in this isolated condition? And besides, must we not consider the form of the Government under which they have to exist, and what denominational system will be most effective?

The only way to secure this end is to have a general conference of the Churches there to confer together (having the missionaries also with them) on this subject; if possible, to consult previously with eminent and experienced ministers both in America and Europe, to act prayerfully and carefully, keeping before them the sublimity of the task, remembering that they are laying a foundation on the firmness of which depends, in one sense, the temporal and eternal welfare of present and future generations. But the missionaries object to this plan by saying, "You have no railroads, and the Churches are distant from each other." Is there any hope of having railroads next year? They say, moreover, "How can so many persons come together?" If we cannot come now, we shall not come at all, for the number of Churches increases every year. Then they say "You must first have local unions, then the general one." We want the general one in order to form an organization by the general consent of the Church; but if we organize the local unions, that will at once be a form. Besides, we *have* already the local unions. Then they say, "You must continue some time in this state until you have learned how to manage affairs like this." If we are able

to manage the local unions, why not a general one? After all, they say, "It is very expensive." If the matter is important for the safety of the Church, let us not spare the expense. If the Board is not able to pay, let us ask the other Christians to help us in this great work. In reply to this they say, "No, we cannot advise you to do this." The meaning of all this is very clear—that is to say, they wish us to remain in our present position.

Before quitting this portion of my subject, let me mention that it is neither desirable to give to our Churches a denominational name (as we have already adopted the name of "Evangelical Armenians"), nor to mould them into the exact form of one of your Churches here. The most important element is their union, and if you name them here Congregationalists or Presbyterians, Methodists or Episcopalians, we shall not care at all.

Secondly, the relation of the missionaries with our Churches. The assertion of the missionaries that "they have not any relation with us," is altogether absurd. They are working in our Churches and through our Churches. We are their co-operators in that happy work. It is evident from the state of the case that they have relation with us. The only difficulty is to define the exact limit of that relation. In consequence of this the missionaries exercise unlimited control over our Churches.

The missionaries are the authorized agents of the Board. The funds are entrusted to them, and they are responsible for them. In order to aid in the support of our Churches and schools, they give from this money to our pastors, preachers, &c. Hence their right is unquestionable to have a voice in those matters. On the other hand, we have Churches regular in all respects, only they are not able to support themselves entirely. We think that these Churches also have rights—rights which have their origin in Heaven—sacred rights.

When a missionary is labouring in a new field he has a perfect right to employ or dismiss his catechists, preachers, &c.; but when he organizes a Church, that Church at once assumes a new position; he gives her rights that she had not before, and he ought to acknowledge them. He must either not organize a Church, or, if he does so, he must acknowledge her position.

It is said that the policy of Home Missions is similar to that of Foreign Missions. I am not acquainted with the operations of the former, but one thing is very clear to me. The relation of the home missionaries with their Churches is very different to that of the foreign missionaries with their Churches. The Mission Church at home is immediately under the Church who supports her. The members of the Mission Church are, in one sense, the members of the Church that cares

for them. It is the Church that labours in Mission Churches, and consequently she has the right to admit members and keep them in the Mission Churches, which are branches of the mother Church, the missionaries acting as mediums between them. But the foreign missionaries are not, in the full sense of the word, the agents of the Church, but of a society. The society, as a society, has no right to admit members. If a missionary ever acts in this direction, he cannot act as an agent of a society, but in virtue of his ministerial capacity; consequently he cannot admit members into another Church, but can only organize an independent Church. As soon as he organizes a Church, this new Church stands on the same level as others. Whether she supports herself or not, it is morally out of the power of a missionary to keep her down. Here is the weak point of a Missionary Society. Perhaps that was the reason that our Lord gave the commission of evangelization to the Church herself, and not to any society.

In connexion with this I will mention the necessity of a Christian tribunal between the missionaries and ourselves. The missionaries are not subject to any court, they are neither the members of our Church, nor have they any ecclesiastical connexion with us. Neither you nor they think that they are infallible; the Pope only has such a claim—fortunately under dispute. It very frequently happens that difficulties arise between the missionaries and the Church members, pastors, preachers, and Churches. In such cases the missionary is a party in the quarrel; at the same time he is the judge, and that without jury. He dismisses the pastors, excommunicates the Church members, nullifies the acts of the Church councils, deprives a regular Church of many years' standing of all her rights, and pronounces her to be void of all her capacities as a Church. This the missionaries do without being responsible to any one. It is impossible to get the missionaries to hear an appeal against another one. If you bring even a serious charge against one of them, their answer uniformly is, "You are not good men; of course he had good reason for acting as he did." The only way of reconciliation with a missionary is unconditional surrender, and once a person is pronounced by any missionary as a bad man he is regarded in that light by all the other missionaries.

In justice to the missionaries I must here remark that most of these difficulties belong rather to their policy than to personal matters. The private life of many of them is considered by us to be a Christian life, but, notwithstanding, they are liable to mistakes and to sin.

The third point of difference is the question of education.

Missionary work has two objects before it: the first and the greatest is the salvation of souls, and the second the civilization of the world. While all of us agree that the principal means by which these ends are

to be gained is the simple preaching of the Gospel, yet none of us doubt that this must be accomplished through educated and prudent Christians. That is the reason *why you send out educated missionaries*. Some may object to this by saying, "Were the Apostles educated?" To this I reply, No. But God in his infinite mercy deemed it necessary to send to his Church, in her infancy, one thoroughly educated—the great Apostle Paul; and who knows how many more? The Apostles had advantages which we have not; they were inspired by the Holy Ghost to understand the Scriptures and to write the New Testament. For us education is necessary that we may understand what they have understood and taught; besides, the means by which God made known his truth to the human mind were different then to what they are now. He used to speak to the senses more than to the intellect; it was for this that He bestowed upon the Apostles and the Church at large the gift of languages and the power of working miracles. But now he speaks directly to the intellect; therefore, those who have to convey God's truth to others must have preparation for it.

The work of a missionary is a temporary one; he is in the field until he finds the Church capable to do the work herself, then he leaves that place for another one. But pastors and preachers are the permanent officers of the Church; they have to improve and enlighten the people under their charge, and raise them as high as the level of Christian civilization.

At the commencement of missionary work among our people the missionaries acknowledged the principle above referred to; accordingly they established a better educational system. Just now, when there is a great demand for educated Christian ministers, they have closed the Bebek Seminary, under Dr. Hamlin, and established three others much inferior to that, and graduates from these are settling as pastors in the new-born Churches. Some of the missionaries declare even that they "do not desire to have educated pastors," and that "they do not require more knowledge for the present." In reply, I say we must keep in our mind the people to whom the missionary effort is directed; they are not savages and heathens, but civilized Christian people, though ignorant and superstitious. Your missionaries are not going to teach them the fundamental truths of Christianity, for they know them; but all they need is reformation, and this can only be effected by giving them a better literature and a higher Christian education, for all the corruptions of the Armenian Church have been introduced through the ignorance of the clergy and the force of circumstances in which she has been placed. Shall we place these reformed Churches in the same position? It is true that the present pastors are more educated than the people under their charge, but

what is the extent of their knowledge? It is not uncommon to hear many of our pastors and preachers preaching, Sabbath after Sabbath, nothing else but the errors of corrupted Churches. How can a congregation grow in knowledge when they hear nothing but lectures like this? I am aware some will say "that after many years' experience Dr. Hamlin's seminary was not found to answer the purpose for which it was intended; the students, after receiving a good education and learning the English language, were not willing to leave Constantinople and be employed in missionary work, but sought some other employment by which they might get rich." It is true. But we must take into consideration all the circumstances connected with it. When the Bebek Seminary was established there were only a few Protestants in the capital. Owing to circumstances they were obliged to admit students without regard to their religious persuasion. Of course none of the missionaries could expect to employ all those young men in their work, yet many of them offered themselves to the missionaries, and they became their right hands in the time of severe persecution, when missionaries could not raise their little finger. It was these men who translated books, even the Bible, into modern language, and became pastors and teachers to preach and teach the truth, while many of your missionaries were not able to repeat correctly the alphabet of the language in which they intended to preach the Gospel. The other students, though they did not directly work with the missionaries, nevertheless were not lost to the cause. Many of them became ministers and teachers among the Armenians of the ancient Church. They kindled the light of the truth among their people; and when we hear of the great reformation movement in that Church, the originators of it are these students mostly.

But in the year 1852 the majority of the students were Protestants, and from the interior of the country. There were about twenty-eight. Out of this number twenty-three entered into the work; some of them died in it, four of them left, and the remainder are in the work up to this day. Knowledge does not prevent us from labouring for Christ; if we love Him we love also His cause, and we labour for it.

It is said, "Those who have a high education require a higher salary." This is true. But equally true it is that they can do more than those who have not the same education. The union which is generally called "The Kharpoot Union" has a president, a graduate of Bebek Seminary—a man of a considerable amount of education. If he dies to-day the union will perish with him. What a deplorable state of things! so many Churches to be dependent on the life of one man. Does not this show us what education can do?

But the missionaries say, "We educate you now a little; when you

are able to support educational establishments, then you may do as much as you like." Ah! Who will persuade the people to support education if your missionaries teach our pastors and teachers "that science is an injurious thing. You must only learn your Bible; that is all that you and your children need?" Many a time have I seen people, in observing the books in the missionaries' study, say, "One or two Bibles are quite enough; what will you do with so many Bibles?" supposing that all those books were Bibles.

Again, the missionaries, as a general rule, do not reach the minds of our people; though some of them after many years' experience and toil may succeed. In a great measure they fail from want of perfect knowledge of the language, customs, and the mode of conveying ideas to them. They come to us with the full blessings of Christianity. If we have well-educated men, capable of understanding the language of the missionary, they can act as mediums for transferring their Christian thought and ideas to our people; and thus, on the one hand, your missionaries will become useful from the very commencement of their labours; on the other hand, our young men will occupy many important posts in our schools and Churches, and, having the rich literature of the English language at their disposal, they will be able to impart its useful contents to our people. There will not be any need of sending a silent missionary to fill the chair of a professorship in the so-called Theological Seminary of Marsovan or elsewhere; one of our number will fill this post without spending years in learning the language.

Infidelity and Popery are rapidly gaining ground in our country. The Christian ministers have to contend with them. But how? With the Bible? But many of our pastors do not understand even those parts of the Bible which are oftentimes attacked by infidels. And at this day there is not a single Protestant minister amongst us who can be compared with many learned Armenian Roman Catholic priests. Either you will have to educate us or to support your missionaries amongst us for centuries.

But some will say, perhaps, If we educate them they will oppose us, and discuss our policy. I cannot see any harm in this. It is much better to have co-operators who are intelligent, and openly express their opinion, than to have those who can only echo your sentiments. Why should we exclude persons from the work because they are educated? Would you do the same in America? What would be public opinion about it? Would they tolerate it? I believe not.

It has been said, "It needs longer time and more expense for a better education." In reply, I must say neither extra time nor expense are necessary; all that is needed is willingness to teach. The

course of study at the Bebek Seminary was only four years; during this time the students were taught nearly every branch of mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, moral science, geography, astronomy, logic, rhetoric, systematic and practical theology, evidences of Christianity, Church history, besides the English, Greek, Armenian, and sometimes Turkish languages, &c., &c. The principal of that seminary was thoroughly acquainted with our language, and his first care was to acquaint the students more or less with his own. He always employed the best Armenian teachers that could be found. But in Kharpoot they have none. In Marsovan, although they have one, he is not well acquainted with his own language. The new missionary, who is the principal of that seminary, does not yet speak our language; the students do not understand him; what can you expect from such a school?

The fourth point is the present economy.

Economy, no doubt, is very important in a work like this; but if you injure your work by pushing it too hard, then you will have to pay for it.

In this great work two different agencies are employed—foreign missionaries, and brethren from the country itself. These two are equally essential for the work.

You send the missionaries without being sure they will succeed in learning the language and accustoming themselves to the climate of the country; many times the result is a failure. Of course you do not expect any benefit from a missionary simply because he is in the field, but you send him in the hope that he will succeed.

During the last few years, for the sake of economy, your missionaries have begun to diminish the small salaries of those in their employment, saying “they cannot afford to pay so much;” in the meantime they send for new missionaries and increase their own salary.

If I am not mistaken, the highest salary that a pastor receives does not exceed one quarter of that of a missionary (not mentioning those who get only one-eighth). It is believed generally that a missionary lives in great self-denial. How can it be that the needs of these two classes of people are so widely different? Either the missionaries receive very large salaries, and consequently do not live as the Christians believe they do, or they starve the pastors by giving them such a small sum. My opinion inclines to the latter. Some of these pastors and others, after being in this work for many years, and becoming fathers of two to seven children, when they find their small salary diminished they leave the work, if they can obtain some other employment, in order to support their families. If not, they spend their life in distress, and other valuable young men seeing this shrink from the work. Thus

they damage the cause by expelling from the work superior men and opening the door for inferior ones. It is true that those who gave themselves to the cause of Christ did so without any expectation of getting rich ; but it was understood, and many times promised, that the missionaries would support them. If economy is really necessary, it is better to keep those who are already working, and not to invite new missionaries, whose coming and going will cost ten times more to the society, and who will not be useful before five years, provided every thing be favourable.

As to the self-supporting doctrine, undoubtedly it is most important for the existence of our Churches ; but we must push it as far only as they can bear it—not compel the people to sell their very beds to pay for the expenses of their Churches, and give a fine opportunity for the missionaries to publish it in America that the people under their care do so much for Christ.

The missionaries are not able to decide how much a congregation can afford to pay for the support of their religious and school expenses, for they are not acquainted with the circumstances of the people. The Protestants are generally from the poorer classes, and their numbers are very small. They give already five times more than they used to give while in their former Church ; they have just suffered a bitter persecution—they lost all they had, churches, schools, and even grave-yard ; they are oftentimes taxed heavily on account of embracing this religion ; besides, being many times out of work, they have to strive for the daily bread of their poor children with none to sympathize with them. How can such a people support their Church ? It is not because they do not wish to do it, but actually they cannot. Instead of compelling this people to support their pastor, you had better dismiss one or two of the eight missionaries in Constantinople ; that will not have a serious consequence. The missionaries say it is not for economy, but for the Churches that we do so. When they find the salaries of their pastors small, they venture to take it upon them to pay it. Are we going to teach the Churches to support their pastors as beggars ? If we do, can we expect any time that a respectable Christian man would offer himself to the work of the ministry, except those who would seek it merely for their daily bread. But they say they must have self-denial. Very good. Do you expect to find more self-denial there than in this Christian land ? Are not the ministers of this country good examples for us ? Would you blame a minister here, who, when he finds himself unable to support his family with his salary, and cannot possibly get it increased, gives up the ministry for another occupation ?

But the missionaries say that the pastors must live like the middle

class of their people. I accept this, with only a slight modification: they must not live as the middle class of *their own* people, but like the middle class of *the* people at large. Protestants are generally very poor, but their middle classes are poorer still. I once inquired into the circumstances of the Protestants of a particular town, when to my surprise I found that the wealthiest among them were in debt about £40. One of the Constantinople Churches contains only seven families belonging to the town, and Mr. Washburn told me that there were applications to him for help from all the seven. Now what is the middle class of this community? Even if the pastors are content to remain in this condition, what can you expect of them? They are not able to get a book or a paper to increase their knowledge, how shall they be able to instruct and interest the people of their charge?

As a general rule when the pastors and preachers come together, the subject of their conversation is their extreme need.

Now the question comes again, Is it not better not to give them even their present amount of education, then there will be no need of books, papers, or even ink? I confess it would make a little difference, yet I know that all those cheap pastors and preachers, "for we have them," are also quite as dissatisfied with their means.

If pastors are necessary to a Church, we must give them a reasonable salary, and we must teach the Churches also to do the same.

This is a brief account of the difficulties between the missionaries and our Churches.

For my own part I determined long ago to work for Christ and for my people, at any rate as far as God helps me, and in peace and harmony with missionaries as far as I am able. I have worked more than ten years with them, and I have never been the one to quarrel with them. But for the sake of the general cause it is most desirable to bring these things to a speedy solution; either correct if there is any thing to be corrected, or convince the people. The leak must be stopped at any rate. This disaffection is like a contagious disease—it will pass very rapidly from one Church to another.

To conclude in one sentence. If you desire to see the work more prosperous and sure in its progress, help to unite the Churches, establish a sound and reasonable relation between your missionaries and your Churches out there on the healthful basis of missionary and Church rights, give a good education to promising Christian young men, employ them in this blessed work (for a short time) with less stinted means, and yet far more economically than for the support of a missionary. Then you will see, and that not many years hence, that the Churches will become self-supporting, not for a short time only, as is now too often the case, but permanently, and they will assume an

independent and manly spirit and position; and by their moral, spiritual, and mental light, under the grace of God, they will be able to enlighten all the dark countries and people among whom they are living. The glory of the apostolic age will return where the light of the pure Gospel has so long been extinguished. The missionary work will cease, and the efforts of American Christians will be crowned with a glorious consummation, and the blessings of my redeemed people will rest on your heads, and on the heads of our venerable missionaries. All soon pass away; but the names and memory of American Christians shall stand in Armenia—yea, in the heart of every Armenian—like a great monument, for generation after generation, till the end of this present dispensation.

BY PASTOR THOMAS BOYAJIAN,

Diarbekir, Turkey.

TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC.

The unfortunate difficulties between the American Missionaries and the Armenian Protestant community of this capital have already become known to the public.

They originated in the attempt of the former to prevent the Rev. gentleman whom the Vlanga Church lately elected as their temporary pastor to preach in the chapel, and they were the first who gave publicity to these difficulties by their further attempt to keep him (the pastor) out of the chapel by civil power; and not being satisfied by this, they took upon themselves the responsibility to shut up forcibly, without any notice, the chapel at Yeni-Kapou, Vlanga, in which the congregation had worshipped for the last seventeen years, nailed up the schoolroom, and scattered the school children into the street, and gave into custody the Protestant Mukhdar, who was in the premises at the time, and represented to the authorities as burglars the officers of the Church who quietly unlocked the door and let the children into the schoolroom.

We notice with sorrow that our missionary friends are attempting to give a different colouring to this contest. They say it is a question of property with them. It has already been stated on the other side that the property issue is a false one forced by the missionaries upon a helpless people, on purpose to compel them, in obedience to their commands, to give up the pastor elect.

The Church never claimed the ownership of the chapel (although it asserts having contributed out of its poverty towards its purchase). They only contested the right of the missionaries so to control it as to drive the people out of it by violence. The missionaries claim that they are the proprietors of the religious work at Vlanga; the people deny that; they say, "We are by the grace of God and by your own admission the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the work of evangelising our people is ours, and you are our helpers;" and really for several years past the work at Vlanga was carried on on this principle, that is, the Church there had the entire charge of supplying the pulpit.

With a desire to assist the public to form a correct idea—as far as

possible—on the whole subject, we take the liberty to bring before the impartial public certain letters and papers written on this general subject, to which we also add the communications already published in the papers on both sides on same subject.

H. SIMON EUTUJIAN,

Pastor of Evangelical Armenian Church.

Constantinople, May 18, 1869.

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR.

The council of pastors and delegates which was convened at Vlanga on Friday, the 16th April, 1869, by the invitation of a portion of the Evangelical Armenian Church of that place, having examined the following points one by one and ascertained “that the Rev. Sdepan Eutujian was unanimously and in regular manner elected by the above-mentioned Church to be their temporary pastor, and therefore he is justly entitled to perform the pastoral duties over that Church and congregation,” declare the same to the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ throughout Turkey :—

First. In the month of December, 1868, Rev. Sdepan Eutujian was unanimously elected by the Church as their temporary pastor.

Second. The missionaries raising opposition to this election, difficulties arose concerning the support or salary of the pastor, consequently the formal invitation was delayed for about two months.

Third. During these two months nothing was said or done by the Church to reverse or recall their decision ; on the contrary, every effort was made, both individually and collectively, to find a remedy for removing the above-mentioned financial difficulty.

Fourth. The committee of the Church having learned that there was a promise or a hope that a certain individual would assist the Church in this financial difficulty, called a Church meeting, and there stated this fact ; the Church then, thinking the obstacle removed, by the vote of the majority, decided and arranged to put into execution what was decided on last December, that is to invite the Rev. Sdepan Eutujian to commence his services as pastor.

Fifth. The opposition or the assault against this arrangement was commenced on the part of the missionaries, and not from among the Church, and it was after much labour and many efforts that a minority was won over to the side of the missionaries, that is, they were induced to recall their vote.

Sixth. On the Sabbath day, February 21, after a public and

threatening declaration by the missionaries from the pulpit of the sanctuary that they were firmly resolved not to allow the choice of the Church to preach there, the Church, by the united voice of the majority, testified to and reconfirmed their former invitation to Rev. Sdepan Eutujian.

Seventh. Notwithstanding that so many threatening and unlawful efforts were made to compel the Church to recall their vote, the majority firmly adhere to their choice up to the present day.

Eighth. The entire worshipping congregation of Vlanga are unanimously with this portion of the Church, that is, they are in favour of Rev. Sdepan Eutujian's pastorate over their district.

Written by the choice and under the revision of the Council of Pastors and Delegates

H. SIMON EUTUJIAN, Moderator.

GARABED KAPRIELIAN, Clerk.

ALEXANDER DJEDJIZIAN,

Pastor of Adapazar.

ABRAHAM BOUGHDANIAN,

Pastor of Rodosto.

} Committee.

Constantinople, April 26, 1869.

*To the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston,
Mass., U. S. A.*

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 19, 1869.

DEAR BRETHREN,—We, a council of pastors and delegates of the Evangelical Churches of Constantinople and its vicinity, having been invited by the Vlanga Church of this capital to inquire into the regularity of the call and invitation of Pastor Sdepan Eutujian to become their minister, have during this inquiry ascertained facts which have given us deep concern and sorrow; and we deem it our duty to yourselves and to the Churches we represent to lay them before you.

We have ascertained, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that at the invitation of your missionaries residing here to proceed to the choice of a temporary pastor, the Church worshipping in the Vlanga Chapel unanimously chose Pastor S. Eutujian, well known as the first pastor of the Church in Broosa, where he successfully laboured in the ministry for the space of twelve years, and as having already been acceptably employed by your society during the last twenty

years. As soon, however, as your missionaries became acquainted with the fact of his election, they declared that they would withdraw their accustomed aid to the Church for the support of their pastor, and this, not on the ground of a doctrinal error or moral defect on his part, but, as they claimed, because he would not be a "useful pastor;" by this expression we cannot understand that he would fail, in their opinion, to nourish and enlarge the Church, for his antecedents prove the contrary, and the man whom the missionaries desired the Church to elect has already broken up every Church of which he has had the charge long enough; the only interpretation of which this language is capable, is that the missionaries believe that no pastor can be useful who fails to submit to any of their arbitrary requirements. The Church, however, succeeded in finding elsewhere the means to support their pastor. The missionaries then, forgetting the precept of the Master, that a house divided against itself cannot stand, sought to introduce dissensions and divisions into this hitherto harmonious Church, acting partly directly themselves, and partly through brethren, who, being in their pay, depend upon them for their living. They declared that whoever adhered to Pastor Sdepan would not be considered friendly to the missionaries, and threatened to eject them from Church membership, and in case of persecution or wrong, they will be left unprotected by the foreign embassies. Having by these means succeeded in withdrawing only a minority of the males or voting Church members, they applied to the civil authorities to prevent the entrance of the newly-elected pastor into the chapel, and even laid violent hands upon him to pull him out of the pulpit. Three of them subsequently went during the week to the chapel, forcibly ejected the school, the schoolmistress, and her family from the premises, even taking the sick out of their beds and carrying them out in their own arms; they then broke the locks, put on new ones instead, nailed up the schoolroom, and locked up the place; they also delivered into the hands of the Turkish police a brother who was present in the chapel at the time.

The officers of the Church went and reopened both the school and the chapel. The missionaries, however, through the American Minister, complained to the Turkish Government that "their house had been forcibly opened and entered by unknown persons," but the Government authorities refused to recognise as a private house a building which had been dedicated and used as a house of worship for the last sixteen years; they have acknowledged the right of the community who worship there and enjoy the ministrations of their chosen pastor. It is yet doubtful, however, whether your missionaries will not be able on legal grounds to deprive this

people of a place of worship which was purchased for their special accommodation.

But we must call your special attention to another and a deeper wound inflicted by your missionaries upon this portion of the body of Christ. We have already stated that your missionaries had succeeded in inducing a certain number of the male Church members to withdraw their support of Pastor S. To these a few sisters had been added who depend upon the missionaries for their support. Not content with this, they gathered them into a private house, constituted them into a separate Church, and made them proceed to the choice of officers; they also appointed them a place of meeting in a private house, instead of the chapel. They declared several of the other brethren, among them some of the most experienced and of the longest standing, to be no Church members at all, and thus claim a majority on their own side. Those, however, who steadfastly adhere to their choice of Pastor S. are a majority, while nearly all the sisters and the entire congregation, as indeed all the Protestants of Constantinople, are on the same side.

Under these circumstances it is impossible for us, acting, as we must, as impartial judges in the case, and under our responsibility to our several Churches, and specially to the great Head of the Church, to do otherwise than stand by the imperilled right of our brethren and sisters of the Vlanga Church.

We have been brought up to respect and love your missionaries as the representatives of our sister Churches in America. But the despotic and unreasonable policy, introduced within a few years by young and inexperienced men, is fast breaking up the Churches of Christ already gathered in this land, and destroying the formerly high reputation and influence for good of these defenders of our faith. Should we be silent at such a moment, the blood of unnumbered souls would be required of us. Our appeals to your missionaries have not been heard. Shall we address ourselves in vain to you, whose larger experience enables you to take broader views and be influenced by more unselfish considerations?

In behalf of the Ecclesiastical Council now here convened, we remain your brethren in the fellowship of Christ,

H. SIMON EUTUJIAN, Moderator,
GARABED KAPRIELIAN, Clerk.

N.B.—The Armenian Evangelical Churches of Pera, Hasskeuy, Rodosto, Nicomidia, and Adapazar were represented in the Council by pastors and delegates, and the Churches of Diarbekir and Marash by pastors only.

To the Missionary Station at Constantinople.

BEBEK, March 4, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I have already, in friendly conversations, made known to you my dissent from the position you have recently taken in the affair of the Yeni-Kapou Church, and now I deem it proper, by your permission, to lay on your record the view I take of that position, as well as my reasons of dissent therefrom. To this end I beg leave to state—

First. The Yeni-Kapou Church was organised years ago by the missionaries as an Evangelical Church, and to this day she is acknowledged as such, and is in regular Christian fellowship both with the missionaries and with her own sister Churches of the land.

Second. I believe the Yeni-Kapou Church is held by the missionaries and by her own sister Churches in repute of being as perfect as the other Evangelical Churches of the land are considered to be on an average, or at least nothing contrariwise is known to or said by either.

Third. The Yeni-Kapou Chapel is and has since its purchase, which was many years ago, been both publicly used and known as a Protestant meeting-house (though I believe it is the private property of the American Board entrusted to the care of its missionaries here, and that by legal right it can at pleasure be withdrawn from its present use), and in it the present Church was organised, and ever since its organisation had the continuous gratuitous use of it, and it was always intimated to them by the missionaries that in all probability they would continue to have that use, if not eventually have it presented to them as the gift of the American Board, as long as they would rightly remain in the Christian communion of the sister Evangelical Churches of the land.

Fourth. I firmly believe in the principle or love of liberty. It is held sacred both by the Church and State in all civilised lands, and for the proper development of the Churches under the missionary care, and for their becoming self-supporting, it is absolutely necessary that the missionaries, in their intercourse with these Churches, should respect that principle.

Fifth. I believe the withdrawal by the missionaries of the accustomed needed pecuniary aid from the Churches (as long as their being Christian and Evangelical Churches is not denied, and as long as they are in regular Christian fellowship both with the missionaries and with their sister Churches), is a dangerous interference with the

freedom* of those Churches and a hindrance to their right Christian development.

Sixth. I understand that the missionaries, in taking their present position in the affair of the Church at Yeni-Kapou—not allowing them room in the chapel for *one* service on the Sabbath, to be conducted by their recently-chosen temporary pastor—they acted on the sole ground that said pastor, in their opinion, will not promote the good of the Church; and although I believe that said opinion was and is held by them in honest conviction, yet I cannot resist, on equally honest conviction, considering their act under it as an unnecessary violation of the sacred principle of Church liberty, on the maintenance of which principle the permanent prosperity of the Churches so much depends, and I fear that if the precedent be persisted in, the state of things which has been unfortunately existing for a score of years between the missionaries and the Churches might not otherwise find a remedy.

With deep Christian sincerity and affection submitting the foregoing to your prayerful consideration, I subscribe myself,

Yours, &c.,

S. M. MINASIAN.

Mr. S. M. Minasian.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 9, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 4th instant to this station of our Mission was duly received, and I have been requested by my associates to reply to it.†

You speak of our “not allowing the Yeni-Kapou Church room in the chapel for one service on the Sabbath, to be conducted by their recently-chosen temporary pastor.” It is astonishing that you could crowd so many mistakes into so few words. Any such request would have been entitled to a respectful consideration. But no such request has been refused, for the simple reason that no such request

* The missionaries trenched upon the liberties of the Church in refusing all aid to it, because it did not choose a pastor according to their prejudices or judgment, although they brought no charge of moral or doctrinal error against the pastor elect.

† Dr. Riggs, in this “reply,” evades entirely the fourth and fifth topics of Mr. Minasian’s letter, and it is left to the Christian public to judge of the fairness of the answer to the sixth.

has been made. Instead of a request of any sort we received a peremptory demand.* Instead of its being for one service, it was for the entire control of the pulpit. And instead of its being from the Church, it was from a minority of the Church, assembled at an unusual time, without public notice or any notice to some members.

Already a written protest against this whole proceeding has been signed by more members of the Church than were present at the meeting when the alleged call to Badveli Sdepan was made out. This protest with the signatures I have seen. Now when, in a full meeting,† called on purpose to ascertain the mind of the whole Church, and to which every member was specially invited, Badveli Sdepan, with that alleged "call" in his hand, interrupted the proceedings, utterly refused to have the protests (presented by members) considered, or to have the vote of eight members (for three of the eleven who voted for the "call," being members of other Churches, were not entitled to a vote) called in question in a full meeting of the Church, or to allow a vote to be taken as to who should preside (or any vote whatever), who is it who is "violating the sacred principle of Church liberty"—we, who tried to secure an expression of the Church's views, or Badveli Sdepan, who refused to allow that expression?

We desire, as you know, to see the true liberty of the Church understood and enjoyed. But do you not (with us) desire to have men understand the difference between rational liberty and that licence which would ignore the rights of others?

After duly considering the above facts I trust you will dismiss for ever from your mind the absurd idea of our attacking the liberty of the Y. K. Church.

In regard to the rules in accordance with which aid is granted to the Churches, they are the result of experience, and there is nothing in them which assails Church liberty, but their direct tendency is to develop it.

You are of course at liberty to show this note to Badveli Sdepan,

* The Church did not "peremptorily demand" the chapel; that was not then in question; it informed the missionaries that it would supply the pulpit and pay the pastor, supposing that, beyond all doubt, this was compliance with missionary principle often urged and set forth. See Mr. Herrick's letter on page 26.

† The missionaries had no right to get up a meeting of the Church against its pastor. No meeting of the Church could be had except called by the Church itself, and the meeting in which Pastor Sdepan opposed Mr. Herrick was itself an invasion of the Church's liberties.

towards whom I assure you we cherish no ill will, though we deeply regret the course he has taken.

I remain, on behalf of my associates and myself,

Most truly yours,

ELIAS RIGGS.

Rev. Dr. Riggs and Constantinople Station.

BEBEK, March 10, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Your favour of yesterday is before me, to which I beg leave to reply.

My expression of dissent from you in the affair of Yeni-Kapou Church, as it is very well known, was and is on matters that took place on February 19, 20, and 21 between the committee of that Church and the Constantinople Station, represented by Messrs. Herrick and Baldwin, and culminated in the peremptory refusal by the latter of an entrance to Pastor Sdepan (for preaching or otherwise) into the chapel; therefore anything that might have taken place subsequent to said dates I do not feel called upon either to defend or refute.

According to your own statement, I do not see that we differ as to facts. Our difference may be in the manner we state those facts. I say you did not allow the Church to have their own chosen man to conduct their service in a chapel, the use of which was granted them long ago, on the sole ground of your personal objection to said man as not being useful, and not that he was upheld only by a minority. That I state the case not erroneously I refer to the letter of Mr. Herrick to Pastor Sdepan, written on Feb. 20, as the very best evidence that can be desired upon this matter.* In the presence of that letter I cannot see how the correctness of my statement can be called into question. That letter speaks of "a committee of the Church informed us—that they have taken upon themselves the supply of the pulpit." The letter that is now before me speaks of "a peremptory demand for the entire control of the pulpit." I can see a little difference between these two statements, and like the form of the former better, as being probably more in accordance with the design of the committee that waited upon Mr. Herrick, as well as being nearer to the spirit of the privilege and usage accorded to Yeni-Kapou Church.

* See Mr. Herrick's letter on page 26.

In conclusion allow me to repeat what I mentioned elsewhere that if a majority of the Church is opposed to Pastor Sdepan's preaching to them in the chapel, let the decision be made in a regular way; then of course, everybody will respect their wish.

I remain, yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

Rev. Dr. Riggs and Constantinople Station.

BEBEK, March 19, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In my previous correspondence with you, I have stated my opposition to your recent action in the affair of Yeni-Kapou Church, also my reasons for said opposition. My views briefly stated, amounted to these, viz.:—

First. That you hastily, and without sufficient reasons, withdrew the use of the Yeni-Kapou Chapel from the Church there, and have peremptorily refused an entrance into it to their temporary pastor.

Second. That your action under those circumstances was a dangerous interference with the liberty of the Church, and it would eventually, if not corrected, prevent their development. I have entered into the correspondence with you on this subject after a long consideration, and with anxious and prayerful desire to induce you to recede from a wrong or questionable position; but I do now fear that the design or spirit which impelled me to act in this matter was not understood, or rather it was misunderstood. Therefore, I feel it a solemn duty to myself, and to the Evangelical cause in this land, to ask you to allow me to forward the copies of our correspondence, together with some other papers, between the Church, yourselves, and Pastor Sdepan—bearing on this subject—to the Prudential Committee at Boston, also to lay the same papers before the enlightened Christian public.

I remain, most truly yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

Constantinople Station.

BEBEK, March 23, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—I must apologise for writing so soon after forwarding you mine of the 19th inst., but as I expressed then, I fear

that my object in taking action in reference to the present unhappy affairs might be misunderstood. My aim in this matter is, of course, not to prove that your course is wrong, and that you are erring in judgment, or that I have an infallible judgment and have the highest motive for thus acting in the affair, &c., &c., neither I do believe you look upon those personal questions as the chief points in the case. The real question in the controversy is, what course will promote the highest good of the Churches, or, in other words, will lay the Evangelical religion on firm bases in the land. As an answer to this question on my part, I beg leave to quote here a portion of a private letter I wrote to Dr. Riggs on the 1st inst.: "I think I have already said to other friends that *it is and has ever been* my deep conviction that the only way to promote the cause of Evangelical religion in this land will be found in cordial and Christian and wisely planned co-operation between the missionary body and the Evangelical Churches of the land; and I feel that I have so much more reason to mourn over the fact that that Christian co-operation and confidence never existed in a satisfactory degree, and that it never existed in so little degree, if I am not mistaken, as at present, while friends who know me will admit that for the last seventeen years, in all my honest endeavours for the good of this land, I always, and by the use of all the means at my command, aimed for the creation or increase of that most desired harmony and Christian confidence between the parties mentioned." In conclusion, dear brethren, allow me to say in earnest that God will never bless the work in this land unless the Churches and the missionaries labour in harmony.

Yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

The following is the only answer the Rev. missionaries made to the preceding three letters of Mr. Minasian, in which not the slightest notice is taken of the grave charges made against them, as though they were matters of no account:—

Mr. S. M. Minasian.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 26, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have not had a meeting of the Station since receiving your note of the 19th until to-day. I am directed to reply to it that we offer no objection to your communicating to the Prudential Committee all that has passed between us on the subject of the Yeni-Kapou Church. In reference to securing an early answer

from them, you would save time by giving us a copy of what you send. Otherwise their first step would naturally be to send us a copy, and ask for what we have to say in reference to it.

As to publishing these communications, or anything on the subject, we do not see what good can be gained by it. You must decide this point according to your own judgment. In our view, Christians should be slow to throw before the world their differences, at least until every effort has been exhausted to reconcile them.

I remain, on behalf of the Station, yours truly,

ELIAS RIGGS.

Rev. Dr. Riggs and Constantinople Station.

BEBEK, March 29, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In answer to my note of the 19th instant, I received yours of the 26th instant, announcing that you have no objection to my communicating to the Prudential Committee all that has passed between us on the subject of the Yeni-Kapou Church, and suggest that, in order to secure an early answer from them, I might give you a copy of what I may send. I will endeavour to comply with your suggestion, unless, in view of my leaving for U. S. so soon, I might deem it desirable to present the case to the Prudential Committee personally; in that event, I will not be prepared to furnish you beforehand with the copy of the communication. In reference to bringing our differences before the Christian public opinion, you say, "Christians should be slow to throw before the world their differences, at least until every effort has been exhausted to reconcile them." My own views are quite in accordance with that statement, and I think the same rule also applies to the bringing of our differences before the Prudential Committee; but you forget that by ignoring my letters, written to you expressly on those differences, you deprived me altogether of the means of reconciliation, and thus the responsibility of whatever I may deem it proper to do rests entirely with you. You deny a hearing to this cause; you either don't regard the cause as worth your attention, or may be myself and these poor Churches. We thought almost any case respectfully represented deserved a respectful answer. We must have a hearing at some tribunal—the Prudential Committee, or the Christian public, or both. In this connexion it may not be improper for me to remind you that the life or death of the Evangelical Churches of this land depend on the principle involved in our present controversy.

You lay solemn responsibilities upon the Churches, but when they exercise their will in the discharge of those responsibilities, you trample that will under foot. Under those circumstances, it is absurd to say that you are trying to make them independent and self-supporting Churches; your course, instead of doing that, is calculated to destroy whatever particle of life and independence they may possess. I know you say we don't touch their independence. If they have their own church, their own school-house, built by their own money, and if they support their pastor and their schools, then let them choose any one they like. This seems like mocking poverty. In that case, would they ask you? What power would you have? Would not your saying "We give you leave," be ridiculous? Would not your prohibition be equally so? The Churches must have liberty to do what they think is right. Liberty to do your will is strange liberty. That you act under the highest motives does not change the wrong principle into a right one, neither do I believe God blesses a wrong act because it is intended for good. Your difficulties with these Churches are not of recent origin, they are of twenty years' standing, and I very much fear that the same unreasonable course of laying responsibilities upon, but withholding the corresponding freedom of action from them, may have had much to do in creating and in keeping alive those difficulties. I know in this controversy I labour under disadvantage, because it so happens that the cause I advocate is that of feeble and imperfect Churches, yet I need not be ashamed of that, because it is not the first time that people of that class stood in need of sympathy.

I remain, most truly yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

On the 31st of March Rev. Dr. Riggs, acknowledging the receipt of this letter on his own part, "as an individual," says, "Yours of yesterday has been received, and will, of course, be communicated to my associates. I do not see anything in it which requires an answer from them."

Rev. Sdepan Eutujian.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Feb. 20, 1869.

DEAR SIR,—A committee of the Vlanga Church informed us last evening that they have taken upon themselves the supply of the

pulpit, commencing with to-morrow, and have invited you to preach in our chapel. In view of our recent action in reference to your preaching here, this action of the Church is surprising and much to be regretted. Of course, a Church has the right to select its own minister, when it pays his salary* and all other expenses, and holds its worship in a building of its own. The Vlanga Chapel is the property of the Board, and in our charge, and no man has the right to preach there without our consent. We do not consent to your preaching there. I said this to the committee that called upon me yesterday, and requested them to recall their invitation to you. They replied that there was not time to assemble the Church. Therefore I write you this note that there may be no misunderstanding. We shall ourselves preach there to-morrow, D.V. ; so I trust you will not come down.

In behalf of the Missionaries, yours truly,

GEO. F. HERRICK.

* We claim that feeble Churches have liberties, and not only strong Churches, which have no occasion to ask anything of anybody ; we have ascertained by careful inquiries that the feeble Churches in America are allowed to choose their own pastors before they are able to support them entirely. All we ask is the same right for our Churches here.

FROM THE "LEVANT TIMES AND SHIPPING GAZETTE."

THE PROTESTANT MEETING-HOUSE, STAMBOUL.

To the Editor of the "Levant Times and Shipping Gazette."

SIR,—Some time since a question arose between the American missionaries and the congregation of the Protestant Church at Stamboul, as to whether, in view of the former paying the largest part of the salary of the pastor over that Church, the latter, after making a choice of a person to fill that office temporarily, should give up their choice because the missionaries objected to him on the ground (not of moral or religious character) of usefulness, and advised them to give him up. On the congregation deciding that they would rather forego the aid than give up their choice, the missionaries took upon themselves the responsibility of forcibly shutting up the Protestant Meeting-house of Stamboul on last Tuesday, the 6th inst., turned the children out of the schoolroom into the street, and also gave in custody a Protestant who happened to be in the chapel at the time of this violent action.

We regret very much to see the missionaries enter into such a contest, because, whatever its merits in other respects may be, it is an outrageously unequal one. It is between the humble, poor, and unlearned on one side, and the influential and learned on the other; and we fear that its effect might be that the missionaries may lose their influence for good on a class of people over whom we desire to exert Christian influence, and for whom we have all been long and arduously labouring to induce them to receive our Evangelical faith.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Constantinople, April 10, 1869.

To the Editor of the "Levant Times and Shipping Gazette."

SIR,—In answer to the statements concerning the Protestant Meeting-house in Stamboul, made by "One of the People" in your issue of yesterday, I beg leave to say—

First. The house is the sole property of the American Mission. They bought it, paid for it, and hold a clear title to it. Their owner-

ship has been frequently acknowledged by the Church and congregation, who have been permitted to worship there free of charge.

Second. Some time since a discontented minority of the local Church attempted to take the control of the pulpit out of our hands, and to place it in the hands of a native preacher violently opposed to us. As the result of conferences we were assured by the head of the Protestant Armenian Community that the said preacher would not occupy our pulpit without our consent. But when the violent faction saw that a clear majority of the local Church was against them, they determined to do by force what they could not do in an orderly way. Accordingly, a week ago last Sabbath, before we could reach it, the pulpit was occupied by said native preacher, with whom came a large number of outsiders to protect him in his seizure of the pulpit. We, of course, demanded the pulpit, and when it was refused, retired. To prevent the recurrence of such a scene we went to the building on Tuesday, requested the teacher (who also occupies our premises rent free, as does the school) to remove her effects and the school to another part of the same premises (separated from the chapel part by iron doors), where there were good empty rooms at her disposal, also rent free. The removal effected, we closed the chapel part of our premises, intending to open them as usual on Sunday. We used no violence to any one. On the afternoon of the same day certain individuals broke into the building, and seized a house belonging exclusively to us, and to the control of which they have no right whatsoever. The contest is between a perfectly clear title and no title at all, between undoubted owners and a body of usurpers, who claim that because we have allowed them to worship there free of rent, they have acquired the right to break into our property forcibly and hold it against us.

ONE OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.

Constantinople, April 13, 1869.

To the Editor of the "Levant Times and Shipping Gazette."

SIR,—Letters having been published respecting the difficulties which have arisen between the American missionaries and the native Protestant Church and community in Constantinople, your readers will perhaps be interested to know something of Pastor Sdepan Eutujian—the “man” whom the missionaries refused to acknowledge as pastor of the above-mentioned community in spite of its unanimous choice. He is one of the oldest Protestant native pastors, a man

known in all the country as a defender of the truths of our religion. The subjoined testimony, of undoubted authority, will suffice to introduce him to the public.

I am, &c.,

AN ARMENIAN PROTESTANT.

Constantinople, April 14.

(Copy.)

The undersigned, in behalf of the Missionary Station of the American Board at Constantinople, certifies that the Rev. Sdepan Eutujian was educated in the Seminary of the American Board at Bebek, where he pursued with fidelity and success the scientific and theological course, and, believing him in accordance with his own profession to be called of God to preach the Gospel, the Station assisted in his licensure and ordination as pastor of the Broosa Church, and has always been gratified with his faithful labours and Christian life and sound doctrine among the people of his charge, so far as known to them during his pastorate of twelve years unto this day.

By order of the Constantinople Station,

(Signed)

C. HAMLIN.

P.S.—In the month of July following Pastor Sdepan was chosen by a majority of the representatives to the office of Askabed* of the nation, in regard to which election the missionaries of the American Board and of other societies in Constantinople, having been invited to express their opinion, it was unanimously approved, and a committee was appointed to aid in its execution. But difficulties having arisen from the opposition of the first Askabed's party, Pastor Sdepan, not wishing to be the occasion of further divisions, sent in his declinature and voluntarily withdrew.

(Signed)

C. HAMLIN.

April 2, 1863.

To the Editor of the "Levant Times and Shipping Gazette."

SIR,—In your issue of April 14 "One of the American Missionaries" attempts to make an answer to the letter of "One of the

* Civil head of the community.

People" about the scandalous affair in the district of Vlanga. I beg leave to answer him as follows:—

1. "The house is" not "the sole property of the American Mission." Not one of the men who are now endeavouring to get possession of it ever paid a para towards it. The money was given partly by the Protestant community of Constantinople, and at their request partly by benevolent individuals in America. All these parties gave the money for the specific purpose of furnishing the Protestants of the capital with a house of worship, and not to give the American missionaries a house which they can sell or use as they like.

2. Your correspondent endeavours to draw away the attention from the real point at issue, which is this: This place of worship has been used by common consent by the Church and congregation living in the quarter of Vlanga, for whose benefit it was purchased. It is the custom both of native and American Protestant Churches, and their fully recognised right, to choose their own pastor or preacher. In accordance with this right the missionaries of the capital invited the Vlanga Church at the beginning of the year to choose a pastor, with the promise of paying themselves three-quarters of his salary. In accordance the Church unanimously elected Pastor Sdepan Eutujian—a man of whose character you can judge from the certificate published in your paper of April 15, and who has already been honourably employed by these and other American missionaries for the last twenty years. The missionaries have repeatedly and publicly promised not to interfere with the choice of a pastor unless he be unsound in doctrine and morals. But in the present case they desired to put into that important post a creature of their own, whom they could use to accomplish their own purposes. They therefore declared that they could not pay anything towards the salary of the said pastor, and when the Church informed them that they had themselves found the means to provide for it, they declared they would prevent his preaching in the chapel, and even threatened to push him out of the pulpit by the hand of the police.

Seeing that these means failed of accomplishing their object, the missionaries then endeavoured to divide the hitherto unanimous Church; they declared that whoever wanted Pastor S. E. was the personal enemy of the mission, and "would be by them excommunicated, and in case of difficulty would be left unprotected by the foreign embassies." Failing in this way also to obtain a majority on their side, they declared their intention to examine the right of every one to Church membership, in order to eject those who did not suit them. Again they failed, for the people loudly called for a religious

commission to examine and decide the point in litigation, which the missionaries refused.

Finally, when everything else had failed, the Rev. triumvirate went in haste to the chapel, accompanied by locksmiths, forcibly took off the lock of the door, and drove out the people who were within—not, as they claim, gently persuaded them to remove, for they took up the sick with their own hands, and the school children were turned into the street; they then made fast the doors, after violently ejecting persons who came to entreat them to desist, and even delivered one of them into the hands of the police. The doors were opened again, the school children, schoolmistress, &c., were taken back to their places, but it was done lawfully and regularly by the constituted authorities.

You can judge, Sir, by the preceding account, of which every word can be proved true before a court of justice, how much credit is to be given to the statements of “One of the American Missionaries.” The contest, as you see, is not “between a clear title and no title at all,” but between a people who claim the right to choose their own pastor, and men who require unconditional submission.

I am, &c.,

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Constantinople, April 15, 1869.

To the Editor of the “Levant Times and Shipping Gazette.”

SIR,—The second letter of “One of the People,” in your issue of Saturday, is full of misrepresentations; but we must decline to enter into a newspaper controversy with the author. If any of your readers has the least desire to see the evidence of the truth of my previous statement, that the building in question is the sole property of the American Mission, we shall be happy to show them, at our depôt in Stamboul, a document legalised at the American Consulate at the time of the purchase, in which it is expressly stated that the purchase was made “entirely and exclusively with the money of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.”

I am, &c.,

ONE OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.

Constantinople, April 19, 1869.

FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD."

The following, in reply to some statements of the *Manzoumei Efkiar*, appears in the *Avedaper*, an Armeno-Turkish paper published by the American Missionaries:—

Inaccurate statements having been published in certain papers of this city, concerning recent events relating to the Yeni-Kapou Protestant place of worship, we give the following brief account of the matter: The Protestant place of worship and school is in a house bought and held by the American missionaries as trustees for the American Board of Missions. The missionaries have granted the use of portions of this building, rent free, to the local Protestant community, for purposes of school and chapel, themselves paying nearly all expenses of teacher and preacher, from the first till now, and often preaching, and always worshipping with the native community themselves. One of this number has sometimes resided in the building. Their ownership and right of control have been repeatedly acknowledged by the community. Eight weeks ago, a small irregular meeting of the local Church abruptly and indecorously demanded to put into the pulpit as preacher a man whom they knew to be unacceptable to the missionaries, and were warned, as was this preacher himself, and the civil head of the Protestant community also, that his attempting to preach there would be regarded as a trespass, and they were assured officially that he would not preach against their permission in their chapel. But when the party supporting this preacher saw that a clear majority of the Church had pronounced against them, and for co-operation with the missionaries, they became desperate, and, in violation of promise, and directly against the consent of the missionaries, put the above-mentioned preacher into the pulpit on Sabbath morning, the 4th inst. The following Tuesday, the missionaries went to the house, gave notice to the teacher of the school that she must immediately remove the school into an unoccupied room in the wooden part of the house, and remove her own room there also. The empty part of the building, within the stone walls, was securely closed and locked. The statements that violence was used are utterly false. The missionaries designed to open the place as usual for public worship on the Sabbath, and they left those occupying the other portion of their property (the wooden house), with the school, undisturbed for the present. But toward evening of the same day the lock was broken in, and the

premises forcibly seized and held by certain lawless persons. Complaint of this violation of their property was of course made to the authorities by the missionaries. Upon this, persons were sent to Yeni-Kapou to make inquiries into the facts of the case, and the head of the Protestant community was asked for information concerning the affair. Having done thus much without coming to any decision in regard to the merits of the case, official action was deferred for one week, in the hope of some mutually satisfactory arrangement being made. The statement that the missionaries cited a priest and the leading members of the community before the police is utterly false.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—In your issue of April 14 is an account, professedly taken from the Armenian paper published by the American missionaries of this city, which contains so many erroneous statements that, although the undersigned belongs to neither party, he deems it but fair to correct them. The chapel at Yani-Kapou used to be a private house, but has been dedicated and used as a church for the last sixteen years. It was bought at the earnest request of the congregation, who have there been accommodated, and a firman was on the point of being issued recognising it as such. The missionaries would never have thought of claiming the ownership in it for their society, much less of shutting it up, which it is well known is contrary to the wishes of the said society, were it not for the purpose of compelling the native Church to give up their undoubted right to choose their own minister. The article from the *Avedaper* makes a simply false statement when it says that "a clear majority" were opposed to the pastor. I have myself seen the documents which prove that his choice was unanimous. Strange to say, the Sultan's rayahs have given a noble example of moderation and forbearance to the foreign teachers who have come to enlighten their "darkened minds." It was the missionaries who sent for police to take their quiet opponents into custody, who surrounded the pulpit to prevent the people's choice from entering it, who *broke* the locks of the building, who compelled those who occupy it to vacate the premises, who took the sick in their own arms out of their beds, and turned out the school into the street, although they claim that they merely removed them to another part of the house. This is really a distinct house, though it communicates by an iron door, and it is but mockery to say that any addition could be made to its already crowded tenants. This letter would be too long were I to endeavour to point out all the erroneous statements to which I refer.

Suffice it to say that, if the "American Mission" has obtained a footing in Turkey, it was done by the labours of love of a generation now gone; but the despotism of their present successors is fast destroying the works of the "fathers."

I am, &c.,

Constantinople, April 16.

FAIR PLAY.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—Letters have been published in your and other papers on the part of the American missionaries respecting the differences between them and the Protestant congregation at Vlanga in Constantinople. In these letters the whole question has been made to turn upon the legal ownership, and a claimed consequent right of control, of the Church building and premises. This is a false issue. The true point at issue is whether the Churches should be so independent that they can choose their own pastors and enjoy their ministrations undisturbed. The following letter refers to a proposition which was about to be made by a gentleman, himself a native, who has no connection with the American mission, to assume the payment of all the money now disbursed by them, for the purpose of removing all cause of litigation. The missionaries were aware that this highly promising plan was about to be presented to them, and the unfortunate contest at Vlanga about the Church building was conjured up by them in order to prevent its realisation.

I am, &c.,

Constantinople, April 20.

AN INDEPENDENT.

To —, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR,—You ask me to state to you the impressions which I received in the conversations we had as to the possibility of restoring harmony to the Evangelical work in Constantinople. Our first conversations were in regard to Haskeui, for which we had a plan that seemed to promise good, but which proved abortive. Next, you proposed, as a matter of consultation, the plan of seeing how much the Churches and congregations here could be induced to raise for the support of all their religious institutions, you engaging to supply the deficiency to the amount of three or four hundred pounds a-year, thus relieving the mission and station from all financial connection with the churches. You expressed the hope and the earnest desire that in this way a truly harmonious co-operation between the mis-

sionaries and the Churches would spring up and the work be rescued from ruin. I fully agreed with your views, and thought the station would hail the proposition with joy, and that it afforded an opportunity to take a *new start*. I supposed also that all would regard your having so prominent a part in it, and being willing to contribute so generously towards it, as a pledge that the movement would be such as all might co-operate with who labour and pray for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in this land. You expressed the conviction that with freedom of action and consequent entire responsibility on the part of these feeble Churches a new spirit would come in and efface the many unpleasant feelings which exist. I fully agreed with you in this view, and felt strongly desirous that it should be tried on the basis you proposed—freedom and responsibility. If it should work badly it could hardly be worse than the present. I will not enter into events which followed, but I do sincerely regret that the experiment was not made.

Yours truly,

C. HAMLIN.

P.S.—I mentioned your proposal to Mr. Bliss, and he seemed to think favourably of it. He remarked to this effect, that the project would need to be stated in full, and each part have its duties and responsibilities defined. We were on board the steamer, and the conversation was not continued.

Bebek, March 22, 1869.

C. H.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—Your correspondent "Fair Play" having expressed the opinion that the present generation of American missionaries in Turkey are pursuing a course of action towards the native Churches quite unlike that of their predecessors, we, the undersigned, having been connected with the mission more than a quarter of a century, feel called upon to say over our own signatures that the principles which guide the present missionaries are precisely those which guided the "fathers." They have always claimed and exercised control over the building in question; they always claimed and exercised the right to give or withhold aid to the native Churches or communities, according as, in the exercise of their own judgment, giving or withholding would promote the prosperity of the work for which they were sent to this country. They and their successors in this respect

only obey the instructions of the Society which has sent them forth, and are responsible to it alone for the exercise of their judgment. At the same time, the "fathers" and those who are now in this field, while they can never surrender the right of control of property belonging to their Society, and of the funds entrusted to them by that Society, have ever desired to exercise this right in the kindest spirit towards the native Churches. In the present case, when the missionaries were asked several months since to aid the Vlanga Church in the support of a preacher whom the Church had chosen, they declined to do so, and assigned their reasons in writing. If "Fair Play" has seen any document referring to the choice of a preacher, it undoubtedly refers to this action several months ago, whereas the assertions of the missionaries respect subsequent votes of the Church cancelling that action; it is upon these subsequent votes that the missionaries found the declaration that a clear majority is on the side upon which they have affirmed it to be. "Fair Play" should have examined all the documents, and heard both sides, before presuming to pronounce judgment. A written protest against the pretended unanimous choice has been signed by a majority of the members of the Church question. We aver that the principal statements of "Fair Play's" article are false, and we think the candid reader will judge so from a simple comparison of them with those of the article quoted from the *Avedaper*.

We are, &c.,

ELIAS RIGGS.
EDWIN E. BLISS.

Constantinople, April 20.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—The American missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Riggs and Bliss, have in your issue of April 21 found fault with the impartial statements I had made respecting the unfortunate affair at Vlanga. It had been reported that they had disapproved the rashness of the triumvirate who were the principal actors of the said scandalous affair; they now father their doings, and thus render hopeless the prospect of amendment. There are two points in their letter to which I reply as follows:—

1. Messrs. Riggs and Bliss claim to belong to the former generation of missionaries, and that the policy of the mission has not changed. This is a heavy charge to bring against such men as the "fathers,"

Goodell, Temple, and Dwight, against Benjamin and Everett, and some yet living and honoured among us, Hamlin and Schauffler. When they can prove that any or all of these men have attempted to pull out of the pulpit, by force, preachers of the Gospel against whose doctrine or morals there was not the shadow of a charge; that they have violently shut up churches, scattered schools, and taken away the sick by force from their beds; that they have annulled or protested against the united and moderate advice of a council of the pastors and delegates of the Churches, sought to disrupt Churches and form new ones on the simple authority of their own wills, and have not even spared those of their own number who have failed to approve their strange innovations, but have brought about their excision from their body without trial or regular judgment; whenever they can show, I say, that the "fathers" have also done these and similar things, then shall we acknowledge that the "policy" of the mission has not changed; but until then, we shall rightly maintain that Messrs. Riggs and Bliss belong to the later generation of American missionaries, whose "unavoidable destiny" is to destroy the work of the "fathers."

2. Messrs. Riggs and Bliss consider that the choice of Pastor Sdepan Eutujian by the Church was unanimous, but claim that the majority are now against him; they advance in proof a document. But what says the document? Not that the undersigned deem the pastor unfit for his office, but that, the missionaries being opposed to him, they desire to give him up for the sake of peace. And it was a minority,* not a majority, of the Church that signed the document, as found and solemnly declared by the council of pastors and delegates from the surrounding Churches, which has just sat and passed judgment in the case.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

Constantinople, April 23, 1869.

FAIR PLAY.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—Neither the "fathers" nor any of the present generation of American missionaries in Turkey have done one of the things charged in the communication signed "Fair Play," and published in the *Herald* of yesterday.

We are, Sir, &c.,

Constantinople, April 26.

ELIAS RIGGS,
EDWIN E. BLISS.

* See page 15.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—Your anonymous correspondent "Fair Play" has had the hardihood to use my name in the interests of the foul cause* which he advocates. I wish all concerned to understand that I consider the use of my name in this connexion slanderous, and that of the missionaries of sainted memory sacrilegious.

Bebek, April 28.

W. G. SCHAUFFLER.

To the Editor of the "Levant Herald."

SIR,—Though I do not pretend to be responsible for any one's statements, yet justice impels me to say that I am prepared to prove by unimpeachable testimony most of the charges brought forward in your and other papers against the missionaries by "Fair Play" and others, in behalf of the outraged Armenian Protestant community, notwithstanding the denial of the same by Messrs. Riggs, Bliss, and others.

I am, &c.,

Bebek, April 28.

S. M. MINASIAN.

CIRCULAR

Respectfully submitted to the members of the Mission of the American Board at Constantinople, and of the Evangelical Armenian Congregation of Yeni-Kapou.

Whereas difficulties have arisen between the missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. and the Evangelical Armenian congregation at Yeni-Kapou, for the settlement of which application has been made to the Turkish authorities; and whereas we are warned of the unseemliness of brother going to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers, and feel convinced that an effort ought to be made to heal those differences by a free and brotherly conference between both parties, with earnest prayer for the Divine blessing, the undersigned, therefore, beg respectfully to request the missionaries of the Board and the

(*) Our venerable friend Dr. Schauffler, through some influence, has been misled to take the universally recognised "irrepressible conflict" between the weak and the strong, in the present case, for a "foul cause." We submit to the unbiassed judgment of the Christian public whether less "hardihood" is evinced in calling the friendly allusion of "Fair Play" to his and other honoured names "slanderous" and "sacrilegious."

committee of the said congregation, or such parties as have been acting with and for them, to meet at the Bible Magazine on Monday, the 26th inst., at half-past 2 P.M., to consider the following basis of agreement—viz. :—

First. As the Vlanga Chapel was purchased by funds mainly contributed by friends in America, the Protestant community consents not to contest the right of the missionaries to control the same, provided they will not undertake to shut it up against the worshippers as long as the Church maintains Orthodox Evangelical doctrines.

Second. That the missionaries shall agree to grant to Vlanga congregation the use of the schoolroom during the week and of the chapel for half the day on the Sabbath, with access to the premises on other occasions as in time past.

Third. That the missionaries acknowledge the right of the Church to choose its pastor or preacher ; but in case the Vlanga Church, in exercise of this right, shall choose as their pastor or preacher one against whom the missionaries formally protest on doctrinal and moral ground, and lodge with the clerk of the congregation within three days after they have received official intimation of the said election by the congregation, the Church agree that such person shall not officiate in either capacity until the choice be approved by a suitable council of the sister Churches regularly called for that purpose, it being understood that such right of protest is allowed to the mission only so long as they continue to aid the congregation in the support of their pastor or preacher.

Fourth. That in consideration of existing circumstances the congregation at Vlanga agree to consider all their action, as to the choice of Rev. Sdepan Eutujian as their pastor, to be null and void, and to proceed to a new election at an interval of three months from the date of agreement, it being understood that during that interval only those will officiate in the chapel who have not taken any part in the late contest.

Bebek, April 24, 1869.

S. M. MINASIAN.

Mr. S. M. Minasian.

STAMBOUL, April 26, 1869.

DEAR SIR,—The missionaries instruct me to inform you that they cannot consent to attend a meeting for the consideration of the proposals of your circular of April 24.

I am, truly yours,

H. A. SCHAUFFLER.

*Rev. Dr. Clark, Secretary of American Board and Mission House,
Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*

VIENNA, May 24, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sent you a telegram from Pesth on the 20th inst., requesting you to suspend the action of the missionaries at Constantinople against the Protestant community until you would hear the case. I have no time to tell you now what the “case” is, but presume you know all about it by the reports of the missionaries. My only wish is, that the missionaries might be advised to refer such an important question to the Prudential Committee before or instead of appealing to the Turkish Court, as they did. I enclose the copy of the note I addressed to Constantinople station to-day on the same subject.

With kindest regards I subscribe myself, yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

Rev. Dr. Riggs, Constantinople Station.

VIENNA, May 24, 1869.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I sent a telegram on the 20th inst., from Pesth, to the Prudential Committee at Boston, as my telegram on the same day to you informed you, that they might suspend your proceedings in court against the Protestant community until they will hear the case. I do not know whether my message will be intelligible to them or not, nor whether they will think it advisable to interfere in the present stage of the case; still I thought the idea was a good one to refer the case to the Prudential Committee and wait for their decision, rather than to appeal to the Turkish Courts, and I feel very sorry that the thought did not occur to me while I was in Constantinople, so that I might have suggested it to both parties.

It was very much to be regretted that nothing was done by the station in the way to effect the settlement of the difficulty without going before the courts. I write in haste. With kindest regards to all the brethren now in Constantinople, and with an earnest prayer that the Divine blessing may attend them in all their deliberations, I remain, most sincerely yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

S. M. Minasian, Esq., Constantinople.

MISSIONARY HOUSE, BOSTON, U.S.A., May 31, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your telegram of May 20 was received the same day, and a week after came a paper giving the action of an *ex-parte* council

in regard to the difficulties in the Vlanga Church. No action has yet been taken in the case by the Prudential Committee of the American Board. Amid so many conflicting statements it is not easy to arrive at the truth, and it seems better to wait till all the facts shall have been laid before us, and till the passions excited by this most unhappy difference shall have had time to cool, and the true Christian sentiment that we believe to exist shall have made itself felt.

It is hardly necessary for me to express my surprise and profound regret that any such difference and misunderstanding should have arisen among Christian brethren sincerely devoted to one common cause, and that it should have become a matter of such public notoriety and scandal to the Christian name. The injury done to the cause of Christ in Constantinople, and elsewhere in the Turkish empire, and wherever the press has carried the painful tidings, is immense, and very grave responsibilities rest on every man who by inconsiderate haste, ill-temper, or unchristian spirit, has fostered or given publicity to an evil which, as a raging fire, every true friend of the Gospel should have tried to put down as soon as possible.

We cannot but believe that if time had been taken for kindly counsel, and a full and free conference upon all questions in dispute, in a spirit of Christian love and forbearance, all difficulties could have been adjusted. It is far better to suffer wrong for a time, if need be, than to stir up evil passions by hasty and violent action; especially when this wrong is suffered from the hands of those who, when better informed, will be only too glad to make proper amends.

The great respect and high personal regard entertained toward you by our committee generally, and particularly by those who have had the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, make them regret all the more that any difference of sentiment should exist between you and our missionaries; and we cannot but hope that a better understanding of each other's views will have been gained ere this reaches you, and entire good feeling restored.

As you are well aware, neither we nor our missionaries have any personal ends to gain by the efforts we are making for the spiritual welfare of the Armenians in Turkey. The love of Christ alone constrains us to make the large expenditure of money and of missionaries for this object. The Armenian Missions have had a large share of the funds placed at our disposal for the promotion of the missionary enterprise. We have spent the more freely in the hope that the Armenian Protestants would soon be able to carry forward the great work of evangelization in the Turkish Empire without assistance from abroad. This hope is greatly encouraged by the spirit of self-denial and earnest devotion to the cause of Christ, and hearty co-operation with the

missionaries, evinced by many of the Churches, making them bright and shining examples to the Christian world.

Considering our motives and object, the self-denial and sacrifices made by the Christian men and women who have left home and country, and positions of honour, ease, and influence, to go abroad—circumstances which you can fully understand and appreciate from your acquaintance with this country—is it too much to ask for a kindly forbearance, for a generous Christian consideration for particular acts of ours or of our missionaries that may not at once commend themselves to your judgment, but which may be modified or recalled upon a better understanding of all the facts in the case?

We do not suppose that we ourselves, nor our missionaries, nor our brethren in the Armenian Churches, are exempt from the possibility of mistakes on practical questions of duty or expediency. But I would hope that the spirit of Christ in all who bear His name, of whatever nationality, will be a spirit of love, of forbearance, and of Christian charity.

It has seemed to me that our Armenian brethren in Constantinople and vicinity have not always appreciated aright the one supreme object of our missionary labours—not to attempt to import the Christian civilization of this country, the fruit of many years of culture and discipline, all ready made as it were, but to lay the basis of an equally noble civilization, not American, but Armenian. The foundation of our culture and prosperity as a people is the Gospel of Christ, with its quickening energy and inspiring motives, prompting believers to seek for themselves and their families the best culture and the enjoyment of all the arts and blessings of civilized life. Mere education, however complete and wide in its range, cannot secure this. The civilization of Paris and Berlin and Vienna is not of the English and American type. It is not such as we would introduce or help to develop in our mission fields. Men are everywhere eager to reap the fruits, before they have time to grow and to ripen on the soil. They crave the forms and the accomplishments of cultured life before they get the substance, and so we are urged to set up fashionable schools, and to introduce modes of living entirely out of keeping with the real wants of the people, as well as their best interests. Men of great learning and piety among our fathers cherished simple habits of life, and lived in humble dwellings that their children would now despise; but they laid firmly and deeply the foundation for the social and moral elevation of our people to-day. It is not the civilization of Paris and of Berlin that we wish to establish through the prayers and contributions of Christian men and women in this country, and the labours and sacrifices of our missionaries abroad, but rather one that may more nearly resemble in

its spirit that of New England, while true in its forms to the genius of each people among whom we labour.

Our first work is to bring men to Christ, and then to introduce them to all the arts and accomplishments of true Christian culture. It is no easy matter to withstand the pressure of those who are eager for the material results of culture, who seek a high education, not to honour Christ, but to improve their social condition and worldly prospects. We could easily spend all our funds in Turkey alone in building up great institutions of learning and promoting the cause of science and the arts, and splendid material results might follow, but with them the infidelity and scepticism of France and the rationalism of Germany; and the establishment of the kingdom of Christ would be farther off than ever.

We carry everywhere the Bible and the school. The first book we would have read is the Bible, the first influence exerted that of the Gospel, to mould the religious character. We would rouse up a spirit among the people to seek for themselves the advantages of civilized and cultured life, and render them such aid and counsel as may be necessary at the start. In this view we seek first of all to raise up an educated ministry, who shall not be so far in advance of the people as to be out of sympathy with them, and whose habits of life should not lead to expenses above the present ability of their people to supply. The great centres in Turkey as in this country will require men of higher culture than the rural sections, and such men must be supplied. We are, therefore, raising the standard of education in our seminaries every year, and propose to keep them in advance of the growing intelligence of the people. Individuals of special gifts and ability will seek still further attainments by private studies under the advice of the older missionaries, and thus become prepared for the highest positions. Any other course than this will tend to keep your Churches dependent upon foreign aid, and perpetuate occasions for differences of feeling, and to give Protestantism the appliance of a foreign religion. It is now becoming naturalized, it is already a recognized national religion in the country, and any appearance of dependence in pecuniary or ecclesiastical matters should cease as soon as possible. For that result we are steadily striving, and desire to make ourselves unnecessary to the progress of the Gospel in Turkey at the earliest moment, and to see the Reformed Armenian Church standing forth in its might, a power for Christ. Then will our joy be fulfilled.

In this view we have welcomed the establishment of Evangelical Unions, and have desired to pass over into their hands, as far as possible, the entire conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs. The manner in which these responsibilities have been assumed is worthy of all praise,

and is full of promises for the future of the Church. As fast as the Churches become independent we withdraw and leave them to the full and free exercise of all their rights and liberties as Churches of Christ. The proper missionary work—the extending of evangelistic labours into new fields, and the grants in aid of feeble Churches toward the support of their schools and preachers—belong to us; and in this we seek the hearty co-operation of all who love our Lord. While we desire the aid and counsel of our Armenian brethren in these plans, the control of our funds is properly in our hands. This arrangement is most satisfactory to our Churches at home, and saves complication abroad. The wise and responsible use of funds necessitates careful inquiry into the character of the objects for which they are appropriated, and may thus lead to temporary differences of judgment between the missionaries and the Armenians on practical questions, and sometimes to the appearance of interference in the local affairs of the Churches. But it is a necessity that passes away with the occasion, and ought to be promotive of good feeling rather than otherwise.

The views I have thus set before you in this informal manner are not peculiar to the American Board and its missionaries; but, so far as I know, are accepted as the result of large experience and observation by nearly all or quite all of the great missionary societies of the world, though individual missionaries here and there may dissent. This very morning my eye has fallen upon a passage in the annual report of the London Missionary Society, presented at its recent anniversary in London, which expresses so perfectly what I would say of every Church formed by our missionaries that I beg to call your attention to it: “In its outward form it may be purely native to the lands in which it flourishes. Though founded by friendly foreigners it need not perpetuate the Western customs of the men who began it; but native in its fellowship, its worship, and its action, its outward forms shall more truly express and develop the feeling, the principle, and the life of its Christian members than any foreign system can do. In a word, pure in its spirit, complete in its consecration, filled with the rich experience of the varied past, the full force of all its native elements shall be offered with simplicity and truth to the Saviour, who is its Lord. This is the end to which the efforts, the co-operation, the full Scripture teaching of all branches of the Church of Christ lead us on.”

I have thus, my dear Sir, written you quite at length, out of the high respect we all entertain for you, and feeling that your acquaintance with this country and our institutions would enable you the better to understand our position.

The condition of our work at Constantinople has been a source of great anxiety to me for years; the want of harmonious co-operation between the missionaries and the Churches, the frequent misunderstandings that arise, have been quite inexplicable on any Christian grounds. I cannot help feeling that evil influences have been at work to disturb the peace and good feeling of the Christian community. Precisely what they are, and what measures should be taken to meet them, I am unable to determine. I hear that you are purposing to visit this country during the present season. If so, I shall hope to have the pleasure of a full and free conference with you on many points relating to the progress of the Gospel in Turkey. In the meantime, we trust your good offices will be employed to secure the restoration of peace and harmony in the Christian community. Your position and influence are such as to give especial weight to whatever you may do in behalf of good order and the progress of Christian culture.

With great respect, yours sincerely,

N. G. CLARK.

(As an *individual*; not in the name of
the Prudential Committee.)

*To the Prudential Committee of the American Board at Boston,
Mass., U.S.A.*

OSTEND, July 24, 1869.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—On my leaving Constantinople, the 14th of May last, the quarrel between your missionaries there and the Evangelical Armenian community was at its height—the former, in the name and in behalf of the American Board, prosecuting, and the latter defending themselves, in public Turkish tribunal. All my previous efforts to bring about a better and a Christian understanding between these opposing parties not only failed, but was made the occasion of, by your missionaries, to bring odium on my personal character. Yet the interests at jeopardy in those quarrels being most momentous, and being dearest to me, as they doubtless are to the Christian heart everywhere, I was still desirous to find an expediency by which time might be given to the enraged passions of the parties to cool. It was then that the thought occurred to me that you might do great good in this way, and very properly too, by requesting the missionaries to suspend the proceedings they had

already commenced in your name, and bring the subject before you for a hearing.

With this view my message of the 20th of May was forwarded you, the acknowledgment of the receipt of which was received by me here the day before yesterday, in a letter of Dr. Clark, dated May 31st. Although I do feel thankful to Dr. Clark for doing me the favour of writing that long letter, and though the most of what he says is in entire harmony with my own views, still I must confess that I cannot see the relevance of the topics therein discussed to the subject of my telegram.

It surprises and deeply pains me, my Christian friends, to learn that, after the matter was brought before you so urgently, still you found it to be your duty to allow the missionaries to continue to pursue a course which in the judgment of ninety-nine per cent. of all Evangelical Armenians (not mentioning the number of foreign Christians and the large body of most honourable men of every nationality who were in sympathy with them in this matter) was most disastrous to the missionary cause in Turkey. Dr. Clark in his letter remarks: "The condition of our work at Constantinople has been a source of great anxiety to me for years." And so, truly, he has reason to have anxiety; but can the anxiety of American Christians in behalf of a people six thousand miles away be compared with the anxiety of that people in its own behalf? What alarms our intelligent Christian men in Turkey is, that whatever is and has for years been true for Constantinople, is already partially true for every mission station among the Armenians in Turkey; and unless the Christian world begin to pray to God—and we were sure such a prayer would be answered—that He would keep back from the interior of Turkey, for fifty years at least, the great tide of education and intelligence which is so rapidly flowing in now, it will be wholly true very soon. And would not such a spectacle (may God divert it!) burn the heart of every true Christian?

Gentlemen, on these things you have the testimony of the missionaries alone. That is not enough. You must hear also whatever intelligent Armenian Christians have to say about them. They are most vitally interested in these affairs, and if they are refused to be heard, the cause of Christ in Turkey will sustain irreparable injury.

In Turkey, among the Armenians, the American Board had a most fruitful field for missionary labour, and hitherto God has blessed that labour. Still the work is yet by no means done as it ought to be done. To do it properly and well we must give up some of our prejudices. We must observe the signs of the times, and be willing to learn something from the world. Now, what are the signs of the

times I refer to. Reform and liberty !!! Hitherto the missionaries have ruled like unconstitutional monarchs; and perhaps that way answered well in those days, but it will not answer now. Hitherto the Churches have been under the complete control of the missionaries as our American slaves were under the control of their masters; and perhaps that state of things was a necessity then, but surely it is not so now.

In one word, if you wish to see peace and prosperity in the missions in Turkey, curtail some of the powers of your missionaries, and break off some of the links from the chain that has been binding the Churches ever since their organization. Never allow any missionaries to be put to rule over persons who are not only superior to himself in age, but also in Christian experience, and many other talents. Although your missionaries are now unanimous in defending what was done on their side, yet I verily believe the recent crisis would have been diverted if older, calmer, and more experienced men were at the immediate head in the management of the affairs.

I have written thus, dear friends, as a Christian man, frankly, though very briefly and imperfectly, and pray that it may be read in the same spirit in which it was written.

S. M. MINASIAN.

To the Prudential Committee of the American Board, Boston, U.S.A.

OSTEND, BELGIUM, Aug. 6, 1869.

DEAR BRETHREN,—Since I wrote you on the 24th ult., I have received two letters from the Churches in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and believing that, at a time like this, you would be desirous of obtaining all the information you could in regard to the difficulties between the missionaries and the Churches, I take the liberty of translating and sending them to you, premising, however, that I take no responsibility in the matter beyond thus making myself the medium of transmission.

I remain most respectfully yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

Mr. S. M. Minasian.

BAGHGEJICK, July 5, 1869.

DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST,—As it is already known to you, for the past three years we have been without a minister of the Gospel to preach in our village, and therefore were deprived of the blessings and comforts which the Lord instituted should come through the preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

But now, we thank the Lord that He has been pleased to grant us a preacher in the person of brother Hohannes Bassian. This brother, having laboured among us for a couple of months, we thought best to engage for a year, and after that, if it pleased God, to settle him permanently as our pastor. We have also a teacher, who labours faithfully, we believe, for the spiritual as well as mental instruction of our children, so they may, through the blessing of God, become useful in the future.

For the present year, to support our preacher and teacher, we need 90%. 60% for the preacher, and 30% for the teacher.

We tried to raise this amount without making application for it to any friends outside, and to this end our brethren and sisters, all with one heart, laboured, and the result was 60% only.

As it is well known to you, our principal business here is the raising of silk cocoons, which business for several years past, as also the present year, has not been successful, and it was on this account that our efforts to raise the entire 90% ourselves have failed.

Besides this, we have to raise 10% for contingent expenses, also 114 pa's for Government taxes.

While we were meditating over these circumstances, our brother Alexander, the Pastor of Adapazar Church, met us, and exhorted us not to be discouraged, reminding us that there were Christian friends, such as Rev. Dr. Hamlin and Mr. Minasian, who felt interested in us, and promised to aid us when we found a preacher.

Thus, dear brother, we are encouraged to apply to you to assist us in the support of the Gospel institution in this village, and hope our application will meet with your approval.

We also make known to you, with deep sorrow, that for several years there have been differences between the Rev. Mr. Parsons, the missionary of the American Board here, and ourselves, concerning the manner of working for spreading the kingdom of Christ in our midst. We applied to the Missionary Committee at Constantinople to send one here to investigate the matter, and mark out a course in which we can all work together in harmony. But the Committee at Constantinople have not given any importance to our application. We therefore thought it best, feeble though we are, to work alone, and independently of the missionaries in the kingdom of God in this land, hoping and praying that the Lord may strengthen us for His glory.

With earnest prayer we remain, yours, in behalf of all Evangelical Armenians at Baghgejick.

MINAS SEPETJIAN,	}	Committee of the Church.
TOROS MINASIAN,		
VAHAN DAIYAN,		
GARABED SINASIAN,		
HOHANNES TAVITIAN.		
HOHANNES CANDANIAN,	}	Committee of the Society.
SDEPHAN TOPOOSIAN,		
SARKIS PANOSIAN,		
SDEPHAN ARABIAN,		
HARGOP GOBELIAN.		

Mr. S. M. Minasian.

RODOSTO, July 17, 1869.

DEAR SIR,—On the 3rd inst. there arrived here the missionaries, Rev. Messrs. Schaufler and Baldwin, and on the 8th they returned to Constantinople. During the stay of these brethren with us we treated them with all the hospitality, civility, and kindness possible.

They first spoke privately with me and a few brethren, and laboured hard with threats and promises to induce us to repudiate the action of the Ecclesiastical Council convened at Constantinople the 19th of April last, and also to disapprove the letter sent by that Council to the Prudential Committee. But to do this we considered wrong, and contrary to our conscience.

In the evening of the 6th instant, the missionaries begged me to call a general meeting of the Church, which I did; but only seven members (that is only the half of the Church) being present, of course no business

could be lawfully transacted, and so our brethren declared to the missionaries. But they persisted in their efforts to persuade the brethren present to act as a lawful meeting, and repudiate the action of the Council above referred to, and recall the letter to the Prudential Committee; but the brethren evidently opposed them, saying there is not a quorum present for transacting business, and as to repudiating the action of the Constantinople Council, it is childish, wrong, and against our conscience. Finding that they could accomplish nothing in this way, the young missionaries became angry, and venting the severity of their anger on myself, gave, in a paper signed by Mr. Schaffler, the following condemnatory decision in regard to myself:

“The mind of Pastor Abraham, in regard to our missionary work, policy, and principles, is so much at enmity, and his want of confidence in us is so great, that before it becomes altogether changed we hasten to declare that we cannot have intercourse with him as missionaries any longer; and that in regard to his salary we will not be able to assist.

“H. SCHAUFFLER.”

Against this action I sent a protest to the Missionary Committee *ad interim* at Constantinople, of which I send you a copy, and beg that you will be pleased to draw the attention of American Christians to the grievous wrongs done to a poor minister of the Gospel of Christ in Turkey. Our Church and brethren unite with me in regards to you.

I remain sincerely yours,

PASTOR ABRAHAM.

Another friend at Constantinople writes: “Letters from Nicomidia this week mention that Mr. Parsons presented a paper to the Church there, requesting them to sign it, repudiating certain articles published in regard to the missionaries, otherwise all assistance to them will be cut off. The same thing was done to the Church at Rodosto.”

S. M. Minasian, Esq.

MISSIONARY HOUSE, BOSTON, August 13, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favour of July 24 has come to hand. I am sorry to find that our action and the contents of my letter are not agreeable to you. In regard to your telegram, I ought to say that we did not understand its purport till your letter came, and it was then too late to stay proceedings in the courts, even if we had thought it best to do so. As the result showed, the seizure of our property was

an unjustifiable act of violence on the part of a portion of the Vlanga Church, and it could only have delayed justice to have had any interposition on our part.

The tyranny of which you complain is something I do not understand. The object of the missionary at any point is to develop and establish an independent, self-supporting, self-governing Church, and then to leave it to itself and go elsewhere. His power and authority cease the moment the Church is able to take care of itself. While it depends on him for the support of its pastor or its schools, it is but just that he should have a voice in its affairs, and not expend money for men or schools which he does not approve of. He will advise with the people and consult their wishes so far as possible. He will put all the responsibilities on them he can in order to prepare them to act for themselves just as soon as possible. This is our policy, and so we instruct all our missionaries. How such difficulty can arise as at Constantinople is a great surprise to me.

Will you have the kindness to tell me just what you want—just what manner of conducting the missionary work would please you and those who sympathize with you, and are opposed to the missionaries?

You complain bitterly, but I really do not know what you want. Excuse my frankness, but I am anxious for light.

Sincerely yours,

N. C. CLARK.

*To the Prudential Committee of the A.B., Mission House, Boston,
Mass., U.S.A.*

PARIS, September 2, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—The last note which I addressed you was dated August 6. Since then, a few days ago, I had the pleasure of receiving your favour of the 13th August. You wish me to state to you “just what manner of conducting the missionary work would please me and those who sympathize with me.” I fear you do not understand exactly the nature of the relation I sustain towards the missionaries and the people among whom they labour.

I always prided myself that I belonged to neither party, and thought that my peculiar position enabled me to see the errors as well as the excellencies of both. It is not I who am discontented with the manner in which the missionary work is conducted—the people sympathizing with me, as you suppose, for the acts of the missionaries can in no wise affect me; but it is *the people* who feel themselves oppressed and wronged by their acts. The expression of those feelings may be found in the frequent commotions between the missionaries and the Churches ;

the more intelligence in the Church, the louder and more frequent the complaint. My frequent opportunities of observation convince me that in this thing they are right; and must I suppress or withhold my sympathy from a people in that condition? It will be "woe" unto me if I do.

It requires a free talk and various explanations to make the state of affairs somewhat plain; but as we have not that opportunity now, and as you are "anxious for light," I take the liberty to present the following statements on the subject:—

First. In the recent controversy with the missionaries I had *only one* issue with them, and that was on a most vital principle—the freedom of the Churches from outside interference—a principle absolutely indispensable for making the Evangelical Churches throughout Turkey self-supporting and self-propagating, and the violation of which, no matter on what grounds, and with what amount of pure and good motives, will bring distortion over those Churches; and thence the great end aimed at by the Christian Churches of America, with much prayer, through forty years of patient, faithful, and self-denying labours, and with the expenditure of much treasure, will fail to be accomplished. It would be far better for the Churches to be entirely free and make many mistakes than to be interfered with. It is always between two evils men have to choose in this imperfect world. It may seem presumptuous in me to speak of freedom to the free Churches of America. Yet, after being a most close observer of, and a most deeply interested party for more than twenty-five years in, what has been going on in connexion with the missionary work in Turkey, I cannot speak differently.

Second. The course pursued by your missionaries is in violation of just this principle spoken of. They virtually say to the needy Churches: "Obey us, and do as we say, even to the selection of your pastor, else we do not help you." But in the recent case not only did they say this to the Vlanga Church, but went beyond it. Several months before Pastor Sdepan was elected to have the temporary charge of the Vlanga Church, he started a meeting at Ortakeny, one of the most important suburbs of Constantinople of a very large Armenian population, where any missionary work had never before been done. One day he invited all the missionaries of Constantinople, besides the Rev. I. G. Bliss, Dr. Hamlin, and myself, to a meeting to advise whether it was best for him to continue to labour at Ortakeny, and whether the Mission or individual Christians would sustain him pecuniarily in that work, or to receive any other advice the meeting might give him. The meeting was convened; the Rev. Messrs. Riggs, Bliss, Trowbridge, Hamlin, and myself, being present, and, after some deliberation, gave to Pastor Sdepan substantially the following advice:—

"The Mission, in times past, hired individuals to labour as evangelists in certain localities; but that plan is now abandoned, the present plan being to help the Churches, and let them undertake to do the missionary work of their districts. But as to yourself, there are the Vlanga and Adrianople Churches, both in need of a pastor; you may go to them and see, perhaps they will give you a call." It seems, however, that several members of the Vlanga Church were already at this time trying to persuade him to accept a call from their Church if it were offered him.

These brethren, who I understand take sides now with the missionaries, unanimously voted with the Church for Pastor S., and up to the last were among his most ardent supporters. It is further testified that some time previous the missionaries, in urging the Vlanga Church to call a pastor, suggested among other candidates Pastor Sdepan. But when the Vlanga Church, in a regular meeting, by a unanimous vote, elected Pastor S., and notice of it was given to the missionaries, they sent word to the Church to the following effect—viz.: "We decline to assist you to support Pastor S., because we are well convinced that his labours over the Churches of this capital will not be productive of good, and that our co-operation with him will be impossible."

This message was not taken very pleasantly by the Church, and she began to show signs of insubordination. But still, had the missionaries stopped there, the thing might have been arranged and the crisis averted; but they were inconsiderate, and went beyond, and when the Church, after considering their message, informed them that they had concluded to take the entire responsibility of the support of their pastor upon themselves rather than give up their choice, the missionaries brought a further and entirely unexpected pressure upon her in order thus to compel her to submit, saying: "The Vlanga Chapel is our property, and no man has the right to preach there without our consent. We do not consent to the preaching of Pastor S. there." At the same time they applied to the civil authorities to keep Pastor S. from entering the chapel. The civil authorities considered it beyond the range of their power or duty to interfere in keeping a man from peaceably entering a church edifice opened for public service, much less to prevent a minister from entering the edifice where his Church is assembled; but, wishing to make peace, proposed to have a neutral person preach until the matter between the parties could be amicably arranged.

But the missionaries would not consent to this, because Pastor S. would be present in the chapel as a mere hearer. I may here remark that the men of Turkey, though we might wish them to be, are not exceptions to, but of like passions with men everywhere. It was a

wrong accusation the missionaries brought forward that the people were seizing their property. The Vlanga Church, in concert with the Protestant community in and around Constantinople, merely acted on the principle that they had the right to continue to hold their services in the chapel which they had been occupying by a common consent for the last seventeen years, until they received proper notice and time to quit. But the missionaries, instead of giving this notice, hastily, and without any warning, repaired to the place, discharged the people's school, nailed up the schoolroom, removed the family from the premises against their entreaties, called in the police to take away from the chapel a man who happened to be there, and locked up the building; and, when they were remonstrated with for acting so rashly and unlawfully, declared, "We are foreigners, and not subject to Turkish law." Were they justified in thus acting? And were there no other considerations but the ownership of the property by which the Protestants of Stamboul, in the presence of their unsympathizing neighbours, could claim the right to be treated decently in this matter by the missionaries?

Third. Turkey is not a missionary ground now in the sense that she was forty years ago. There is a people there now compared with which no other people in the world appreciate more the principles and privileges of the Gospel, to secure which they have been made to suffer "the loss of all things." To sustain and perpetuate the institution of that Gospel is not only their sincere desire, but it is also to their interest. In this work they have many wants, and they need ask the sympathy and aid of their more favoured fellow-Christians and the Christian Churches in other lands; being convinced and desirous, however, that aid should be granted on the simple ground of their being of the body of the Church of Christ, founded on his pure Gospel, and sincerely seeking to spread that Gospel, believing that their end, and the end of the Christians who help them, would be best secured if no other conditions were imposed upon them. The foreign missionary should never exercise "power and authority" over the Church because "it depends on him for the support of its pastor or its schools;" that is, not any more power than the home missionary exercises over feeble Churches in the West which he aids.

I have merely touched on the above points with the sincere desire to draw your patient and earnest attention to the grave questions under consideration; and hoping that some means might be found by which harmony and co-operation between the missionaries and the Churches may be established, I remain, most respectfully, yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

To the Prudential Committee of the A.B., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

PARIS, November 5, 1869.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Since I addressed you my last communication I have received two letters, one from Pastor Thomas, of Diarbekir, and the other from Pastor Simon, of Constantinople; and I herewith take the liberty to send the translations of them to you, thinking that, considering their position and their labour in the missionary work in Turkey for a quarter of a century or more, you would be glad to have their views touching the state of that work.

I also enclose the copy of the letter I wrote to Rev. Mr. Washburn, at Constantinople, on receiving the report of the recent investigating committee there.

Respectfully yours,

S. M. MINASIAN.

P.S.—It is very much to be regretted that such an unguarded report* as I have just read was published by the A.B. concerning the recent difficulties at Constantinople. I presume that report was prepared before full and more correct information as to the actual causes and the nature of the difficulty had reached the Missionary House, otherwise the case would not have been so painfully misrepresented.

It not only does extreme injustice to earnest Christian men who honestly differed with the missionaries and remonstrated with them, but also does injury to the cause of truth and religion. For the sake of all I hope in some way it may be rectified.

S. M. M.

* *Extract from the Annual Report of the American Board, 1869.*—"At Constantinople the missionaries have been greatly tried by the conduct of a portion of the Protestant community. The motives and conduct of the missionaries in endeavouring to raise them to independence and to the support of their own institutions at the earliest practical moment have not been properly appreciated, and secret and open enemies of the truth have improved the occasion to embarrass our work. The experience of the early Churches as recorded in the Acts and the Epistles of the New Testament finds renewed and painful illustration at Constantinople. Happily, the difficulties thus referred to are thus far wholly confined to the capital and its immediate neighbourhood."

Mr. S. M. Minasian.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Oct. 8, 1869.

DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST,—I need not describe to you now the recent events that have taken place here, as by this time you must have received sufficient information in regard to them. It is not possible to foretell what the effect of these events will be for the future, but thus far they have been injurious beyond measure, and if things continue in this way all hope for our work, at least in this capital, is terminated. Truly it has been a question of life and death to the Churches, and whatever little ray of light has been dimly shining has almost died out; and it only remains, it seems, for us to mourn in solitude over ourselves and our Churches, waiting for the omnipotent power of God to appear. Of course, this state of things has a double effect upon me. It is in itself a solemn and bitter thing to see scattered and in great danger the flock which God has committed to my unworthy care, and over which I have tenderly watched for the last twenty-five years, under circumstances of much trial and hardships of every kind.

Is it possible for a pastor to become a spectator of such a scene without having the greatest anguish of heart? Experience alone can answer the question.

This event has also a pecuniary effect of the hardest kind upon me.

I have spent more than a quarter of a century of my life in this work, all my powers, feelings, and desires have been nourished in it, and now I am compelled to give up this chosen work and calling, and at my present age run about like a young man of twenty in search of secular employment to support my wife and children. If it was an enemy who had given us this stroke it would certainly have been severe and unbearable; but now our hearts lie in more bitter and amazing sorrow because it was our brethren and our considered benefactors who have done it, those who were expressly sent to do us good, and from whom we certainly had the right to expect better things.

Alas! for the severe toils of many years. Alas! that the glorious cause of Christ, which had been secured only through a death-like struggle, has to be sacrificed to the passions of a few inexperienced men.

I have this painful news to communicate, dear brother, to you: the work for and in Constantinople is terminated.

May God save his cause in other places from coming to this most fearful and solemn end.

PASTOR SIMON.

S. M. Minasian, Esq.,

DIARBEEKIR, September 9, 1869.

DEAR BROTHER,—Under the shadow of his wings, God has brought us safely home again. The brethren, about 2,000 in number, had come out of the city to meet us, and received us with great joy. Truly during these four years of separation their love for me had increased tenfold, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the missionaries to induce them to discard me, saying to them that I would never return, or, if I did, would not be suited for them, &c., &c. The people were well convinced, however, that the cause of the opposition of the missionaries was that their Pastor did not obey them blindly; they would have the Church leave me and take such an one in my place as would submit to all their requirements without complaint. But now, as I have returned, they cannot find further fault with me on that ground, but still they seem determined to trouble this people and myself in another way. Our present meeting-house was purchased about ten years ago, for £1,000 Turkish, equal to 4,400 dollars. Of this amount the people here paid £300, of the balance the missionaries collected from Christians in America £420, and they also received from the funds of the American Board £280—the last-mentioned sum, however, was received as an advanced rent for use of the building by the Mission, and was to be liquidated by deducting from it so much every year as a rent. On my return here we wished the deeds of the premises, in order that we might commence our preparations to erect the new church edifice. They replied that they would not give it to us, unless we would pay for it. A few brethren and myself then went to see Mr. Williams and his associates, and tried to arrange the matter amicably with them. In order to settle the thing peaceably and harmoniously, we were willing to make even sacrifices if need be, and to this end offered to pay for their claim £150, in six equal annual instalments, with the endorsements of our brethren. To this arrangement Mr. Williams with his associates agreed perfectly, and seemed to feel rejoiced, too, that the matter was arranged in harmony and friendship, and said they would write to the missionaries at Kharpoot about it. They did so, and the answer was that they would not consent to the arrangement to give us the deeds unless we paid the £150 cash down. We applied again to Mr. Williams and the Kharpoot missionaries. It is now about six months since writing to the former, and it seems that they do not consider our letter even deserving an answer. From the Kharpoot missionaries we heard, and

they answer as before, insisting on the payment of the £150 cash down, or we cannot have the deeds. They know very well that the brethren are not able to raise that amount for them now, as they will have to raise several hundred pounds before the building is finished, but still they persist in their demand, and in this way prevent us from commencing our work. While I was in America I was told that the buildings purchased for the people would be given to them; the same thing was repeated to me by the officers of the A.B. at the ministers' meeting at Dr. Crosby's house in New York. Now we are not asking any gift from the missionaries, we are offering payment and security, but they refuse to accommodate or give us their encouragement. Through all this summer we held our meetings in the open air, exposed to the heat and the dust, and now as the rainy season is approaching we know not where we can flee to. The present building is in an upper story 24 steps high, and far too small for the congregation, and I have fears also that it may some time give way, and endanger the lives of the people.

It seems strange to our people here that the missionaries should thus be the first to throw obstacles in the way, even before the Turks had commenced doing so. If you can find some way, through the Prudential Committee or otherwise, to deliver us from this embarrassing condition, you will accomplish great good. The condition of our people here is a difficult one. They raise annually more than £300 for their expenses, and considering their means, they all contribute liberally, and with much self-denial. Our work here is quite extensive, and in a few weeks the brethren are going to call in an assistant pastor. We have four schools; two—one for boys and one for girls—have recently opened, in which the higher branches of studies will be taught. In the boys' school the English and Turkish languages are also taught, and both schools are in a prosperous condition. It is hard to see so promising a field before us, and yet be prevented from fully entering into it for want of adequate means. We need school-books, maps, and various instruments, but cannot get them.

The missionaries in these parts, especially those of Kharpoot, are exercising extraordinary oppression over the people. Often, in order to continue to hold their rule over the Churches, they put uneducated and unsuitable persons as pastors over them, and in this way our people are falling into new kinds of errors and superstitions. I had often said, and am obliged to say still, that if things continue in this state these organized Churches will be ruined, and the missionaries with us all will view in sorrow their ruin.

THE PAPAL
TEMPORAL POWER.

From PRINCETON REVIEW,

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THE PAPAL TEMPORAL POWER.

ON the twentieth of September, the Italian army entered Rome, and dispossessed the Pontiff of his temporal sovereignty. He had, on the tenth of the same month, thus addressed his army: "At this moment, when a great sacrilege and the most enormous injustice are about being consummated, and the troops of a Catholic king, without provocation, nay, without even the least appearance of any motive, surround and besiege the capital of the Catholic world, I feel, in the first place, the necessity of thanking you and our entire army for your generous conduct up to the present time, for the affection which you have shown to the Holy See, and for your willingness to consecrate yourselves entirely to the defence of this metropolis. May these words be a solemn document to certify to the discipline, the loyalty, and the valor of the army in the service of this Holy See." He then directs the commander to open negotiations for surrender as soon as a breach shall have been made in the walls, as further resistance would only involve a useless shedding of blood. Under date of November first, we have the conditions announced of the Italian government on taking possession of Rome. "All the political authority of the Pope and the Holy See in Italy is abolished and will remain so. The Pope will be entirely free in the exercise of his ecclesiastical rights which he now possesses as the supreme chief of Catholicism,

and will enjoy all the honors and liberties which constitute sovereign prerogative." "The appanage of his holiness and his court shall be furnished by Italy, which also assumes the debts hitherto contracted by the Pontifical See." The debt of the papal government thus assumed is said to be about \$150,000,000. Its revenue from the Roman States, at the latest dates consulted, was about \$5,800,000; its expenditures \$14,800,000, leaving a most formidable deficit of over \$9,000,000. Italian soldiers now maintain order on the Vatican Hill equally as on the other side of the Tiber. In a word, the Pope is a *subject* where once he was a *sovereign*, and seems destined, as time advances, to be made more and more sensible of the complete change in his *status*.

A blow at the temporal power is a blow at the Jesuits, who, within the last thirty years, had increased from less than three thousand to more than eight thousand five hundred, and for a thousand years never had the bishops been more helplessly in bondage and servile to the Papacy. The Jesuits no longer have their head-quarters at the Vatican, and the bishops may now reassert some measure of independence and self-respect. There is difficulty, it is true, in estimating the relative importance of recent occurrences in public affairs. Our partialities or prejudices may be too deeply engaged to admit of a dispassionate judgment. We must be at a proper distance, or we may mistake some very insignificant objects for the grand features of a landscape. The history of the popedom teaches us that it is unsafe to predict too positively. that the temporal power, of which Victor Emmanuel has stripped Pio Nono, is a permanent dispossession. Rome has seen many vicissitudes. It was in the eighth century that the temporal power had its commencement. Pepin deposed the last descendant (Childeric III.) of the Merovingian dynasty, and the regal authority which had been conferred on him was confirmed by the authority of the church in the person of Pope Zachary, A. D. 752. Desirous of retaining the crown in his family by means of the favor of the church, Pepin readily yielded to the prayer of the Pope, crossed the Alps with an army, defeated the Lombards, who were at war with Rome, and conferred the exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis on

the Pope. This was in the year of our Lord 754, and was the origin of the Pontifical sovereignty. Under Charlemagne, the Popes were invested with further power, and defended in the exercise of it. He conferred on them Spelato and Perugia. Prior to the invasion of Italy by Pepin they were the subjects of the Greek emperor, and their interference with civil and political matters was confined to mere admonition of the civil magistrate. In defence of their encroachments, it was pretended that their predecessors had received as a donation from Constantine the sovereignty of Rome and Italy; and the false decretals forged for this purpose appeared about the end of this same century. Thus, pious fraud united with worldly policy and military power in laying the foundation of the political sovereignty of the Papacy. It was even made agreeable to the people of Rome themselves; for, at first, along with the clergy, they had a voice in the election of the Popes, subject to the approval of the emperor.

The great Hildebrand, Gregory VII., who was the first Pontiff elected by the cardinals, in 1073,—for the suffrage had been wrested from the people by Nicholas II.,—made it his great object to attain for the Papacy increased wealth and authority. He excommunicated some of the ministers of the Emperor Henry IV., and at length the emperor himself, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. His majesty obtained absolution from this sentence only by sitting at the Pope's gate three days barefooted, clad in coarse garments. It was not, however, till A. D. 1278 that the Popes had confirmed to them the complete supremacy over the possessions which from the time of Pepin had been claimed as granted to St. Peter. Nicholas III. exacted the surrender as a condition precedent to the crowning of Rudolph I. At the accession of the present Pontiff, the territorial extent of the Papal dominion is said, with the exception of Ferrara and Urbino, which were secured respectively in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to have remained nearly the same as it was under the cession of Rudolph. It amounted in all to about 1,800 English square miles, divided into some twenty (so-called) legations and delegations, and had, at the time of its restoration by the Congress of Vienna, after its spoliation by the

first Napoleon, a little more than three millions of inhabitants. Boniface VIII., the last of the great Popes,—the heirs, so to speak, of Gregory VII., who succeeded to the tiara in 1294,—attempted to complete the mighty work of his predecessors, by the subjection of all the kings of the earth to the Pontifical authority. In the council held at Rome in 1302, he composed the famous decretal, *Unam Sanctam*, which asserts that the power of kings is to be held subordinate to that of Popes, and that Popes have the right of appointing, correcting, and deposing them.

But the temporal power has by no means been held, during this long period, in undisputed peaceful possession. Gregory VII., at whose gate the emperor so humbly sat for absolution, subsequently nearly lost his life in an uprising of the people, and was banished by the emperor, who caused himself to be crowned in Rome. He died in exile. Under the successor of the haughty and aspiring Boniface VIII., the residence of the Supreme Pontiff was changed from Italy to France, and Avignon made the capital of the religious world. His exile from Rome lasted seventy-two years, and in the history of the Roman Church has been known as the “Babylonish captivity.” Then followed immediately the great schism, which lasted fifty-one years; two Popes were elected, one residing at Avignon, and the other at Rome. The schism was extinguished in 1429 by the abdication of the Pope who held his court at Avignon. During the absence of the Popes, the people of Rome maintained in their own hands the government of their city; but at the return of the court, through the aid of a foreign army, the Popes resumed their despotic sway.

It will be remembered that within our own century that remarkable man, Napoleon Bonaparte, with Europe prostrate at his feet, and controlling the destinies of eighty millions of people, caused the Pope, Pius VII., to be arrested, and confined him as a prisoner, first at Savona, and afterwards at Fontainebleau. This was in 1809. The revolution in 1848 expelled the present Pontiff, who was restored by Louis Napoleon by force of arms, but only to a small remnant of his former territorial dominions, the city of Rome and its immediate circumjacent territory. The Romagna, comprising

fifteen legations and delegations, with an area of 12,681 square miles, with nearly two and a half millions of inhabitants, became detached from the Pontifical government; and only the city of Rome and the Comarca, together with the delegations of Viterbo, Civita Vecchia, Vallettri, and Frosinone, showing an area of only some 4,600 square miles, with a population less than 725,000, remained to constitute the sum-total of the temporal sovereignty of the Pontiff. Since 1850 he has been upheld, in the exercise of the temporal power over this small territory left to him, by French bayonets, up to the breaking out of the war that has proved so disastrous to France. Probably, during the last twenty years, there has been no time when, if the French protection had been withdrawn, the people of Italy would not have wrested, as they have now done, from Pius IX. what temporal power remained in his hand.

While it would be rash to affirm that diplomacy and foreign arms may not force back on Rome the despotism from which it has been delivered, we are not to close our eyes to certain things which render such a result, to say the least, quite improbable:—

1. The Pope has been dispossessed by a Catholic king, who claims to be a loyal son of the church. If it were a revolution in the interests of Red Republicanism, it is easy to see that the great powers of Europe, not excepting those in which Protestantism has the ascendancy, might be led to consider that safety required them to combine for reinstating the Pontifical sovereignty. But these powers look upon the government of Victor Emmanuel to be as deeply concerned in maintaining the monarchical system as themselves. Cavour, one of the greatest statesmen of modern times, initiated the movements which elevated his country vastly in the rank of nations, and which have now been consummated in the unification, and making Rome the capital, of Italy. The people of Rome, with the exception of a portion of the ecclesiastics and lazzaroni, appear to be united as one man in favor of the change that has been made, having given 50,000 votes in its favor to only 50 against it. All classes of the population are said to have voted, except the priests and those immediately

under their influence. And nothing has yet appeared to prove that the king is not truly what he professes to be, a devoted son of the Roman Church. The Pope complains, but he complains of nothing except what is clearly an incident to the loss of the temporal power. This is the burden of his recent protest addressed to the cardinals. He complains that "having no longer that supreme and full power, in virtue of which we enjoy the right of our civil principate, in the use of public means of conveyance, and in the public circulation of letters, and being unable to trust the government who has arrogated this power, we are really deprived of the necessary and speedy way, as well as of the free faculty of treating the affairs which the Vicar of Jesus Christ and common Father of the Faithful, to whom his sons, so numerous come from all parts of the world, must treat and administer." He brings no charge of any attempt to interfere with the rites of religion, or the doctrines of the church.

2. The effect in Roman Catholic countries of the decree of infallibility. There is a manifest indifference in the European Roman Catholic world to the loss of the temporal power, which can be explained only by the alarming doctrine which seems to be contained in the Pope's claim of this power, by infallible authority; to wit, that "his title would not be invalidated by any degree of misgovernment, or however incompatible his sovereignty might be with the welfare of Europe and mankind." They look upon it as the inauguration of Theocracy, of which every priest, in the pulpit, in the confessional, and in the family, will be the enforced, if not already the zealous, apostle.

That the definition of the dogma of infallibility, and the lapse of the temporal power, should have occurred so closely, in the order of time, is not to be viewed in the light of an ordinary concurrence or sequence of events. Nor should it be viewed merely as "one of those historical sarcasms, one of those ironies of fate, which occasionally stamp great epochs of the world." It is doubtless too soon for us fully to judge what may be the effect on the Roman Catholic world of the decree of infallibility. It seems, however, to be too much to expect that it will be tamely submitted to by the respectable

party that so strenuously opposed it. It is a fact worthy of record that, on the question of infallibility in the general congregation of July 13th, eighty-eight prelates voted *non placet*, and sixty-two others voted *placet juxta modum*, or gave only a qualified assent. Of the eighty-eight who voted *non placet*, there were three cardinal archbishops, and three archbishops; thirty-three were from Germany, twenty from France, eight from America, and eight were Orientals. On the 18th, when the dogma was adopted, sixty-six were not present who voted on the 13th; and, in addition to the prelates who had left Rome, between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and forty, it is said, chose to absent themselves from the sitting rather than incur the guilt of voting *placet*, or the odium of avowing their convictions. The most eminent of the absentees were the Archbishops of Paris and Lyons; Cardinal Mathieu, of Besançon; Dupanloup, of Orleans; and the Bishop of Nancy. Of the two who had the courage to persist in their *non placet*, at the final vote, Bishop Fitzgerald, of Little Rock, Arkansas, was one; a bishop from southern Italy was the other. There is an old Catholic rule, it is said, which requires that decrees of faith should be adopted by a unanimous vote, while canons of discipline may be passed simply by a majority vote. The Roman Catholic world is represented by 1,590 archbishops and bishops, according to the year-book of 1869. Making allowance for some bishops, who hold several seats, and for others, who have died, there remains at least 1,400; 800 of whom were not present in the council at the voting. Whether it will be considered by these men, and others among the priesthood and intelligent laymen, of whom Père Hyacinthe may be regarded as the type and representative, that it remains an open question for them to adhere to the infallibility, or to refuse their submission, is yet to be seen. Authority, it is true, is the principle that governs the Roman Catholic Church; but for that very reason some of these men claim that they are called to "distinguish between an apparent and a real authority; between a blind and a reasoning and reflecting submission," and to ask the question, "Is the authority of the Council of the Vatican lawful?" "It is because I am a Catholic," says Père Hyacinthe, "and wish to remain such,

that I refuse to admit as binding upon the faith of the faithful a doctrine unknown to all ecclesiastical antiquity, which is disputed even now by numerous and eminent theologians, and which implies not a regular development, but a radical change in the constitution of the church, and in the immutable rule of faith. It is because I am a *Christian*, and wish to remain such, that I protest, with all my soul, against those almost Divine attributes to a man, who is presented to our faith—I was about to say our worship—as uniting in his person both the domination which is opposed to the spirit of that Gospel of which he is the minister, and the infallibility which is repugnant to the clay from which, like ourselves, he is formed. One of the most illustrious predecessors of Pius IX., St. Gregory the Great, rejected as a sign of Antichrist the title of Universal Bishop, which was offered to him. What would he have said to the title of Infallible Pontiff?"

The party in the Romish church represented by the eighty-eight prelates who voted *non placet* in the Vatican council will undoubtedly receive strength and courage by the Pope's forfeiture of his temporal power. "Before this year closes," says Dr. Philip Schaff, "we may see the beginning of a new movement in the Romish Church, headed by such men as Dollinger, in Germany, and Père Hyacinthe, in France, or by others whom God alone can raise and will raise in his own time—a movement similar to Jansenism in the seventeenth, if not the Reformation in the sixteenth, century." In his speech before the Council, Cardinal Schwarzenberg said: "In my fatherland (Bohemia) the Hussite movement is still burning beneath the ashes; and among Catholic nations also, the great question of a radical reformation of the church in head and members (*reformatio in capite et membris*) continues to be a live problem that anxiously awaits its solution. If you carry your point, schismatic movements and apostasy from Rome will be inevitable." "The Council," says Father Hyacinthe, "which should have been a work of light and peace, has deepened the darkness, and unchained discord among the *religious* world. War replies to it as a terrible echo in the *social* world. War is one of God's scourges; but in inflicting chastisement, it may also prepare a remedy." It

is thus evident that he, and they whom he represents, are disposed to regard the war which now desolates Europe, and has so seriously affected Rome, as a chastisement for the sin that has been committed by the declaration of infallibility, and as likely to exert some counteractive or remedial influence. The Italians, when they entered Rome and dispersed the foreign mercenaries, and thus took away the power of the pope as a temporal sovereign, it is certain set at naught his recent definition; that is, if in virtue of his supreme authority, he is understood to define, among other things (as he may now do, if infallible, without Council), that the maintenance of his secular power is essential to the preservation of faith and morals. The opposers of the infallibility dogma will doubtless discover its deserved and signal rebuke in this speedy fruit of the war, which promises, moreover, to prove, at least in some degree, its counteraction. Will not such men as Schwarzenberg, Strossmayer, Hefele, Dupanloup, Fitzgerald, and Hyacinthe find some compensation for the odium they have been called to endure for fidelity to their convictions in the fact that the man to whom attributes almost divine were ascribed, on the eighteenth of July, was, on the twentieth of September, stripped of the power which he claimed belonged to him of right as the supreme head of the church? Can we expect that they will be zealous in the demand for the restoration of this power?

3. A great change has taken place, and is still in progress, among the nations of Europe, by which those that have been known as Roman Catholic have lost greatly in influence, and the Protestant interest has gained in equal, if not greater, proportion. Spain long since lost that potency by which, as the chief agent, she executed the behests of Rome. When the so-called "Invincible Armada" threatened England, she could boast of over 40,000,000 of inhabitants; she has now only 14,000,000. The British Islands had, at that time, 10,800,000; they have now over 30,000,000, and millions more have gone, with their Protestant faith, to people the United States, Australia, India, and New Zealand. And it is an event of no small significance that the newly-elected king of Spain is a son of Victor Emmanuel, who accepts the crown with the express sanction of his father. Austria, first, in the conflict with

Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel, and then with Prussia, has been completely humiliated, and has sunk from its rank as a first-rate power. And now France, the avowed champion of the Pontificate for the last twenty years, instead of having bayonets to spare to defend a foreign throne, has not found enough for the protection of its own. Solferino, Sadowa, and Sedan are names which will long have a peculiar significance in the history of our times, as they will be seen to sustain a peculiar relation to the recent overthrow of the Papal temporal power. The alliance between the five great powers which controlled the affairs of Europe from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the Revolution in 1848, and which doubtless would have thrown its protecting ægis around the government of his holiness, has been dissolved. There is no international law that can be pleaded in the case, for the Pope has steadily disclaimed the binding force of any such law as infringing the rights of the church, and has elected to rely for his protection on a sanction which is wholly unknown to international law. A great change has taken place since Adrian IV. granted Ireland to Henry II. of England, and compelled the Emperor Barbarossa to hold his stirrup; and another Pontiff, in the same century, Alexander III., is said to have trodden on the neck of the emperor as he knelt to kiss his foot. The vial has been poured out on the Euphrates.

The prophecies of Scripture clearly point to the overthrow of Papacy in the Roman Church. That we have the hierarchy, image-worship, and temporal power of this church foretold and their downfall, no one who examines the subject with candor can doubt for a moment. See Apocalypse from xiii. 11 to the end of chapter xix.; particularly chap. xiv. 6-20, chaps. xvi. and xviii. It is true some have thought they had discovered things in Scripture which are not there, and have suggested interpretations which cannot be sustained, and in their zeal, excited by the corruptions and abuses that have been palmed upon Christianity, have expected judgments that may never come; but that the Papacy, with its persecutions, errors, and end, is clearly foretold, cannot seriously be questioned. We should, of course, be on our guard against harsh, uncharitable judgments, and that spirit which would find

satisfaction in visitations of evil on those from whom we differ, and whose errors we may regard as most pernicious. "When we say Rome," says Prof. Tayler Lewis, "we mean Rome strictly,—Papal Rome, Jesuit Rome, Rome that sitteth on the seven hills,—and not that great and venerable body, called 'the Catholic Church,' as it exists in Europe, and on which this Papal power has so long been sitting, like a dire, stifling incubus she could not throw off. It is a distinction that Protestants ought ever to make as enabling them, on the one hand, to preserve their charity, and, on the other, sternly to maintain the true interpretation of those solemn prophecies which so fearfully paint this terrible evil that was developed in the history of the church. We can thus preserve a feeling of brotherhood for our fellow-Christians of Germany, France, and Spain; we can love them for the real saintliness often exhibited in their communions; we can pity what we regard as their errors, growing out of this long malarious oppression; we can ask their charity, in turn, for confessed defects in our own Protestantism; but with Jesuit Rome, Papal Rome, the Rome of Hildebrand and Borgia, there can be no communion. She herself utterly repels it, and we can only prefer her ban to her embrace. When Rome is gone; when this Jesuit, Italian power has sunk like the millstone that 'the angel cast into the sea' (Rev. xviii. 21), then may there be again one venerable mother, one Catholic faith, one church, with its open, visible communion, as well as its pure, spiritual unity."

Not only are the remains of the fourth kingdom (Dan. ii. 40-45), as perpetuated even to our day by the Roman hierarchy (Rev. xiii. 12, 14-17), passing rapidly away, but it is most remarkable that, simultaneously with this great overturn, the Cæsarism, as it is called, or empire, which the ruler who has upheld, during the last twenty years, the Pope in Rome, and supported, by the French naval, military, and political power, Papal propagandism in the South Seas, China, and elsewhere, has fallen certainly beyond all hope of ever regaining its former prestige and power in the world. It has been the highest ambition of Louis Napoleon to be viewed as sustaining the same relation to the Great Napoleon, which

Augustus did to the Great Cæsar ; and not merely by natural relationship, but in the founding of a great empire. His "Life of Julius Cæsar," was undertaken not so much to gratify an ambition for authorship, as to commend the principles on which he hoped to found a Napoleonic dynasty that should rank with that of the ancient Cæsars. He was seeking to prepare the way for that *plebiscite*, by which he hoped to win, in the vote of the masses, a power to override the popular will, as expressed in regular representative assemblies. The centralization of irresponsible power in one man, by the apparent consent of the people, is Cæsarism. And that system has undergone a sudden and hopeless collapse in France, simultaneously with the collapse of the priestly dominion in Italy, which has perpetuated the Cæsarism, not excepting its idolatry, of old Rome. The collapse follows immediately upon the *plebiscite*,—that mockery of the people,—in an appeal to their vote, in the one instance, and in the other, upon the ascription of a divine attribute to a mere mortal—that mockery of God—in the decree of infallibility.

We have seen in what light one party in the Roman Church may be supposed to regard the loss of the temporal power ; we are left in no doubt as to the manner in which another party, the ultramontanists and Jesuits, are disposed to regard this event.

Archbishop Manning delivered a discourse in the Pro-cathedral of Kensington, October 2d, which was subsequently written out by him, and given to the public in the *New York World*, October 20th. He says : "Rome has been seized by violence, and the head of Christendom, and Christendom itself, has been robbed. The capital of the Christian world is reduced to the capital of a nation." "It was a violation of sovereign rights, the oldest and most sacred in the world. For more than a thousand years the Vicars of Jesus Christ have reigned as sovereigns over Rome. They are the most ancient of Christian kings,"—"And this sin and injustice, as it would be against any sovereign, is also sacrilege against the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It is a violence against a person who is sacred, and a violation of sacred things. The sovereignty of Rome is a sacred trust in behalf of the whole Christian world.

The freedom of the church and the liberty of the truth are contained in it. Pius IX. received it from his predecessors as a trust, and is bound before God to hand it on intact to those who shall come after. His throne is not that of earthly right alone, but of the Vicar of Christ; a power not won by conquest, nor sought by ambition, nor bought by gold, nor filched by intrigue, but forced upon the Pontiffs by a moral and political necessity. When the people of Rome and of Italy had no other protectors, they made the Pontiff to be their king. Christian Rome became afterwards the germ of civilization, and of the political order of the Christian world. But the Christian order of the world is a creature of Divine providence, and has a sacred character of which the sovereign Pontiff is the centre and head. The attempt to depose him is, therefore, a sacrilege against the Christian order of the world."

He then proceeds to comment on the effect of this persecution, as he is pleased to term it, in purifying the church, and clearly recognizes the existence of a party in it, whose views are diametrically opposed to his own. "One thing is certain, we shall have among us fewer bad Catholics, worldly Catholics, lax Catholics, and liberal Catholics. When the world turns upon the church, such men are either reclaimed or fall off. When trial comes, it does not pay to be a Catholic; to be firm costs something. Only those who hold faith dearer than life stand the test. We are not afraid of this sifting. Nominal Catholics are our weakness and vexation, our scandal, and our shame; sometimes they are our greatest danger."

But the protests, which the Roman Catholics of this country are zealously engaged in making, are more deserving our attention. No such efforts, as far as we are informed, are made in Roman Catholic countries. Why do we not hear of the people of Austria and Spain protesting and demanding the restoration of the temporal power? We do not ask the same question in regard to the Roman Catholics of Germany and France, for a very obvious reason. It seems to be left very much to the citizens of this republican country to demand that the crown rights of this foreign potentate should be maintained. At an immense gathering in Baltimore, November 10th, to welcome the return of Archbishop Spalding, after an extended sojourn

in Rome, these attempts to enlist the Roman Catholic people of the United States in an enthusiastic protest against the act of the Italian government in taking possession of Rome, and depriving the pope of civil jurisdiction, appear to have had their inception. The archbishop was conducted by an imposing procession to the cathedral, where he was addressed by Judge J. T. Mason. The Rev. Father Coskery then delivered an address to the archbishop, in behalf of the clergy, in the course of which he said: "A so-called king, whom we are ashamed to call Catholic, despising the warning voice of Jesus Christ, and not capable of learning wisdom from other silly potentates who have *gone* before him, is impious, senseless, and selfish enough to dream of receiving a short-lived ephemeral success upon the ruins of the church of Christ," etc., etc. In his response the archbishop said: "Availing himself of the unprotected state of the Papal dominions, that chief of Italian infidels, Victor Emanuel, led an army of 60,000 men against a defenceless old man—whom to know is to love; therefore I acquiesced in the wish of many persons to adopt appropriate resolutions on this occasion when this vast assembly greets me home. I hope every Catholic heart here present will leap with exultation, when the resolutions which are to be offered shall be read." The resolutions were prefaced with a long preamble, beginning: "We, the Catholics of the archdiocese of Baltimore, in general meeting assembled, to the number of more than 50,000," etc., in which the dispossession of the Pope of his temporal power is said to be in open violation of treaties, a sacrilege against the wishes of the majority of the Roman people, and an insult to all Christendom. But the most noticeable part of the preamble is an argument attempting to show that the principle that lies at the basis of the Pope's temporal sovereignty is the same which was adopted by the founders of the American Republic, in providing that the District of Columbia should be the seat of the general government, and should be exempt from all State influence and control, but the common property of all the States. It maintains that between the District of Columbia, in its relation to the United States, and the Papal territory in its relation to the United States of Christendom, "the principle is the same

and the parallelism is complete." But the parallelism utterly fails, and there is scarcely ground for any analogy. For the same civil constitution and the same jurisdiction which are supreme in the District of Columbia are supreme in all the States. Surely our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, who claim that the temporal power of the pope is supreme at Rome, do not mean it is supreme in all the states of Christendom.

It cannot be that they intend to sanction the claims of those ambitious Pontiffs of a former day, who aimed to extend their temporal power over all the nations, and even presumed to re-adjust their boundaries, to parcel them out, and distribute to their votaries crowns and thrones. And, then, what "property" in this ecclesiastical District of Columbia have those millions who belong to Christendom, who feel called upon, by their Christianity, to protest against the Papacy itself? Will they say that those millions do not belong to Christendom? The resolutions adopted declare that the overthrow of the Papal sovereignty was in violation of treaty rights, and would justify the intervention of all Christian governments in favor of its restoration.

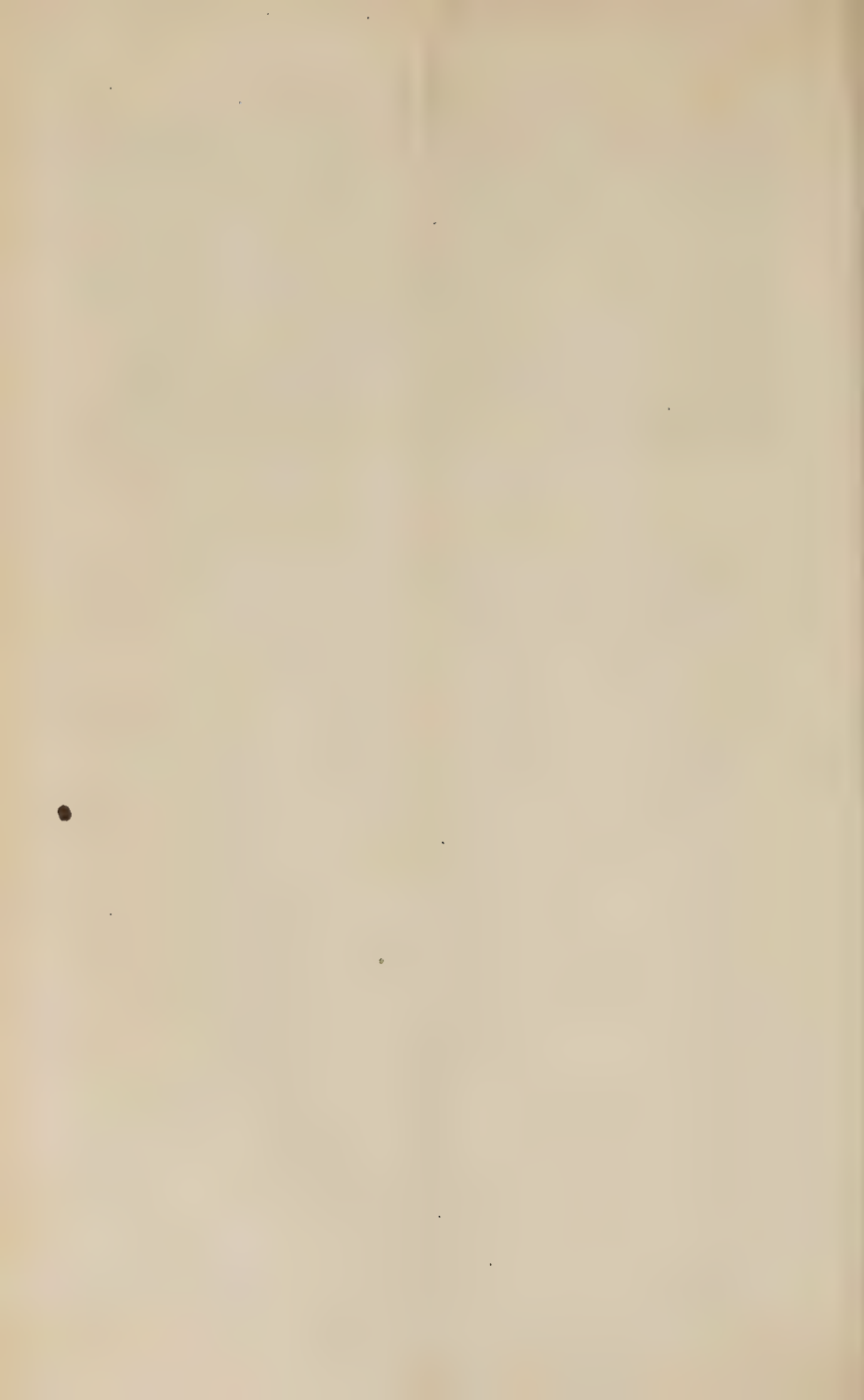
On Sunday, December 4th, in all the Roman Catholic churches of the city of New York, in addition to the sermons, etc., a protest against the occupation of Rome by the Italian government was read, adopted, and signed by committees specially appointed. It is remarkable that the name of the archbishop does not appear in these proceedings. In the evening, an immense congregation assembled in the cathedral. Vicar-General Starr was appointed president, and Hon. John McKeon, secretary. After an address by the vicar-general, Mr. McKeon spoke, and then read the protest or address, which, upon being put to vote, was unanimously adopted. It was drawn up by a committee comprising both lay and clerical members of the Roman Catholic communion in New York, as follows: Rev. Fathers Hecker, Starr, Quinn, and Marcus; and Charles O'Connor, John E. Develin, John McKeon, T. James Glover, Esqs., and Mr. Navarro.

On the same day there was a monster demonstration in Philadelphia at the cathedral, and a similar protest was

adopted by acclamation. Hon. James Campbell presided, Hon. Joseph R. Chandler read the protest, and made an address. Speeches were also made by General William A. Stokes, Daniel Dougherty, and others. Similar meetings have been held in Buffalo, Boston, and other cities. On December 9th, Archbishop Spalding lectured on "The Temporal Power of the Pope," in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, to an audience that filled the place. The ideas he advanced were so similar to those contained in the preamble and resolutions adopted at Baltimore, not excepting the illustration attempted to be drawn from the District of Columbia, that we naturally infer the preamble and resolutions were from the archbishop's own hand.

We cannot forbear again to express our surprise at these concerted and combined movements in republican America. There may be nothing surprising in the fact that the Romish priesthood should be zealous for the maintenance of the temporal power; but we confess it is quite impossible for us to understand how educated and accomplished laymen, like Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Chandler, who are understood to be the earnest advocates of democratic institutions, can consent to be brought forward as the champions of monarchical rights. We should really like to know how these gentlemen reconcile their advocacy of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope with their democratic or republican principles. We should like such an acute dialectician as Mr. O'Connor is understood to be to inform us if the Catholics of Italy, not to say Rome itself, whose interests and rights are most nearly concerned, and who can best judge of the character and influence of the Pontifical civil rule, decide that it is an evil to them, burdensome and oppressive, how much weight ought to be attached to a contrary opinion, held by the Catholics of other countries. Will not Mr. Chandler, who holds so elegant and facile a pen, and for whom we have conceived a high respect, tell us why, if for seven hundred years the bishops of Rome administered the affairs of the church during the period when the Empire was converted, without the possession of this power, it is so necessary to them now? We should like further to know why the Pope

may not be "a subject," as Christ, whose vicar he claims to be, submitted, in his humiliation, to be a loyal subject of the government which then prevailed at Rome. (Matt. xvii. 27; xxii. 21.) Who exempted him from obedience to the civil power ordained of God? Is the servant greater than his Master? We respectfully ask of such men, why not let the temporal power go, as with it doubtless will eventually disappear many of those things which have been a ground of protest with large numbers who call themselves Christians, and thus hasten the purification and pacification of the Christian world, and the spread and triumph of our holy religion?



Christological Lecture,

ON THE

INCARNATION, THE PERSON, THE LIFE DEATH AND EXALTATION OF
THE SAVIOUR.

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LECTURE.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

In all discussions aiming at conviction, it is necessary to ascertain, what points we may assume as conceded ; for if our premises are disputed, the validity of our conclusions will, of course, be denied. On the present occasion, we may assume, that our hearers are professed Christians, who regard the Bible as a revelation from God, and consider all men under obligation to receive it as their only infallible rule of faith and practice. Hence, although in the history of Christianity, its professors have, at different periods, and for various purposes, deemed it proper to make certain careful, systematic statements of its principal doctrines, and termed them *Confessions* or *Creeeds*, it has been with the pre-supposition, that these doctrines are taught in the Scriptures; and if the contrary can be established concerning any article, it has confessedly no binding authority. Thus in expounding the Augsburg Confession, it is to be done in the light of the Bible, its positions must be proved by the authority of the Bible, and if doubts arise in regard to any topics, they must be tested by the declarations of the Bible.

The most important Confessions of this kind, in the history of Christianity, are the so-called Apostles' Creed, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan and the Athanasian Creeds, together with the decisions of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, in regard to the person of Christ. The Creed of greatest moment in Protestantism, is the Augsburg Confession, of the sixteenth century. The first and second

Articles of this venerable document, the mother Confession of Protestantism, have been the subjects of discussion in the series of Lectures founded by the Rev. SAMUEL HOLMAN, a beloved *Alumnus* of our Institution, and the third invites our attention on the present occasion.

This Article discusses the Incarnation, the Christology and Soteriology of the Confession, or, the place which is assigned in it to the *Son of God, the Messiah or Christ*, and his *Work of Redemption*.

The *authorship* of this Article, like that of the Confession in general, belongs to the illustrious scholar of the Reformation, whose finished productions secured him the title of the Preceptor of Germany, and not the authorship of its Latin original alone, but also of the German,* which was gradually elaborated and amended with the Latin at Augsburg, so that it also may be regarded as an original. For although the Torgau Articles of Luther, and other documents, were the basis, out of which Melanchthon, in concurrence with other theologians at Augsburg, constructed the Augsburg Confession, they were unrestricted as to the changes, as well in the German as in the Latin, some of the amendments having been suggested by the princes and jurists in attendance, especially by Chancellor Brück.

The Reformation had been in progress thirteen years before this Confession was delivered at the Diet of Augsburg, on the 25th of June, 1530, at three o'clock P. M. During this time the study of God's word had revealed to the Reformers and their adherents, the greater part of the corruptions, both doctrinal and practical, which had destroyed the purity and evangelical character of the Church of Rome. Purer views of the plan of salvation were disseminated, and a large portion of Germany had embraced those doctrines of grace, which fill the soul with joy and

* See abundant proof of this fact in Köllner's *Symbolik*, Vol. I, p. 172—179.

gladness through this life, and with the full assurance of eternal blessedness in the life to come.

The first attempt to systematize these newly acquired views, was the *Hypoteposes* of Melanchthon, more commonly termed his *Loci Communes*, or *System of Theology*, published in 1521, only four years after Luther affixed his ninety-five theses to the church-door at Wittenberg. This work, in a brief time, was circulated over all Protestant Germany, and was received with universal approbation. Luther himself was so delighted with it, that in his vigorous style, he pronounced it worthy of reception into the canon. The work was a development of Melanchthon's University Lectures* on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, which had so greatly delighted Luther, that after having repeatedly in vain requested and urged Melanchthon to publish them, he clandestinely obtained a copy and secretly published them himself, jocosely dedicating the work to its own author, and offering to introduce him to his own production. Says Luther to him in his dedication: "Be ye angry and sin not; converse upon your bed and be silent. It is I, who publish these your Annotations (Lectures), and introduce you to yourself. If you are not satisfied with yourself (in this work), then correct it: it is enough that it pleases us. The fault is your own. Why did you not publish it yourself? Why did you permit me to ask and demand and urge you in vain to publish it? This is my defence against you. I am willing to be and to be called your thief; being not at all afraid of your future complaints or accusations."†

*These Lectures, though originally published in Latin, were translated into German at an early day, and are now accessible to the German reader, in a revised edition, re-printed in 1828, Erlangen. Also in Vol. I. of Melanchthon's *Theologische Schriften*, Frankfurt, A. M. Heyder & Zimmer.

† Heppes Conf. Entw. der Altprotestantischen Kirche Deutschlands, p. 28. "Trascere et noli peccare; loquere super cubile tuum et sile. Ego sum. qui has tuas Annotationes edo, et teipsam ad te mitto. Si

Recommended by this decided testimony of the great Reformer, this Commentary had spread with such rapidity over Germany and surrounding nations, that it passed through eighteen editions and eight German translations in four years. It was also regarded as the ablest exposition of the doctrinal system which had grown out of the increasing light of the Reformation, and continued to be the text book of Protestant theology at the time when the Augsburg Confession was composed by Melancthon. Several Catechisms had also been circulated in the Church, viz., that of Brentz, of Lachman, of Althammer, and afterwards, in 1528, also those of Luther; so that the Protestant system of doctrine had become well understood by this time,* and would naturally be reflected in the Confession.

The immediate occasion of this Confession, was the announcement of the Emperor Charles V., that he would convene a Diet at Augsburg, in order, among other things, to settle the religious disputes which had distracted the land: adding that all parties should appear, and that all would be kindly heard and impartially judged. On this summons the Elector of Saxony (John) directed his theologians at Wittenberg, Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas and Bugenhagen, to prepare a doctrinal statement and to see well to it, that its positions should be fully supported by proof, so that no one could improve it. They were also requested to bring it finished to Torgau, by the 20th of March, which was accordingly done. The Emperor, however, delayed his arrival more than two months, during which time Melancthon, in concert with the other theologians, &c., assembled at Augsburg, changed and enlarged

tibi ipsi non places recte facis; satis est dum nobis places. Ex tua parte peccatum est. Cur non tuipse edidisti? Cur toties me frustra rogare, mandare, urgere passus es ut ederes? Hæc pro apologia mea adversus te. Volo enim fur tuus esse et dici, nihil veritus tuos vel quæres vel accusationes futuras."

* Hefpe's Alt. Protestantisches Bekenntnisz, p. 15.

it into the present Augsburg Confession. To this the sanction of Luther was also obtained.

As the circumstances attending the preparation and delivery of the Augsburg Confession, made its character throughout apologetic, so the name by which it was first designated, by both Melancthon and Luther, was not the Confession, but the Augsburg *Apology*. Its object was to vindicate the Protestants, by showing that they did not differ from the Romish Church as much as their enemies alleged, not so much as to render them unworthy of toleration by the imperial government. In short the design of the Apology was to produce the conviction in the Diet, that according to the Scriptures and the teachings of the ancient Church universal, Protestantism was legitimately entitled to ecclesiastical existence and protection. It was, therefore, by no means the design of Melancthon, or of those represented by the Confession, to sever themselves from historical connection with the Church of former ages. He admitted that the essential doctrines were still inculcated in the Church, from which they had separated; but maintained that both her dogma and cultus were so radically corrupt, as absolutely to require purification. Instead of breaking loose from the Church of the past, the authors of the Confession maintain the unity of the system for which they contend, with the doctrines and worship of the early and earliest ages. This fact is illustrated in an interesting manner, in Melancthon's letter to the distinguished theologian Brentz, of Tübingen, in 1535; when the former had already changed his opinion on the doctrine of the real presence, but had not yet published his altered convictions. For the sake of secrecy, he wrote in *Greek*, lest his letter might fall into other hands, and he also requested his friend to destroy it after perusal.* "I

* Ὅρῳ δὲ πολλὰς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων μαρτυρίας εἶναι. αἱ ἀντὶ ἀμφιβολίας ἐγγηγνύουσι το μυστήριον περὶ τύπου καὶ τροπικῶς ἐναντίας δὲ μαρτυρίαι εἰσὶν ἡ νεώτεραι ἢ νοθοί.—Heppé's *Confessionnelle Entwicklung der Alt-Protestantischen Kirche*, p. 21, 22.

will not assume the character of a judge," says Melancthon, "I yield to you, who preside over the Church: and I affirm the doctrine of the real presence of the Lord in the Supper. I would not wish to be the originator of any innovation. 'But I do find in the writings of the ancients, many proofs that they regarded the Sacrament as a type or trope. Testimonies of an opposite character, are either of later writers, or are not genuine.'" In the edition of his *Loci* of the same year, he expressed these amended views without reservation.

Having thus disposed of all preliminary matters, we address ourselves to the subject matter of the Article of the Confession which we have selected, namely, the third.

The principal topics referred to in it, are,

I. *The Incarnation of the Logos, or Son of God,*

II. *The Christology,*

III. *The Soteriology of the Article, and*

IV. *The Eschatology of Christ.*

I. THE INCARNATION OF THE WORD, OR SON OF GOD.

As to the Logos, or Word, our Article informs us: "*The Churches teach that the Word, that is, the Son of God, assumed human nature, in the womb of the blessed virgin Mary, &c.*"

The terms "Word," or *λογος* in the Greek, and *דבר* in the Hebrew Testament, are employed in various significations, both in sacred and profane literature, beside their primitive literal sense, to express an articulate, oral sound. It is used in the gospel of John, whence the Confessors derived it, and in several other passages of the New Testament, in what may be termed its *inspired* signification, to designate the second person in the Trinity, who became incarnate, and existed on earth as *Godman*, or *Theanthropos*. Thus says John, "In the beginning was the Word," that is, The Logos, or Word, existed from the beginning—"And the Word was with God, and the Word was God"—"And the Word (*λογος*) was made flesh (*σὰρξ ἐγένετο*), and

dwelt among us." In the Revelation of St. John 19 : 10, &c., says the holy seer : "And I saw the heavens opened, and behold a white horse, and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns, and he had a name written that no man knew but himself. 13. And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood : and his name is called the Logos, or *Word of God*."

Various are the learned speculations of the German literati, on the reasons, which induced the Apostle John to select the term *λογος*, or Word, to designate the second person of the Trinity, whether or not it was the use of this term by his predecessor, the Jew, Philo, and also whether the latter attached the idea of personality to the term *λογος*. But the opinion of Neander, the learned historian, appears more satisfactory, that it is not of foreign, but of independent, scriptural origin. "The title '*Word of God*,' (says Neander,) employed to designate the idea of the divine self-manifestation, the Apostle John could have arrived at within himself, independently of any outward tradition : and he would not have appropriated to his own purpose this title, which had previously been current in certain circles, had it not offered itself to him, as the befitting form of expression, for that which filled his own soul. But this word itself is certainly not derived, any more than the idea originally expressed in it, from the Platonic philosophy, which could furnish no occasion whatever for the choice of this particular expression. The Platonic philosophy led rather to the employment of the term *νοϋς*, (mind or thought,) as a designation of the mediating principle in the Deity. It is rather the translation of the Old Testament term *דבר* Word ; and it was this Old Testament conception, moreover, which led to the New Testament idea of the Logos. An intermediate step is formed, by what is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning a divine

"Word" (see Bleek's Commentary); and thus we find in the latest epistles of Paul, from the first epistle to the Corinthians and onward, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the gospel of John, a well constituted series of links, in the progressive development of the apostolic Logos-doctrine."^{*}

This same incarnate personage is, both in the Word of God and in our Article, also termed *the Son of God*. This designation likewise is characterized by a variety of significations. Yet all agree as to the person intended by it, whilst there is some diversity of views regarding his dignity. Nor can there be room for doubt, that Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of the Virgin† Mary, was intended, in view of the declarations of John: "That God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son"—and that "the Word," "which was God," "became flesh and dwelt amongst" the disciples, as the Son of Mary did.

Of the nature and properties of this mysterious person, various conceptions meet us on the pages of Patristic literature. They may be reduced to three.‡ In the earliest period of the Church, the scriptural representations of God as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, were reposed in as satisfactory, and were enjoyed by Christians in their practical influences. The revealed facts were believed, whilst their philosophy was neither known nor studied. It is a matter of historic certainty, that the Apostles and primitive Christians did worship Christ as divine. They were proverbially known as those, who "invoke the name (ἐπικαλοῦμενοι το ὄνομα) of the Lord Jesus," that is, worship

^{*} Neander I., p. 574.

† Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Tertullian maintain the necessity of Jesus being born of a *virgin*, because Eve was led astray by Satan whilst she was a virgin. But a more obvious reason, doubtless, is found in the fact, that it was necessary in order that the human nature also of the Saviour should be without sin, which could not have been the case if born of sinful parents. See Gieseler's Dogmengeschichte, p. 186.

‡ Augusti Dogmengeschichte, p. 251—256.

him. The proto-martyr Stephen also died "calling upon the Lord Jesus:" and of the same import in general, is the Hebrew phrase, "calling upon the name" of (God) (בִּשְׁם יְהוָה).* The Roman writer, Pliny, likewise affirms that Christians assembled, in his day, before day-break, to sing a hymn unto *Christ as God (quasi Deo)*.

But the love of system, inherent in the human mind, led some of the early fathers to attempt a more minute delineation of the abstract person of the Logos in himself, as well as in his state of incarnation, or union with humanity. The descriptions of some, such as Clemens Alexandrinus, seemed to regard the Logos, or Son of God, as a personified *attribute* of the Deity; thus, indeed, regarding him as divine, but forgetting that one attribute could not exist alone, and that the Scriptures represent him not as an attribute, but as a *person*.† Others, such as *Tertullian* and *Origen*, regarded the Logos, not as an attribute, but as a *substance*, who, according to the latter father, was generated from eternity out of the Father, not as an emanation, but like the will of man, originating from his reason.‡

* Gen. 4 : 26; 1 Kings 18 : 24; Ps. 116 : 17; 2 Kings 5 : 11; Joel 2 : 32.

† See, among other passages of Clemens, "Stromata V., p. 646—apud Augusti, p. 253.

‡ See Περὶ ἀρχῶν I. C. 2—4. IV. 28. Contra Celsum, II. 469. *Martini*, in his History of the Divinity of Christ (pt. I. p. 187), presents the following as the developed system of *Origen*:

"The Logos, or Son of God, is a substance, existing from eternity aside from the Father, and in accordance with his will. He is exalted above all other creatures and endowed with divine power and dignity, but at the same time subordinate to the Father, partly because his existence and powers are derived from the Father, and partly because he in all things acts in accordance with the will and pre-scriptions of the Father. Now, as Christians acknowledge only one supreme, independent first cause of all things, the Father: but regard the Son, notwithstanding all his perfections as a subordinate being, deriving all his power from the Father, and whose actions and influences are only effects of those powers conferred upon him in an incomprehensible manner•by the Father, to whose commands also

During the earlier part of the *fourth century*, in the era of Athanasius, the doctrine of the homousian, or equality of essence in the Logos or Son of God, as well as his eternal generation from the essence of the Father, was finally established. It was permanently settled by the Council of Chalcedon, as the acknowledged view of the Christian Church. The definite specifications of this theanthropic personage, as progressively affirmed by the successive Councils of Nice A. D. 325, Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431, and Chalcedon, A. D. 451, present the subject in as clear a light, as ever has been or ever will be attained in this world, where the perceptions of the soul are limited by our material organism, and all our intellectual operations also, are conditioned and limited by time and space.

The language of the Chalcedon Symbol is: "We teach that Jesus Christ is perfect as respects his divinity, and perfect as respects his humanity, that he is truly God and truly a man, consisting of a rational soul and a body; that he is consubstantial (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father as to his divinity, and consubstantial with us (ὁμοούσιον) as to his humanity, and like us in all respects sin excepted, He was begotten of the Father, before the ages (πρὸ αἰώνων, from eternity) as to his deity; but in these last days he was born of Mary, the mother of God (θεοτόκος) as to his humanity. He is one Christ, existing in two natures, without mixture (ἀσυνχύτως), without change (ἀτρέπτως), without division (ἀδεαιρέτως), without separation (ἀχωριστως),—the diversity of the two natures not being at all destroyed by their union in the person, but the peculiar properties (ιδιότης) of each nature being preserved, and concurring to one person (πρόσωπον), and one subsistence (ὑπόστασις)."

What relation as to time, this central fact of our holy

he in all things conforms; therefore it may with justice be said that they (Christians) worship only *one* God." See Augusti sup. cit. p. 255.

religion, the entrance of the Son of God into the sphere of humanity, by his wonderful connection with our nature, bears to the universal history of all worlds, we know not; nor how many thousands of ages may have elapsed between the creation of the matter of our earth and the present organization described in the Mosaic narrative, they having been consumed in the formation of the different geological strata of our globe. Dating from this period, and calculating from events which have since transpired on our earth, the Saviour was born about four thousand years from the Mosaic creation, or four years before the time from which our present Christian era was, by mistake, dated. Or attaching the chronology of our earth to the revolutions of the larger system of the heavenly bodies, to which it belongs, it occurred in the four thousand seven hundred and tenth year of the *Julian period*. The precise month of the year is not certainly known, almost every month of the year having had some advocates among the learned of different ages and nations. The Latin and some other Western Churches observe the 25th of December, which does not seem the probable time, as shepherds do not ordinarily keep their sheep in the fields during winter nights. The most probable season is the fall, as advocated by Lightfoot, Scaliger, Caussabon and others.

The process of this wonderful union is usually termed incarnation (*ἐνσάρκωσις*). The incarnation seems to have been necessary, in order that men might be assured of the scheme of divine mercy. The assumption of angelic, or any other nature than that of man, or the performance of any atoning work in any part of the world of spirits, would have failed to reach or to exert any influence on us;—but, having assumed our nature, he could dwell visibly amongst us, could instruct us personally, and die for us on the cross. Thus we can enter into brotherhood with Christ, and he be formed in us the hope of glory. But it was necessary, not only to enable him to suffer,

since as God alone he is impassable, but also to enable him to fulfil the law; because as God, the infinite lawgiver, he could not have been subjected to the law himself. Nor could he have fulfilled the law, which was adapted to creatures except by assuming our nature. Thus "God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law." *The Word* (λογος), says John, *became flesh* (ἐγένετο σὰρξ), and dwelt amongst us, 1:14. And Paul to Timothy says: "Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness, *God was manifested in the flesh* (ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί)," 1 Tim. 3:16. To the Philippians he testifies of Jesus Christ, that "being in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and *was made in the likeness of men* (ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος)" 2:6, 7. And to the Galatians he says: "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, *made of a woman*, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός," 4:4. And the aged and beloved apostle John, testifies that *Jesus Christ is come in the flesh* (ἐν σαρκὶ ἦλθεν) 1 John 4:3. The possibility, or at least the suitableness of the hypostatic union of the Son of God with human nature, seems to be based on the fact of our original innocence and holiness, for it seems revolting to our sense of propriety, that the holy God should thus enter into permanent union with a corrupt and sinful nature. Accordingly a human nature, restored to its primitive purity, was miraculously provided, by the overshadowing of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, and her immaculate conception. Yet great is the mystery of godliness when God was manifested in the flesh. Nor could the opposite be reasonably expected. If it be admitted that the origin of human life, in ordinary cases, is wrapped up in mystery by the Creator; how much more must this be the case when the second person of the Trinity humbles himself so far as to be born of a woman, to be ushered into this world in union with a human nature, with the babe of Bethlehem! The fact,

namely, unity of person and duality of nature, is all we know, or can know; it is fully attested by the Word of God, and we shall do well, without wishing to be wise above what is written, to labor to secure the boundless benedictions tendered to our race by this wonderful exhibition of divine love and mercy.*

II. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE ARTICLE, OR THE PERSON OF THE GODMAN.

We now approach the Christology of the Article, that portion of it which relates to *the Person* of the Godman, or Theanthropos, the incarnate Son of God.

The language of the Creed is, "*That the two natures, human and divine, inseparably united into one person, constitute one Christ, who is true God and man.*"

The fundamental importance of this doctrine, both in its divine and human factors, as defined by the several Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, is vindicated by the entire Christian Church, in its Greek, its Romish and its Protestant departments. Nor is there any deficiency of evidence.

That Jesus Christ was man must have been certainly known to those around him, by the testimony of the senses.

That he was an extraordinary messenger from God, was

* The subject of the mysterious doctrine of the incarnation is thus defined in the systematic language of different early Creeds.

The so-called *Apostles' Creed*, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was born of the Virgin Mary (*natus ex Maria Virgine*)."—Muller's *Symb. B.*, p. 29.

The *Nicene Creed*, says the Son of God descended from heaven for our salvation and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit, of the Virgin, and was made man (*incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est*).—*Symb. B.* p. 29.

The *Athanasian Creed* affirms: It is necessary—faithfully to believe "*the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ*"—That as God he was born of the substance of the Father from eternity; and as man was born in time of the substance of his mother (*homo ex substantia matris in seculo natus*).—*Idem*.

evident from his numerous miracles, performed in support of his instructions and mission.

But the peculiar nature of this union, the fact that the divinity dwelt within him, that the eternal Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, was personally united to him, could be learned only from the declarations of the inspired word.

And what is the testimony on this subject? Before entering on it, let us premise a few general considerations on the nature of language, and modes of expression concerning substances, persons and predicates; that we may the better understand those in which the Scriptures teach this doctrine.

It is admitted that the universe around us is known to us only by the properties of the different objects reached by our senses, such as white, black, heavy, light, circular, square, sweet, sour, &c. These properties are never found existing singly, but always several of them in combinations or clusters, each of which is judged by all men to belong to some substance or essence, such as stone, tree, horse, dog, &c. Of such substances or essences, however, we know nothing beyond these manifestations called properties. Each of these combinations of properties forms a unit by the divine constitution of things; and human language furnishes words not only for each of these properties, but also for the supposed substance or essence to which they appertain. If this unit be an inanimate object, it is called, in human language, *a thing*, such as a stone, a tree, a house, &c. If it is a living, irrational being, the usage of language terms it an *animal*, as dog, horse, elephant.

If this unit to whom certain properties belong, be an intelligent, rational being, it is termed *a person*, such as man, angel, God.

By person in general we, therefore, understand a living, rational, free and responsible being, to whom certain properties permanently belong, and who is an agent or source

of action, and further, in the case of man, also possesses a body.

Throughout all history these persons have remained separate and distinct. Between these properties generally we can trace two lines of resemblance, according to which they have ordinarily been divided into two classes, namely, those of *matter* and *mind*. All animals, rational and irrational, have properties belonging to *both these classes*, unless, perhaps, it be some animals of the lowest grade, whose instincts may scarcely partake of any intellectual character.

Yet in speaking of the mental or material properties of any of these animals or persons, all men alike attribute them to one and the same animal or person. Thus in man, mental and material properties, found co-existing, are always attributed to the *one person*, in all languages and nations; and common sense decides in regard to each property or act affirmed, whether it belongs to his body or his mind. But in every such case they are all attributed to the one person. Thus the one person James eats, James drinks, James thinks, James reasons. And this seems to be the will of the Creator, fixed in the constitution of nature and of the mind, that *all the properties, bodily and mental, found habitually co-existing in the same being, do constitute a unit or one person*, and we are compelled by our mental structure to think and to speak of them as together forming one being or person. This is also the way in which the Scriptures always speak of things, of animals, of men, of angels and of God.

Now when we investigate the inspired records of the Old and New Testament, according to the most approved principles of historical interpretation, we find them, speaking of the Lord Jesus Christ as being the Logos or Word, who was God and became flesh, as the Messiah promised in the Old Testament, who came to redeem and save our fallen race. We find that in numerous passages they attribute divine properties and actions to him, and in others, yea

sometimes in the same passage, also ascribe *human* properties and actions to the same person, in such a manner as to make it manifest, that these two natures, human and divine, have, in the mysterious purposes of God, been united into one person, as certainly as soul and body are in man. In short, to use a term first introduced by Origen, of the third century, we find him represented as the God-man, the *Theanthropos*, a person possessing two natures, one human and the other divine.

All the inspired teachings on this subject may be reduced to the following five general features: 1. That the Saviour was truly *divine*. 2. That he was also possessed of a *real human* nature. 3. That these two natures were permanently and inseparably *united*, and 4. That the properties of each nature remained *perfectly distinct* from those of the other. 5. That the properties and actions of both natures, which are thus affirmed of the one person, do really all belong to that person.

1. *The Saviour was possessed of a truly divine nature.* On this subject let us listen to the Messianic prophets of the Old Testament.

In addition to the manifest intimation of his *human* nature, by the evangelical prophet Isaiah, in the words, "The Lord himself shall give you a sign, *Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son*, and shall call his name Immanuel;"* his divinity is most clearly taught.

Isaiah, seven hundred and forty-one years before the Saviour's birth, says, "He shall be called *God with us*, Immanuel†—yea, the '*mighty God*,' (9 : 6). For unto us a child is born and unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor, *the Mighty God*, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace."

Jeremiah says, "He (the future king of David) shall be called *The Lord our Righteousness*, (23 : 6).

* Isaiah 7 : 14. See, also, Gen. 3 : 15; 12 : 3; 49 : 8.

† Isaiah 7 : 14.

The prophet *Micah*, seven hundred and ten years before Christ, testifies, that the "*goings forth*" (of the predicted ruler) "*have been from of old, from everlasting,*" (5 : 2). "But thou Bethlehem, Ephrata, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting."

Now it is well known, that in the universal profane literature of the world, we look in vain for such a train of prophecies concerning any deliverer of men, spreading over several thousand years, and positively fulfilled, as that contained in the Scriptures concerning Christ, both David's Son and David's Lord.

Come we to the New Testament, we hear the forerunner of the Saviour, *John the Baptist*, exclaim, (John 1 : 27): "He it is, who, coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose"—and again, when he beheld Jesus coming unto him, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

But the Saviour's own declarations concerning himself, authenticated as they are by the numerous miracles of his life, clearly evince his antemundane existence, his omnipotence, omnipresence, divine "glory with the Father," and "equality with the Father."

"*Before Abraham was, I am,*" John 8 : 58. "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee, before the world was," John 17 : 5. "*All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth,*" Matt. 28 : 18. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, *there I am in the midst of them,*" Matt. 18 : 20. "Lo! I am with you *always, even unto the end of the world,*" Matt. 28 : 20. "The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men *should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father,*" John 5 : 22, 23. See also John 5 : 26 ; 14 : 9 ; 10 : 30 ; 5 : 18 ; 10 : 31 ; Matt. 26 : 63. "The high priest said unto him, I adjure thee by the living

God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ (the Messiah), the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him thou hast said."

Hear the testimony of the *Father* at the Saviour's baptism: "And, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon him: And, lo, a voice, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am pleased," Matt. 3 : 16, 17.

And near the close of the Saviour's pilgrimage, *on the Mount of Transfiguration*, the Father again repeated his attestation, in the words uttered from the overshadowing cloud, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him," Matt. 17 : 5.

Of similar import is the *testimony of the apostles*, who being his daily associates, had full opportunity of knowing him, and being inspired by the Holy Ghost, were fully instructed on all things pertaining to the kingdom.

Thus *John*, the specially beloved disciple of the Lord, in the proem of his gospel, penned probably in opposition to the Cerinthians, who denied the divinity of Christ,—expressly tells us, that the Logos or Word, who became flesh and dwelt amongst them, positively had existed with God in the beginning, nay that he actually was God," John 1 : 1, &c. And again, the same apostle explicitly testifies, that the Son of God is come—and this *is the true God* and eternal life," 1 John 5 : 20. The apostle *Paul* declares, the Saviour, "to be *God* over all blessed for ever," Rom. 9 : 5. That in him dwelt *all the fulness of the Godhead* bodily," Col. 2 : 9. That "*God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself*," 2 Cor. 5 : 19.

And the apostle Thomas, whose faith had wavered before, when the Saviour appeared to him and he inspected the signs of his identity, exclaimed, "My Lord and my God!" See, also, Philippians 2 : 6—11; Heb. 1 : 8, 9; Acts 22 : 28; John 3 : 16; Titus 2 : 13; James 2 : 1; Rev. 1 : 8; 19 : 10.

The Scriptures also represent him as performing *divine*

works. "All things," says John (1 : 3) "were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." That the work of creation transcends the power of the creature and involves the true divinity of the Being exercising it, it were superfluous to prove, as it is admitted by all. Yet in Col 1 : 16, the apostle Paul asserts, "that by him (Christ, Col. 1 : 3, 4) were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible," &c. Heb. 1 : 2, 3, "God—hath by his Son—made the world," &c.

Yet more, the inspired volume explicitly ascribes *divine attributes* and *divine worship* to this wonderful personage, the Lord Jesus Christ.

It will be admitted, that no infinite attributes can possibly appertain to his human nature. Hence there must be united with the man Jesus, a higher, a divine nature, of which such attributes are predicable, and united in so close a manner, as to render proper the application of these predicates to the one complex person, Jesus Christ. Of an irrational animal, an elephant or horse, we cannot say, as we can in reference to any human being, he is mortal and he is immortal. Nor are we at a loss for the reason. Although we in both cases, see nothing more than the mortal body; yet in regard to human beings, we have conclusive evidence, that an invisible immortal spirit is united to the visible body. So, also, if the inspired writers had not believed that the divine Being, the Logos or Son of God, was in an analagous, but equally mysterious manner, united to the man Jesus, it would have been utterly unmeaning in them to attribute divine attributes to him. Yet they ascribe to him *omnipotence*,* *omniscience*† and the fulness of the *Godhead*,‡ that is, the entire mass of the di-

* Philip. 3 : 21 ; John 10 : 18 ; 2 Pet. 1 : 3 ; Acts 2 : 22, 32.

† Acts 1 : 24 ; 1 Cor. 4 : 5 ; Rev. 2 : 23.

‡ Col. 2 : 8, 9.

vine perfections, or *glory* with the Father ere the world was. §

As to divine worship or adoration, it is that supreme regard and reverence, which can properly be offered only to the Supreme Being. It is entirely peculiar in its nature. It is the reverence due to infinite perfection, and cannot properly be offered to any finite being, not even to angels or archangels, to cherubim or seraphim. It differs from all other feelings of respect or affection, both in kind and degree, being based on the claims which infinite perfections, as well as creative and supporting power alone have on all intelligent beings.

Hence as no creature, not even the archangels around the throne of God, possess infinite perfections, or created and supported any being, no *creature* can have a claim to worship or adoration. When St. John fell down before the angel in the Apocalypse, to worship him, the angelic messenger repelled the tender, saying, *See thou do it not. Worship God*, Apoc. 22 : 9 ; 19 : 10 ; Matt. 4 : 10. This idea of the peculiarity of worship, as exclusively applicable to the Supreme Being, pervades the Scriptures.

Sincere worship also implies a conscious obligation in its subject, of *supreme obedience* to God. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God," said Jesus to Satan, "and *him only shalt thou serve*," Matt. 4 : 10.

Hence, when the Scriptures inculcate on all men the duty of *worshipping* the Saviour, they afford the strongest possible evidence of his divinity. And how strong and emphatic the language, in which they hold up this obligation ! "That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father who hath sent him," John 5 : 23. "Let all the angels of God worship him," (namely, the first-begotten, whom he hath brought into the world,) Heb. 1 : 6.

§ John 5 : 23 ; 1 Cor. 1 : 1, 2 ; Acts 7 : 59, 55 ; Heb. 1 : 6 ; Phil. 2 : 10, 11 ; Rom. 10 : 9—14 ; Rev. 5 : 9—14.

That "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow," &c., Philip. 2 : 10, 11.

"And they sang a new song," &c., Rev. 5 : 9—14.

It is, therefore, evident, that if it is possible for language to convey definite ideas on this subject, the Scriptures do teach the divinity of Christ. Yes, it is certain, the infinite Jehovah *did* condescend to veil himself in human flesh, the Infinite *does* dwell with the finite, the Creator with the creature. Thus, also, the infinitely Holy reveals himself to the vilest sinners, and tenders pardon and renewed favor to all, who will accept the proffered boon.

And, it is also true, that those ancient Arians and modern Socinians, who would strike the crown from the head of the Redeemer, and strip the Saviour of his divinity, are condemned by the plain and natural import of the inspired record. Not unjustly, therefore, were the founders of the former sect, adjudged to be heretics by the Council of Nice, in the fourth century ; as are also all the latter by the common judgment of the orthodox Churches since the days of Socinus in the sixteenth century, by whatever name they may be known ; whether it be that of Socinians, Unitarians, Universalists or Rationalists. All these persons err, by approaching the Scriptures with the pre-determined belief, that such a union of the divine and human natures, in one person, is contrary to reason, and, therefore, they refuse to interpret the Scriptures on the subject of the Saviour's person according to the acknowledged principles of hermeneutics, which are applied to other subjects, resorting to all manner of expedients to evade their natural and proper meaning.

Furthermore, these errorists forget the distinction between things that are *above* reason, and such as are *contrary* to it. They forget, that whilst no intelligent minds can believe things, which they see to be contrary to reason, all men, learned and unlearned, daily and hourly *do believe* facts, which are utterly *above* reason, and inexplicable in their intrinsic nature or relations. Of these the

single example of the union of the soul and body in one person in man, may suffice: which all men admit and believe, and yet no man can explain or comprehend, any more than the union of the divine and human natures in the one person, Jesus, the Messiah, or Christ.

2. Again, the sacred writers teach, that the *Son of God*, the *Logos*, or *Word*, assumed a true *human* nature, and not only an *apparent* one, as was maintained by the Monarchians or Patripassians, in the latter part of the second century. These errorists asserted, that one single person in the Godhead, the absolute Deity, united itself with a human body; but a body destitute of a rational soul, which was, therefore, not a proper and complete human being. But the sacred volume affirms the actual, proper humanity of the Godman, just as unequivocally as his Divinity. "Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he (Christ) also himself likewise took part of the *same*, that through death he might destroy him, that had the power of death, that is, the devil," Heb. 2 : 14.

The genuineness of his humanity is evinced by the fact, that he was born as "a child," he grew in knowledge and in stature, he ate, he drank, he slept, thrice he wept in sympathy for the sorrows of humanity, (Luke 19 : 41,) he suffered hunger, and thirst, and pains and death. He had "flesh and bones," as other men, (Luke 24 : 39). Nor had he merely a body without the higher rational part of humanity. "My *soul*," said he, "is exceedingly sorrowful even unto death."* And this soul possessed not only knowledge, but also a *will*. "Not my *will*," said he, "but thine be done."†

It is true, all that mortal eyes saw of his person was the created human being, Jesus, the son of Mary. The fact that the invisible divinity, the Son of God, dwelt within him, as well as the extent and peculiar nature of this union, could not be seen by mortal eyes, nor even inferred

* Matt. 26 : 38.

† Luke 22 : 42.

primarily from his miracles : for other men also wrought miracles. This important doctrine was learned from his own declarations on the subject, and those of his inspired apostles, supported by the stupendous miracles and every other species of evidence, which both he and they exhibited, to substantiate the divinity of their mission.

As we are told (Heb. 4 : 15) that in Jesus "we have not a high priest, who cannot be touched with a sense of our infirmities ; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin ;" the question arises, was the Saviour subject to those temptations, which resulted from our depraved nature ? To this we reply, that as he was not tainted by natural depravity, he could not have been so tempted. His susceptibility was probably like that of Adam in his state of innocence before the fall, liable to all kinds of temptation, as we now are, except in as far as they result from our own depravity. That these temptations may be very strong, even in a state of innocence, is evident from the fact, that both Adam and Eve fell victims to their influence and lost their first estate.

3. *The Scriptures further teach that these two natures are permanently united into one person.*

The language of our Article is, "The two natures, human and divine, are inseparably united into one person, who is true God and man." The intrinsic nature of this union, termed in theological nomenclature, the *hypostatic* or *personal union*, is incomprehensible to us. The illustrious apostle of the Gentiles himself styles it a great mystery. "Great," says he, "without controversy, is the mystery of godliness : God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."* Yet the facts which are revealed concerning it, we understand and hold fast ; and the intrinsic nature of the union itself,

* 1 Tim. 3 : 16.

is not more incomprehensible, than that of soul and body in man, which all men do believe.

But let us hear the inspired writers on this subject.

"For," says Paul, "there is one God and one Mediator between God and man, the *man* Christ Jesus."† "In him (Christ Jesus, v. 8) dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."‡ And in a single verse to the Romans,§ he teaches both the divine and human natures: "Whose (the Israelites') are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the *flesh*, Christ came, who is *over all God*, blessed forever. Amen." In Philippians 2 : 6—11, he speaks in detail of both natures, manifestly referring to one and the same person. In some passages, action and attributes belonging to his human nature are affirmed of Christ, whilst he is designated by a name implying divinity, as in Matt. 1 : 23; Luke 1 : 31, 32; Acts 20 : 28; Rom. 8 : 32; 1 Cor. 2 : 8; Col. 1 : 13, 14.

And in other passages, divine actions and attributes are predicated of him under names implying his humanity. John 3 : 13; Rom. 9 : 5; Rev. 5 : 12.

It therefore follows, that whatever be the nature of this hypostatic union, it is of such a character as to admit the reciprocal ascription of attributes taken from either nature, to the one theanthropic person, and of the designation of that person by names taken either from the human or divine nature.¶

† 1 Tim. 2 : 5

‡ Col. 2 : 9.

§ Rom. 9 : 5. See also Phil. 2 : 8—11; 1 John 1 : 1, 2; 4 : 2, 3; Gal. 4 : 4; Col. 2 : 9, &c.

¶ "A man is called tall (says Burnet) or fair and healthy, from the state of his body; and learned, wise and good, from the qualities of his mind: so Christ is called holy, harmless and undefiled; is said to have died, risen and ascended up into heaven, with relation to his human nature. He is also said to be in the form of God, to have created all things, to be the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person, with relation to his divine nature. The ideas that we have of what is material and of what is spiritual, lead us to distinguish in a man, those descriptions that belong to his body

It is also worthy of note, that the Logos or Son of God, who had existed from eternity as the second person of the holy Trinity, united himself to a human *nature*, and *not to a distinct human person*. The human nature of Christ had never existed as a separate person. Had Jesus Christ first existed some time as a distinct person, the Godman would necessarily have consisted of two persons, as well as of two natures. Hence, when his humanity is spoken of, the reference is to his human *nature*, and not to a human *personality*, and that nature should always be regarded as connected with the divine person. Jesus Christ is not, and never was, a mere man, but a human nature combined with a divine person and divine nature. The incarnation consisted in humanizing the divinity, and not in deifying humanity. Each nature of the Saviour enables him to perform actions appropriate to itself. All the actions or sufferings performed or experienced by the Godman or theanthropic person, literally and truly belong to that person; no matter which of the two natures makes him capable of performing them, just as much as do mental and bodily acts, in man, both belong to the one person or man, in whom these powers of mind and body are found.

After Jesus entered on his public ministry, if not also before, it is probable that the divine theanthropic person originated all the acts of his two natures, and, therefore, also those which were performed through the powers and organs of his human body and mind. Hence all these acts are really the acts of the Theanthropic person, and derive their dignity and importance from it; and this is true as much with those performed through his human, as his divine nature.

All the actions of the Godman, or Theanthropos, relat-

from those that belong to his mind: so the different apprehensions that we have of what is created and uncreated, must be our thread to guide us into the resolution of those various expressions, that occur in Scripture concerning Christ."

ing to his human nature, were directed immediately by his human will; but under the superintendence of the divine. Whenever actions surpassing the powers of humanity were performed by the Saviour, they were produced by the Theanthropos, through his divine nature, in harmony with the purposes and actions of the human.

The correct view of this subject has frequently been illustrated by the analogy of human personality. Man consists of two natures or parts, a body and a soul, a material and a mental nature, known to all the world as distinct by their different properties. Yet the two united constitute the person man, the self-conscious self, the *ego*. Every property belonging to him, pertains to one or other of his two natures, either to his body or mind. Yet both belong to the one person. Neither nature alone constitutes the person, but the person results from both and represents both. The body is not the man and the soul is not the man, but the man results from the union of the two. Thus, also, neither the Son of God alone, nor the man Jesus alone, constitutes the Christ or promised Messiah; but both united form the Saviour, and are represented by the Theanthropic person, the Godman. Such is manifestly the doctrine of the Scriptures, as to the union of the human and divine natures in the one Theanthropic person of the blessed Redeemer.

The purposes of the Saviour's divine nature in the progress of the work of redemption, as also the peculiarity of his relation to God, probably became known to his humanity gradually, as the development of his human nature enabled him to comprehend them. Even in his early years, being free from sin, in a state resembling that of Adam before the fall, he doubtless enjoyed the same *peculiar* nearness to God which Adam did in his primitive innocence; but was yet unacquainted with the personal (hypostatic) union of the Logos or Word with him. At twelve years of age, he was already conscious of having a special mission, by further communications from the di-

vine nature. Hence when his mother found him in the temple, and inquired the cause of his tarrying behind, saying, "Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing," he replied, "How is it that ye sought me, wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" Doubtless the consciousness of this vocation, and the fulness of communications from the Logos, increased progressively. At what precise time he became fully conscious of the constant and personal union of the Son of God with him, we know not. It may have been earlier, but certainly was not later than the date of his baptism, when the voice from heaven proclaimed, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." After his public ministry commenced, we must suppose him to have possessed this consciousness habitually. Yet were the divine attributes not always in exercise in him, for he himself has said, "But of that day (of Judgment) and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels that are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father," Mark 13 : 32; Matt. 24 : 36, 42.

From this discussion we clearly see the error of the *Nestorian* Christology of the fourth century (A. D. 430), which regarded the two natures of the Saviour, not as united into one person, but as existing in two separate self-conscious persons, the one human and the other divine. As, according to that view, there is only a moral union between the two persons, the actions of either can derive no character or influence from the qualities or dignity of the other.

4. *There is no commixture of the two natures, the human and the divine.*

In all other cases in the universe, we find, that the essential properties belonging to any being, animal or person, remain the same, and each retains its distinctive nature in perpetuity. Thus in man, however various the operations he performs, or the combinations he contemplates, his mental powers never become material, nor does his body ever become a faculty of his mind. In like manner, there is no evidence in Scripture of any commixture of the pro-

perties of the two natures in the Saviour's person, having ever occurred as the result of this union. Although it existed during his *entire life* on earth, his human nature always retained all the ordinary properties of humanity; whilst the numerous miracles which the Saviour wrought, are ascribed not to his humanity, but to the one divine *person*, the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor do they inform us, that his divine nature ate bread and fish, or walked and slept. In short, the human nature of Christ is just as purely human, as though the divine had never been connected with it; and the divine as purely divine, as that of God the Father, who never became incarnate.

The human mind, moreover, naturally judges the creature to be essentially different from the Creator, the finite from the Infinite, and the very idea of the one being commuted into the other, either in part or whole, is judged by the mind of man to involve contradiction. Else would the veneration and respect due to good men, and to angels, not differ in kind from that which we pay to God but only in degree. Then, also, would the ancient apotheosis of heroes, and the modern worship of saints and of the Virgin Mary, involve in them nothing intrinsically unreasonable.

The Council of Chalcedon, in A. D. 451, expressed this doctrine in terms which have been satisfactory to the Christian Church until this day.

"He is one Christ, existing in two natures without mixture (*ἀσυχνύτως*), without change (*ἀτρέπτως*), without division (*ἀδιαρετως*), without separation (*ἀχωρίστως*),—the diversity of the two natures not being at all destroyed by their union in the person; but the peculiar properties (*ιδιώτης*) of each nature being preserved, and concurring to one person (*προσωπον*), and one subsistence (*ἰπoσtασις*)." From this view it is evident that the so-called doctrine of *Communicatio idiomatum*, or Interchange of attributes, between the divine and human natures of the Godman, is incorrect and unscriptural.

5. *That the attributes and actions of both natures, which are thus affirmed of the one person, do really all belong to that person.*

That the Scriptures do thus habitually ascribe attributes, taken both from the human and divine nature of the Godman, Jesus Christ, we have shown already by the two classes of texts, one of which proves the divinity and the other the humanity of the Saviour. That these various properties do appertain to this one Theanthropic person, not by mere figure of speech, but in logical verity, by the divinely constituted relations of this supernatural personage, is also evident from the language itself.

We affirm, not that the properties and actions of either nature, are attributed in Scripture to the opposite *nature*; but to the one Theanthropic *person*, to the Godman, whose name represents both natures, and whose being is made up of neither alone, but of both together. Just as when we say James walks, we do not regard the act as belonging merely to the body, with which the mind has no connection; but at once regard it as an act of the person, which may be connected with important motives in the mind, or may form a part of a plan of action seated wholly in the mind, concerning which the body knows nothing. In short, we refer the action to the person James.

The intrinsic nature of this personal or hypostatic union, God has nowhere explained to us in his word, so that we are neither able nor called on to explain it. It is just as inexplicable as the union of soul and body in man. The theory that the two natures have but *one consciousness*, is not affirmed in Scripture, and seems to militate against the completeness of the Saviour's humanity. Nor is the theory necessary. It is the fact taught in Scripture, of God's having combined the two natures into one person, thus, for wise reasons, forming a *new person*, consisting of the Divine Logos and a human nature, which makes the attributes of both natures predicable of this one person; and not the denial of a human consciousness. And it is the

fact, that the inspired volume does thus ascribe attributes derived from both natures to this one person, that makes it obligatory upon us to believe the doctrine. Every action, human and divine, ascribed to the Saviour in Scripture, either by himself or the inspired apostles, must therefore be regarded as belonging to his person, to himself: and as proceeding from, or performed by that nature, either human or divine, to whose well-known properties it is appropriate. Thus, in John 16:28, the Saviour affirms, "I came from the Father, and came into the world." Now there is no reason to believe, as the early Socinians did, that the human nature of Jesus ever existed before his birth of the Virgin Mary, when the Logos or Word became flesh, that is, assumed our nature, and that it had been taken to heaven and returned again. Therefore it must have been his divine nature, that came from the Father, where it had existed in glory from eternity. And when the Scriptures declare that Jesus Christ came into the world "not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved,"—that "the Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many,"—"that he bore our sins in his own body on the tree," &c.—it would be the height of absurdity to suppose, that this great atoning and redeeming work, of which prophets had spoken thousands of years before, and for which the Son of God assumed our passible nature, that he might *be able to suffer*, should be regarded as having nothing to do with him at last, and as being the act merely of that human nature, which was ignorant of the plan and purpose until after the incarnation. No, the sufferings were those of the *Theanthropic person*, whose most important nature was *divine*. Hence it may be justly said He (God) purchased his Church with his own blood. Had the suffering belonged to the human nature alone, then did God not send *his Son* into the world to suffer and to die for us: but merely to select a different being, the mere son of Mary, to do so! Then also did the Son of God not come into the world, to

give *his* life a ransom for all, but to induce a human being to make the sacrifice. But in all these passages these vicarious atoning sufferings and actions, are evidently affirmed of the Saviour, of the Theanthropic *person*.

Throughout the animal creation, every action or passion, performed or suffered by any organ or part of the animal, is naturally ascribed to the whole being, is regarded not as simply a matter of the animal's body, but of his entire being; and our interest and sympathy are proportioned to the degree of intelligence, sagacity and worthiness we suppose it to possess. Again, in man, it is his body that makes him capable of suffering injury from external physical violence; for the soul can neither be cut with the sword nor penetrated by a ball. Yet, when injury is thus done to the body, it is the mind which is the real seat of sensation, and which is the part that suffers. But, whether the sufferings of man proceed from corporeal or mental causes, whether they are inflicted on the body or the mind, they are, by the laws of our mental constitution, attributed to the *person*, to that name which represents both parts of the one being.

Thus, also, must we naturally suppose, that in this supernatural, complex personage, the Godman, all the acts of both his constituent natures, *do really belong* to the one person, and must in propriety be predicated of it, and not distinctively of either nature. Hence the sufferings of the blessed Saviour, in the Garden and on the Cross, both bodily and mental, were really and truly the sufferings of the one being, the Godman, the Theanthropos, the Son of God and son of man, and not of the divine nature alone, as Osiander taught, or of the human alone, as Stancar supposed. And as the divine nature is the real personal basis of the Godman, and is infinitely more exalted and important than the humanity, it must sustain the more potential part in the complex being, and the sufferings of the Theanthropos appertain, at least as much to the divine nature as to the human, and possess an influence and dig-

nity commensurate rather with the divine than human, they must be rather infinite than finite!

The plan of the great work of Redemption and its gradual revelation, as well as the preparation of the Church and the world for it through four thousand years, was entirely the work of God; but in its actual execution, the human nature of the Saviour co-operated, and served as the organism, through which the Logos (Word) communicated with men, and was enabled to suffer and die in our stead, and for our redemption. It was the eternal Son of God, the second person of the Trinity, who voluntarily undertook the work of redeeming the fallen race of Adam. It was the Son of God, who, soon after the fall, announced his intention, as "the seed of the woman," to bruise the Serpent's head. It was the Son of God, who from age to age revealed one feature after another of the plan of Redemption through the prophets, until the entire scheme was fully presented, though imperfectly understood by the carnal Jews, who expected a *temporal* kingdom of heaven. It was the Son of God, who directed the circumstances of his own incarnation, the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, and the birth of her Son. It was the Son of God who united himself with the miraculously conceived human being before his birth, and, therefore, before he had yet lived on earth or attained a separate personality. It was the Son of God, who determined beforehand the circumstances of the Saviour's birth. And it was the Son of God, who in general determined the sphere in which the human nature of the Saviour, in the full exercise of his will, and in connection with the divine nature together constituting the theanthropic person, should co-operate in executing the work of redeeming love. As the human nature of the Saviour was to be complete and real, in all things, sin excepted, the Theanthropos withheld (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε) the manifestations of the divine nature, through the infancy and youth of Jesus, and left him to his natural and proper development, until the necessities of his public

ministry called for the exercise of his higher powers. This circumstance gave rise, to what the Form of Concord terms the *two-fold state* of Christ (*status exinanitionis and exaltationis*), designated by later divines, the Saviour's state of *humiliation* and of *exaltation*. Rom. 8 : 3 ; Philip. 2 : 6—11 ; Acts 5 : 30 ; 2 : 33—36.

What a glorious view does this doctrine afford, of the all-sufficient basis of the great work of atonement and redemption, of the all-prevailing righteousness, the vicarious sufferings and death of the Redeemer ! What power is there in the declaration of Scripture, that not a mere man, but God so loved the world, as to send his only begotten Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world *through him* might be saved ! And again, The blood of Christ (the Son of God, the Godman) *cleanseth us from all sin !*

In conclusion, it is gratifying to find this view of our subject, which we have found so clearly deducible from the teachings of God's word, taught with great confidence and perspicuity by that greatest of Reformers, Martin Luther himself :

"If it should be objected (says he) on the ground of reason, that the Godhead cannot suffer nor die, you must answer, That is true ; nevertheless, as the divinity and humanity in Christ constitute one person, therefore the Scriptures, on account of this personal unity, also attribute everything to the Deity which occurred to the humanity, and *vice versa*. This is moreover accordant with truth ; for you must affirm that the person (Christ) suffers and dies. Now the person is the true God, therefore it is proper to say, the Son of God suffers. For although one part (if I may so speak), namely, *the Godhead does not suffer*, still, the person, which is God, suffers in its other part, that is, *in its humanity* (denn obwohl das eine Stück [dasz ich so rede] als die Gottheit nicht leidet ; so leidet dennoch die Person, welch Gott ist, am andern Stücke, als an der Menschheit). Thus we say, 'The king's son has a sore,

and yet it is only his leg that is affected ; Solomon is wise, and yet it is only his soul which possesses wisdom ; Absalom is beautiful, and yet it was only his body that is referred to ; Peter is gray, and yet it is only his head of which this is affirmed. For as soul and body constitute but one person, everything which happens either to the body or the soul, yea, even to the smallest member of the body, is justly and properly attributed to the whole person. *This mode of expression* is not peculiar to the Scriptures, but *prevails throughout the world*, and is also correct. Thus the Son of God was in truth crucified for us, that is, the person which is God ; for this person, I say, *was crucified according to its humanity.*"—*Luth. Works*, Jena edit., vol. 3, p. 457.

SOTERIOLOGY.

We have thus arrived at the third grand doctrine of our Article, its Soteriology.

Let us hear the language of the Article on this subject :

"Who (namely, the Christ,) truly suffered, was crucified, died and was buried, that he might reconcile the Father to us, and be a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all the actual sins of men."

The merits of Christ, which form the basis of Christian Soteriology, have been variously divided. The earliest classification is that, which separates his activities into those of *prophet, priest and king*, found as early as the time of Eusebius, in the fourth century.* The other and more natural division is into the *active and passive righteousness* of the Redeemer, the former including all the actions of his life in fulfilment of the divine law instead of the sinner, and the latter all his sufferings as well as death in his

* Eusebius Hist. Eccles. I. c. 3. ὡς τουτους ἀπαντας την ἐπὶ τον ἀληθην χριστον ἀναφοραν ἔχειν, μονον ἀρχιερεα των ὄλων, και μονον ἀπασης της κτισσεως βασιλεα, και μονον προφήτην, ἀρχιπροφήτην του πατρος τυγχανοντα.

behalf. We shall, however, adhere to the more ancient, simple and historical arrangement of the Article before us.

Here we find three items indicated, namely the sufferings and death of the Saviour as matters of history, their necessity, their vicarious nature and lastly, the manner in which they effect the contemplated end.

I. THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF CHRIST AS MATTERS OF HISTORY.

1. The *historical verity* of the Saviour's sufferings and death is so manifestly and irresistibly evident from the simple, yet detailed and impartial narratives of the synoptical gospels, that it has been generally admitted, both by Jews and Christians. See Matt ch. 26 and 27; Mark ch. 14 and 15; and Luke ch. 22 and 23. To specify these evidences would require the rehearsal of the entire chapters. The *Docetæ* alone, a species of incipient Gnostic, volatilized the Saviour's human nature into a mere phantasm, and denied that he had a real body, thus of course rejecting the reality of his sufferings upon the cross. Mohammed also ventured to deny it, under the ridiculous pretext that Christ was withdrawn and a Jew was crucified in his stead. Some modern *Rationalists* and infidels have impugned it; adopting the principle of exegesis that miracles being, in their judgment, impossible, no interpretation of any Scripture passage can be correct, which implies or affirms one. They have accordingly denied the reality of Christ's death, in order to disprove the truth of a resurrection in his case. But their utter destitution of all historical evidence, in view of the detailed and generally accredited gospel narratives, has prevented the reception of their theory even among the practical neglecters of religion.

2. The *magnitude* of the Saviour's sufferings, is evident from the narratives of the gospel, in which a series of indignities and cruelties are detailed, such as are rarely inflicted on the greatest malefactors. Yet, it has been the prevailing opinion of the Church in all ages, that his

greatest sufferings were mental and internal. They must have included sorrow on account of the sins of all mankind in all ages. By these sins, indignity was offered to the infinitely good and glorious Father in heaven, the honor of his law was constantly violated by men on earth, and all men were encouraged to indulge their sinful propensities, involving the human race in continual rebellion against the best benefactor and God, as well as entailing on themselves eternal ruin. Of all this the Saviour had a more perfect knowledge than any mere human being ever could have. A deep sense of the displeasure of his *heavenly Father* for the assumed guilt of the world, also evidently bore with incalculable weight upon his soul, for the immediate hand of God pressed this heavy load upon his heart so that he was constrained to exclaim, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me."

These sources of suffering alone, would have far transcended the powers of endurance of any mere man, and constrain us to resort to the peculiarity of his person for explanation. This union of the two natures in one person, involves the inference, that the sufferings were not those of his human nature alone, but of his theanthropic person, of the Godman. So that the divinity of his *person* not only gave him infinitely greater power to endure the inconceivable pains inflicted by the Father, on account of the dishonor entailed upon his law; but it also gave to the sufferings of that Godman *infinitely greater atoning and reconciling efficacy*, than could have belonged to any merely human being. Thus it is an obvious principle of human judgment, that the same wound, made in the body of a horse and a man, is possessed of very different degrees of importance and influence. The sensibility of the horse is less acute than that of the man. The brute, moreover, suffers simply the pain, caused by the lesion of his body; whilst the rational, reflecting man, in addition to that naked pain of the wound, experiences much greater suffering from his knowledge of the various consequences

which these pains will produce to him and to others. And finally, the *infinite dignity* of his theanthropic person, confers *infinite efficacy* on all his actions and sufferings, to accomplish the end, for which they were performed and endured.

II. The *necessity of these sufferings* of the Saviour, is already presupposed by the several facts, that when the love of God induced him to provide for the salvation of our sinful race, God himself proposed this, and no other method of salvation, "not sparing even his own Son;" which he would have done if the sacrifice had been unnecessary. That the Son of God was willing to make the mournful, bloody sacrifice—and that the Father approved his assumption of the mission by a voice from heaven, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased."

But "that without the shedding of blood, there could be no remission of sin," is further evident from the essential attributes, the punitive justice and holiness of God. The divine favor is life, and his loving kindness better than life. But that Being, who delights in holiness, who has made all the powers of his rational creatures, and all the organizations of physical nature around them productive of pleasure, and has inscribed on the structure of the universe around us, the law that *virtue is productive of happiness and vice of misery*—that God cannot continue to bestow his favor on the impenitent, persistent transgressor of his law;—but sooner or later must withdraw it, and that withdrawal involves eternal banishment from his presence into the regions of endless darkness and despair.

Moreover, God being the moral governor of the universe, and having given to his rational creatures laws, infinitely wise and calculated to secure their highest happiness; it is evidently his supreme legislative duty, to maintain the honor of his law, on which the security and happiness of all his faithful subjects depend, by punishing the transgression of them, either in the person of each criminal, or on a substitute, or by exhibiting in some other

way his inviolable hatred to sin, thus to deter others from transgression. What judgment would we form of a human governor who, having enacted wise and salutary laws, should neglect to enforce obedience to them; but, on the contrary, should suffer the rights and security of person and property to be violated with impunity. Now the infinite Jehovah, having determined on this plan of salvation, by the sufferings and death of his own Son upon the cross; we must regard the plan as consonant with his nature, and as satisfactory to the demands of the violated law. We are therefore compelled to regard these sufferings of the Godman as absolutely necessary, unless God would abdicate the throne of the universe, or divest himself of those essential attributes, in consequence of which "he is angry with the wicked every day," Ps. 7 : 11, and the thoughts of the wicked are an abomination in his sight," Ps. 15 : 26, and "without holiness no man shall see God."

Evidently then, the theory of Grotius, that the necessity of an atonement was only hypothetical, being caused by the fact, that God had *published a law* threatening punishment to sinners, and that had he not done so, he might have pardoned sin without any atonement or satisfaction, if he had seen fit to do so, is a radical error, ignoring the essential holiness, justice and benevolence of God, and attributing mutability to "him in whom there is no variableness nor the shadow of a change."

III. *Their Vicarious nature and Necessity.*

In perusing the numberless declarations of the inspired volume touching the wonderful sufferings of the Godman in the work of Redemption, we are forcibly struck with the frequency and the variety of expression, in which their *vicarious* nature is held up to view. The holy seer, Isaiah, who had been describing the Messiah and his kingdom, says: "He was wounded *for our* transgressions, he was bruised *for our* iniquities; the chastisement *of our* peace was upon him, and *with his stripes we are healed.*" "All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one

to his own way : and the Lord hath laid *on him* the iniquities *of us* all," Isaiah 53 : 5, 6. The apostle Peter says, "Who (namely Christ), his own self bare *our* sins in *his own body* on the tree—by whose stripes ye were healed." And the greatest of the apostles, in his epistle to the Galatians, (3 : 13) testifies, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, *being made a curse for us.*" "The *blood* of Jesus Christ, says John, *cleanses us* from all sin. In the Apocalypse, ascriptions of praise are given to Jesus Christ, as "to him that loved us and washed us from our sins in *his own* blood," Rev. 1 : 5. And to the Romans, Paul says, "When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son," 5 : 10, and to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 5 : 18, 19) God reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given us the ministry of reconciliation ; namely, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

Thus we see that the method selected by infinite wisdom to redeem our fallen race, is through the actions, sufferings and death of the *God-man*. Had pardon been promised on the ground of any thing that any mere man had done, or had Jesus Christ been a mere man, his life and death would have not only lacked the necessary efficacy or redeeming power, from want of proper dignity of his person ; but his efforts could only tend to excite in the sinner gratitude to *him*, and *not to God*. But as the work was effected by theanthropic miraculous *person*, the God-man, in whom the human and divine natures are combined, and the divine even preponderated, the acts, sufferings and death of this divine personage not only possess divine efficacy, but are also directly calculated to excite in the hearts of redeemed sinners love and gratitude unbounded to the divine Redeemer, *to God*.

All these inspired declarations accord with the view more generally prevailing in all ages of the Church, and bring us to

IV. *The manner in which the Sufferings and Death of the Godman, Jesus Christ, were designed to effect our salvation.*

From the very dawn of Christianity, primitive believers and Christian fathers, regarded the work of the Godman, and especially his death, as in some way the *procuring cause* of salvation to the fallen race of Adam. But the development of the expiatory work of Christ, as a distinct satisfaction made by the Godman to the demands of penal justice, and of the manner in which it affects the relations of the sinner to the law of God, was more tardy than that of Anthropology and Theology, as well as of some other less important doctrines.

The *Gnostics* (Basilides, A. D. 125) who taught a mere spectral humanity in connection with the Logos, and the Ebionites, who denied all connection between God and man in Christ, virtually rejected the atonement. The earliest fathers, in opposition to these heretics, taught, though not with equal perspicuity, that the sufferings of the Saviour were not the sufferings of a mere man, but of the Godman, and were expiatory of the guilt of our fallen race.

The visionary *Origen*, of the third century, understood the death of the Saviour in a mystic and idealistic sense, as an event not limited to this visible world, nor to one single period of time. He viewed it as occurring in heaven as well as on earth, as embracing all ages, and, in its consequences, of infinite importance for other worlds.* *Origen*, therefore, could not view the atonement as vicarious, because he regarded all punishment as disciplinary and not judicial, as temporary and not eternal, and considered souls as constantly falling and being reclaimed. Yet some times he speaks of the atonement as expiatory.

In the *third* century, and, in a few instances, even earlier, some of the Christian fathers, by misinterpreting sev-

* Ὅτι μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀπεθανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν λογικῶν.

eral passages of Scripture, as Col. 2 : 15, Heb. 11 : 14, and still retaining the Jewish and Oriental idea of the great influence of Satan and evil spirits, gave currency to the erroneous opinion, that mankind since the fall, were not only subject to temptation from Satan and other evil spirits, as the Scriptures teach ; but literally under his *constant control*. Hence they misunderstood the passages, teaching that Christ laid down his life a sacrifice for us, or for sin, as though the sacrifice or ransom had been made to Satan, instead of to God ; and that the result of redemption was not to reconcile us to God, so much as to deliver us from the supposed absolute servitude to Satan.

This theory, first adopted in the *Greek Church*, in the third century, especially by Origen, and later by Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen, was transplanted to the Latin Church, and adopted by Ambrose, and even in some degree also by Augustine. This erroneous view generally prevailed in the Papal Church until the twelfth century, and formed a very congenial auxiliary to the superstitions and formalism of Rome.

After some centuries of comparative darkness, and in the beginning of the scholastic period, the true doctrine of a *vicarious atonement*, which had been presented in a general and popular way by the early fathers, and whose systematic relations had been touched on by Athanasius and John Damascenus, was fully taught by *Anselm*, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1093, (born 1034, died about 1109). He represented it as a wonderful scheme of divine love and mercy, devised in the councils of eternity, to redeem our fallen race from the dominion and curse of sin. This theory assumes, that man is under natural obligation of obedience to the laws of God, the violation of which created a debt, which is sin, and for which satisfaction must be made to the punitive justice of God. This punishment must be endured, either by the sinner himself, or by his substitute. The justice of God demanded a sacrifice, and the benevolence of God furnished *the* victim, by

the surrender of his own Son, who voluntarily offered himself a ransom for our sinful race. This view of the case is argued with consummate dialectic skill by Anselm, in his work, entitled *Cur Deus homo?* The depravity of man being premised, the necessity of a satisfaction, before pardon could be extended to the sinner, is traced to the punitive justice of God, as moral governor of the world. From the inability of the sinner, or of any other mere creature, to do more than the law requires for himself, he deduces the necessity, that the Redeemer must be more than a creature, must be one, who did not himself owe any debt of obedience, and therefore he must be divine. As the satisfaction was to be for man, man also should participate in it: therefore the Redeemer should be both God and man, should be Theanthropos. The sufferings of the Godman being infinite, they were amply sufficient to satisfy for all the sins of the whole world. An additional reason why the Logos assumed human nature, was because as God alone, he could not suffer, but was impassible: or in other words, it was necessary that the Redeemer should be man, that he might be able to suffer for us, and be God, that his sufferings might have efficacy to redeem us.*

Other prominent writers fluctuated between the different systems. *Abelard* (died 1142) viewed the atonement as purely a work of *benevolence*, not required by the attributes of God as a condition of pardon; repentance itself being regarded as a sufficient basis for it. His views of

* See the author's "*Evangelical Lutheran Catechism*," p. 62, Q. 152. "Are we able to make this satisfaction ourselves? A. No; we cannot of ourselves even repent of our sins, and if by divine grace we are converted, our best services are so imperfect, as not to merit acceptance even for the present; much less can our good works at any time exceed the demands of the law, and make satisfaction for past sins.

Q. 153. *Could any mere creature make satisfaction for us?* A. No; for no creature, not even an archangel, could bear the weight of God's indignation at the sins of the world; nor could any creature perform more good works than the law requires for himself; hence none of them could be applied to the benefit of others."

sin and of the divine holiness, were entirely superficial. The effects of the Saviour's sufferings, he considered as purely *suasive*, designed to inspire the sinner with feelings of penitence. On the occurrence of these, he maintains, God can pardon the transgressor without any equivalent, or satisfaction to the violated law. *Peter Lombard*, in the main preferred the theory of *Abelard* (†1164). *Bernard of Clairvaux* (†1153) was more evangelical and inclined to the *Anselmic* theory.

The *Schoolmen*, especially of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as *Bonaventura* (†1272), *Alexander Hales* (1245), have discussed these subjects in all their metaphysical, as well as practical bearings, with consummate ability. *Thomas Aquinas*, the prince of scholastic divines, inculcated the same views of the work of the Godman in saving our sinful race; yet with increasing clearness and force, especially in his "*Summa Theologiæ*." He discriminated more clearly between the satisfaction, made for the sins of men by the Saviour's sufferings, and the merit of his obedience to the law, that is, between the *active and passive righteousness* of Christ. By the manner in which he teaches the superabundance of Christ's righteousness, without counterbalancing it by the infinite demerit of sin, he prepared the way for the Romish doctrine of works of supererogation.

TRIDENTINE SOTERIOLOGY.

In close connection with these views is the Tridentine Soteriology, or the system of that portion of the Romish Church, which resisted the light of the Reformation, merely revising and confirming the corrupt system developed in that Church through the lapse of ages. The members of the celebrated Council of Trent, convened in 1545, were employed, with various intervals, for eighteen years (till 1563), for the purpose of repairing the fearful damage done their doctrinal system by the ever memorable Reformation, and decided that the merits of Christ alone are not

the ground of the sinner's salvation, but in connection with the *inward holiness*. They confound justification with sanctification, as Augustine and other fathers had occasionally done.

By this holiness or sanctification, the Tridentine doctors understood, not external acts of holy living, but an internal state, or act of faith, wrought by the Holy Spirit. This act, or state, is not regarded as expiatory; but as a meritorious work of man, and thus justification is in part by works, contrary to the Scripture declaration, "*It is not of works*, lest any man should boast," Eph. 2 : 9. Justification by faith alone the Romish Church condemns in unequivocal terms.*

PROTESTANT SOTERIOLOGY.

But it was only in the Protestant Church, and especially from the pen of the chief Reformer, Martin Luther, that the New Testament doctrine of salvation by grace alone, without works, first found its most lucid and ample exhibition in this era. It was in the Protestant Church that the primitive lustre of this apostolic doctrine was revived in all its amplitude, and pursued through its different relations. The Anselmic view related mainly to the objective aspect of the atonement, and its bearings on the attributes and law of God, as moral governor of the universe; whilst its application to the penitent sinner, his justification was less carefully elaborated. The path of deep practical experience, through which Providence led Luther to a solution of the problem, *How can man be just with God?* also directed his chief attention to the practical and subjective aspects of these doctrines, and taught him

* "If any one shall say that justifying faith is nothing but confidence in the divine mercy, remitting sin on account of Christ; or that this faith is the sole thing by which we are justified: *Let him be accursed.*"—Canones Concil. Tridentin. de Justificatione IX. XI. XII.

to feel the necessity of an atonement for our actual sins, as well as our hereditary depravity. Hence he and his followers devoted more attention to the discussion of subjective justification than of the objective atonement, and in the different leading portions of the Protestant world, this subject was fully discussed and understood in its several relations.

a. Total and universal depravity both natural or hereditary and actual, became the established doctrine of Protestantism. Our fallen race are regarded as deeply guilty before God, and yet morally unable to effect their own deliverance, thus exhibiting the absolute necessity of the atonement.

b. The vicarious atonement and righteousness of the God-man, the Saviour, are regarded as the only available plan of salvation for our race, and as fully sufficient for the redemption of all mankind.

c. And a living faith alone, without works, is regarded as the only condition, on which the benefits of this redemption are dispensed to men. This faith, wherever found, is always productive of good works. It works by love and purifies the heart and overcomes the world. It produces a holy life, which is, however, regarded not as a part of the condition of justification, but as an evidence of the genuineness of living faith: whilst all the glory of our salvation, in time and eternity, is ascribed to that Lamb of God, which was slain for the sins of the world.

ESCHATOLOGY OF CHRIST.

The remainder of our Article relates to what may be termed the Eschatology of the Saviour, his Descent into *hades* (ᾗδης), his Resurrection, his Ascension and Return to Final Judgment.

On these remaining topics, interesting indeed, but of less practical importance than those which have claimed our attention, want of time forbids any more than a very brief notice.

We are told, "*He descended into hell,*" or *hades*, the place of departed spirits, in which both the righteous and the wicked are contained, separated from each other, indeed, by "an impassable gulf," yet within view or knowledge of each other, as seen in the case of "the rich man" and "Lazarus *afar off* in Abraham's bosom." It must not be forgotten, that this clause, which our Confession quotes from the so-called "Apostles' Creed," is not found in the copies extant of that document during the first three centuries. But the existence of such an immediate state, termed *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל) by the Hebrews, and *Hades* (αἵδης) by the Greeks, supposed to be underground, into which both the righteous and wicked descend after death,* was generally believed.

Different opinions were entertained as to the object, for which the Godman descended to *hades*. The Form of Concord† affirms, that Christ descended into the lower regions, destroyed hell for believers, and snatched us from the power of death and Satan, and thus from the jaws of hell." Others supposed that he preached the gospel in *hades*, as well to believers who had lived before his incarnation, as also to the wicked. Others, amongst whom was also Calvin,‡ that he there *endured the pains of hell*,—and others that he appeared there to announce himself as conqueror over death and hell (Hollazius, Quenstedt, Buddeus). Dr. Mosheim and others regarded this doctrine as a theological problem, not fully solved in Scripture; yet there is enough revealed to show, that it is a part of the Saviour's triumph over Satan, in the prosecution of the glorious work of redemption.

RESURRECTION OF THE SAVIOUR.

The next step in the Saviour's exaltation is his *Resurrection*. "*He arose on the third day,*" says our Article.

* Numbers 16 : 30, 33; Isaiah 14 : 15; Ps. 55 : 16; Job 7 : 9.

† Art. IX. p. 551.

‡ Institut. Relig. Christ. p. 414.

According to the Jewish method of calculation, fractions of a day were also counted as units; and days commenced at sunset. Hence the Saviour having been crucified on Friday about noon, the after part of the day was counted a whole one, Friday night and Saturday till sunset were the second, and Saturday night, belonging, according to the Jewish mode of calculation, to Sunday, together with Sunday morning, was the third day.

Although the truth of the resurrection of Christ has been disputed by some infidels, ancient and modern; its historical reality has been so frequently and so triumphantly established, that it has ceased to be a prominent point of attack. The resurrection of Christ consisted in the reunion of the soul with his body, and their coming forth from the tomb together. This risen body of the Saviour is called "a *glorious body*," "a heavenly body," "a spiritual body," (Phil. 3 : 21. *δυναμιον*, 1 Cor. 15 : 48; Luke 24 : 31-37). It has been disputed, whether the risen body of Christ was fully glorified before his ascension or not. Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret and others, believed the former, whilst Jerome and the Western theologians held the latter opinion. The importance of this doctrine is fundamental, 1 Tim. 3 : 17; col. Rom. 10 : 9. To have been an eye witness of the resurrection of Christ, was an essential qualification of an apostle, Acts 1 : 21, 22; Luke 24 : 47, 48. The Saviour had predicted his *own resurrection*, and tells us he had power to lay down his life, and power to take it up again, John 10 : 18. This wonderful event was therefore effected by the divine power of the *Theanthropos*, and was an important step toward his completion of the work, for which he appeared on earth, as well as a distinct advance in his progress to the throne of celestial glory.

ASCENSION OF CHRIST.

After spending forty days on earth, appearing among his

disciples on such a variety of occasions, and under such various circumstances, as to leave no earthly doubt of his resurrection, and to afford him opportunity of imparting to his followers all necessary additional instruction; he ascended from Bethany, on the Mount of Olives, and as he lifted up his hands and blessed them, he was elevated from the view of the multitude, "a cloud received him out of their sight," and "he was carried up into heaven," Luke 24 : 50, 51. The terms "up" and "down" being only relative terms, meaning toward or from the earth, or centre of attraction, we cannot regard them as determining the locality of heaven. Dr. Reinhard defines the ascension of the Saviour to be "that change by which Christ departed from this earth, to that august place, which the Scriptures denominate heaven." It is the transition of the Saviour from earth to the blessed abode of God, of the holy angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect. Whether this celestial state, or paradise, is a peculiar place or state, or whether it extends throughout all worlds, and is also around about us, is a question our present limited faculties cannot positively decide. *Pfaffius* believed heaven to be in the bosom of God himself, where angels and the spirits of the just made perfect, will enjoy eternal rest: whilst J. D. Michaelis supposed the renovated earth to be the destined future abode of the blessed.

In heaven the *body* of Christ will certainly be fully glorified, will be like the glorified bodies of all saints, Phil. 3 : 21; 1 Cor. 15 : 42—53, and be, at least in some measure, unlike the one he had on earth after his resurrection, when he ate and drank material and corruptible food. In heaven the Theanthropos will be encircled with the glory, which the Son of God had with the Father ere the world was, will exercise all authority in heaven and on earth, and govern the universe for the benefit of his Mediatorial Kingdom and the glory of God. This is also involved in the inspired statement, that "*He is seated at the*

right hand of the Father, that he might perpetually reign over all, and sanctify those who believe in him, by sending into their hearts the Holy Spirit, who governs, consoles, quickens and defends them against the devil and the power of sin. And that the same Christ will return again that he may judge the living and the dead, according to the Apostles' Creed."

RETURN TO JUDGMENT.

This the Scriptures represent, in language apparently literal, as occurring in the clouds of heaven, accompanied by the celestial hosts, and the resurrection of the dead. Whilst the great body of orthodox divines (Gerhard, Holzhaus, Baumgarten, Buddeus, &c.) adopt a literal interpretation of the *leading* facts of this description, all admit a figurative explanation of some of the circumstances, (such as opening the books, &c.,) of this most solemn winding up of the moral administration of God on the theatre of our earth. Acts 17 : 31 ; 10 : 42 ; Matt. 25 : 26—29 ; John 5 : 26—29 ; 2 Cor. 5 : 10 ; Phil. 3 : 20.

Some divines suppose this solemn transaction will take place in the atmosphere (1 Thess. 4 : 17) around or above us, as the earth would be too limited for a scene, in which all the members of all generations that ever lived on earth are to be embraced. The term "day" (*ἡμέρα*) of judgment, is generally regarded as an indefinite period (Gerhard IX. 56 ; Michaelis 604) ; although if the limitations of time and space are removed from the soul in the future world, transactions now requiring years, might occur in an hour. Persons who had been drowned and were resuscitated, have asserted that in the act of drowning, that is, just before their consciousness ceased, the history of their whole lives, with numberless incidents, passed, with inconceivable rapidity in review before them, as in a single instant. The resurrection bodies, both of the righteous and the wicked, may, moreover, be transparent expressions of the

thoughts and characters of the parties, and in them each one can read his or her destiny, before the sentence is officially pronounced by the Judge; and this will be a publication sufficient, of the deeds done in the body by all, who are to receive their eternal, irrevocable sentence, on *that most solemn, never to be forgotten day of judgment.*

ADDRESS

OF

GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN

TO

THE LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE OF MAINE.

JANUARY, 1869.



AUGUSTA:

OWEN & NASH, PRINTERS TO THE STATE.

1869.

ADDRESS

Gentlemen of the Senate

and House of Representatives :

With devout gratitude to the Merciful Disposer of all destinies, and invoking His blessing on our humble endeavors, we meet to dedicate ourselves with the New Year to the service of the State. It is not merely to repair the wastes of war, but to provide for a new career of prosperity that she now demands our care. With astonishing courage she is doing in these doubtful and difficult times the works from which she shrank in the days of her improvident ease. Though late she now perceives her true policy, and enters upon the field where her proudest triumphs shall be won. It is for us to join and guide as best we can in this awakening. The heaviest burdens we cannot remove. We suffer with the Country. Our prosperity is so involved in hers that the measures which most seriously affect our interests, are determined by the National Legislature and not by our own. But there too we may expect relief. The agitations which have perplexed or paralyzed our industries, must by the necessity of things give place to the healthful rivalries of commerce, and the culture and nobler development of life may again be deemed worthy of our highest aim.

In the recent decision of the people at the critical hour when the great issues which have distracted the country were to be finally determined, they have shown that they are not willing to give the Government over to the hands of our adversaries as a rebuke for our errors and weaknesses; and that neither the renewal of violence nor of treachery shall cause them to lose sight of the high mission laid on them for the enfranchisement of man. The firm

hand raised up by Providence to quell the violence of Rebellion, is chosen once more to guide in the victories of Peace. The task is not indeed light to restore financial confidence and industrial prosperity; but we may now pursue it under more favorable auspices. The different branches of the Government will no longer have occasion to bend their energies to baffle each other. The States of the South will see that our quarrel is not with them but with the implacable spirit of secession and slavery, and it is to be hoped will acquiesce in the manifest will of the people. Diversity of interest and multiplicity of plan will be harmonized to one great end. We shall have peace. Conciliation, magnanimity and fraternal regard may safely resume their benignant sway. Our State which bore so honorable a part in the strife of arms, may congratulate herself on the important share she is to take in the greater and more difficult acts of reconciliation.

I shall not encumber this communication with the details which properly appear in the reports of the several departments, but shall present such matters as pertain to my immediate relations with you, and those which might not otherwise be brought so distinctly to your attention.

It will become your duty on the second Tuesday of the session, to proceed to the choice of a United States Senator for the next six years.

FINANCE.

The report of the Treasurer will exhibit to you the very satisfactory condition of our finances. Our receipts for the last year were \$1,358,533.67; expenditures, \$1,142,807.-74. The public debt has been reduced \$37,000. The whole now outstanding is \$5,053,500. Of this, \$800,000 falls due in 1871. To meet this we have the accumulating sinking fund, which with the sums paid in on our claim against the General Government, already amount to \$846,000. On this war claim we have received the last year \$134,203.30. At my entrance upon office in 1867, the amount of our claim was \$702,849.82. Since that time we have been allowed and paid \$701,048.75. Of this \$357,702.10 were paid to the United States to cancel the direct tax laid on the State in 1861, and \$9,516.89

paid to settle private claims under resolve of 1868. The balance, \$333,829.76, remains in the Treasury, and is applied to extinguish the war loan of 1861. It will be seen that the balance of the claim is very small. The items of this are of such a nature that it is doubtful whether any more can be allowed without further legislation by Congress.

The commission authorized by the act for equalization and reimbursement of municipal war debts, under the recent amendment to the Constitution, have entered on their duties. This is an important tribunal. The Act declares that their adjudication is to be final, and without appeal; and that the State shall be relieved from all further claims on account of municipal war debts. A loan of \$3,500,000, bearing interest from April 1, 1869, is authorized to meet this reimbursement. It will devolve on you in pursuance of this act to provide for the first semi-annual payment of the interest of such portion of this sum as the commission may find due to the several municipalities within the year, with the ratable portion of the sinking fund provided to extinguish the debt at maturity.

It must be expected that this will require our rate per cent. of taxation to be somewhat increased from last year, probably by *two mills* on the dollar. This will be the better borne when it is considered that it is to be more than reimbursed to the poorer towns, and to contribute to equalize so far as possible the burdens of the State.

The Examiner of Banks and Insurance Companies has been at much pains to investigate the facts lying within his field of duty, and will lay before you the result in a document of exceeding interest and value. I commend his suggestions as worthy of your especial attention.

MILITARY.

The Soldiers Testimonials authorized by the last Legislature have been much sought for and prized. Ten thousand five hundred have already been issued, and twice that number will probably be applied for this year. The act authorizing them did not include in its provisions those who entered the naval service. Feeling that it was not the intention of the Legislature to exclude these, I endeavored

so to frame the language of the certificate, that it could be granted to seamen as well as soldiers, and I would respectfully suggest that the benefit of this act be so extended. An appropriation of \$2,500 will be needed to pay for the testimonials to be delivered this year.

The administration of the State pension law devolves on the Governor and Council important and laborious duties. The whole number of applications for 1868 is 1197. Of these there were granted 725; rejected 400, and suspended for further proof 72. The whole amount authorized to be paid, including estimates on cases yet to be presented is \$40,000. This brings the expenditure for 1868 within the appropriation. Owing to the omission to assess one of the appropriations, the arrearages for 1866 and 1867 absorbed nearly the whole of the appropriation for 1868, and the Council were obliged to give their personal guaranty to the Treasurer in order to meet the just claims of towns and not dishonor the promises of the State. The Council should be relieved of this liability by suitable legislation. It is estimated that \$80,000 will be needed to cover this deficiency and provide for the year 1869. You will without doubt continue this relief, which at the best is but a slight return for the sacrifices of those who have lost their support, their health, their all, in the country's cause.

Another sad relic of the war is the orphans of soldiers and sailors. We have tried to reach those who are destitute and render them such aid or care as we could. 1,931 have been reported. We have aided 1,018. 14 have been taken into the kindly care of the Bath Orphans' Home, and 8 into the Bangor Asylum. The destitution among most of these orphans is very great, and requires some special provision. If the present manner of providing for them is approved by you, the appropriation of \$10,000 will be required for distribution this year.

It is hardly safe or wise for the State to be without a small military force at its command, and I cannot but repeat my former suggestions as to the importance of providing a complete equipment for a few volunteer companies. The Governor is already authorized to organize any portion of the militia. But the pay which by law attaches to mil-

itary service amounts to so much that I have not felt it right to add to our burdens in that way. I am assured that if the State would equip them a few companies would be formed in various parts of the State, who would keep up an effective organization, drill and discipline, without pay except when ordered out on actual service.

EDUCATIONAL AND REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS.

The report of the Superintendent of Common Schools will present matters of extraordinary importance. The topics with which he deals are those which already engage the deepest interest of the people, and his suggestions as to an improved system of instruction, and a better economy of expenditure, demand your earnest attention. His exhibition of the actual decrease within the last eight years to the extent of nearly 20,000, in the number of children in the State between the ages of four and twenty-one years is of a nature to startle those who have at heart the welfare of the State.

In my view this is not chiefly to be accounted for on physiological, still less—it is to be hoped—on criminal grounds; but it is one of the sad signs of that emigration of the youthful and producing population of the State, to which I have often called attention. But whatever may be the cause, it cannot be directly reached by legislation. Whether it lies in the depletion of our youth by emigration, or in the disinclination of our citizens to rear families, it must mainly be met by a generous public sentiment and policy, which will give our people courage, vigor and independence, and make them earnest to transmit to their posterity the blessings they enjoy and the good they have won.

The State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts has made cautious beginning, and with most gratifying prospects. The Report of the Trustees will more fully set forth their doings and their desires in behalf of the College. The appropriation they ask for seems to be demanded by the plan upon which they have entered, and which the friends of Industrial Education generally approve. It will be for you to determine whether to carry out during

the present year all that they propose, or such portion of it as may seem to you indispensable.

The Reform School, as you will learn from the Report of its officers, is now in the most satisfactory condition, and its management is worthy of particular commendation. Instead of being a burden this Institution must be regarded as a saving and a blessing to the State.

The State Prison has shown great improvements in its internal discipline, and general management. The earnings have been greater than in any previous year, though for sufficient reasons they do not quite meet the current expenses.

PARDONS AND EXECUTIONS.

Pardons have been granted the past year in perhaps unusual number, still but a very small portion of the applications have been favorably received. Many of these cases are of soldiers, who in the extravagance of satisfaction at their safe return home carried their frolics to the extent of crime. Some of these upon examination it has been thought proper to release. The results have vindicated the clemency.

In accordance with my expressed intention I have executed the duties devolving on me in reference to convicts under sentence of death. These cases have been thoroughly considered. Wherever there has been a mitigating circumstance of any moment, the convict has had the benefit of it. In two cases the sentence has been commuted to imprisonment for life; in another not admitting of lenity, the prisoner died before the warrant was to be issued; while in a case of peculiar atrocity and aggravation the sentence has been ordered to be carried into execution.

I should have contented myself with this simple statement of my action without comment; but as it has pleased the Attorney General in his official Report to protest against this execution, although candidly admitting that it is the Governor's duty to execute this law; and as his careful official statement must be taken as the best expression of dissent which can be made, I may be warranted in giving you the reasons why I am not influenced by that kind of argument.

It is urged by the distinguished attorney, that Harris should not be executed, because he "turned State's evidence." This means, I suppose—for it will not be pretended that mere confession of his own guilt after arrest comes within the meaning of this term—that there was some promise or obligation, expressed or implied, that if Harris should succeed in implicating an accomplice, he should escape the due penalty of his crime.

I am not learned in the rules of evidence, and I remark upon this no further than to say that if guilt can thus find a scape-goat; if a person can be convicted of capital crime by evidence given under the pressure of this consummate hope of reward, then the altar of justice is no longer the asylum of innocence, and life and liberty must seek some other defence. But if this was so, let those who made the promise keep it—let them see that their witness has his reward while the case is still in their hands. But did the Attorney General avail himself of his privilege, and withdraw any portion of the indictment in token of service rendered? Did the jury in their verdict, or the judge after sentence, recommend to the mercy of the Executive? Nothing of the kind.

Now one of two things: in turning State's evidence Harris must have implicated either a guilty party or an innocent one. If an innocent, then he endeavored to add a *third* murder to the former two; if a guilty, then in afterwards contradicting the statement with equal vehemence he virtually shielded the guilty from justice, in either case but adding another to his horrible list of crimes, and crowning the whole with perjury. I fail to see the extenuating force of any such State's evidence as this.

It is said that the facts of Harris' early life—the degrading influences of slavery, and the development of his brutal passions alone, and his being almost in his legal infancy, should have been considered. They were considered, and at their full value. They were a relieving element in the case; they were ground of gratitude that no man nursed of woman was left to do these horrors—and of congratulation that this precocity of guilt was nipped in its "legal infancy," before its blossom and full fruits had come. But they did not appear sufficient

to entitle him to special grace. "Previous good character" is a plea in mitigation—but to plead a "previous bad character" is a novelty in jurisprudence.

A parallel is also drawn between the case of Harris and that of Knight, the latter being a more responsible person, and yet suffered to remain unhung, while Harris is ordered to execution. The right and duty of the Governor to execute the law having been conceded, the argument conveyed in this illustration goes only to this effect: that *Knight also* should have been hung—a conclusion to which I take no exception; although Knight still protests his innocence while Harris boasts of his guilt. But this case is not in my hands. The law sentences a murderer to *solitary* confinement until sentence of death is executed upon him; if he has been released and simply set at hard labor like any other convict, that is to all intents and purposes a commutation of sentence. Now Knight has been at hard labor for some twelve years. He was not sentenced to imprisonment for his natural life, *and* hanging. Virtually he has been put upon the former sentence and has actually served out a considerable portion of it. To me it appears very questionable whether a Governor has even the right to take out such a convict after he has been serving on a life sentence, and order him in addition to that to be hanged by the neck just before he dies.

It is also asserted, or intimated, that Harris was not the real criminal in this case, but another party. With him I have nothing to do. If he were convicted and sentenced a duty would arise in his case. But the Attorney General was unwilling to put him on his trial (when a new one was ordered) and discharged him from custody: presumably, because he could not convict him; if otherwise, then he did a great wrong to Harris and to society and the cause of justice itself. The argument does not appear to me a convincing one that sentence should not be executed upon Harris who confesses his guilt, because another is suspected to be more guilty whom even the earnest and ingenious Attorney General believed he could not convict, but released and forever set free from peril on this charge.

I shall enter into no defence of an official act so plainly required by the constitution and the law, and my solemn oath ; and which I had beforehand so explicitly brought to the attention of the Legislature. Neither my own views of the death penalty nor the present state of public opinion, whatever they may be, affect in the least my duty to execute the existing laws. Whether there has been any recent change of public sentiment on this subject I have no means of knowing. The only legitimate and deliberate expression of public opinion of a recent date is the action of the last Legislature, which having before them the announcement of my views of duty in this matter, and voting directly on the bill to abolish capital punishment, refused so to abolish it by a vote of nearly two to one. To my mind, I am free to say, this amounted to a reaffirmation of existing law. If the Legislature upon mature consideration deemed it unwise to abolish capital punishment, it would be an extraordinary presumption in me to take the responsibility of abolishing it myself.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

I have heretofore advised that the death penalty be either ensured or abolished. Not that the law leaves it doubtful whether it is the Governor's duty to execute the sentence at all—which would be a manifest absurdity—but that in failing to fix a limit within which the warrant shall be issued, it has left a chance for the Executive to defer it indefinitely, and thus a precedent had been established too strong to be set aside without bringing odium upon any Executive who should do his duty. Now that this precedent has been broken, it may be best to leave the law as it is. Cases might arise where few would say that death was not the only adequate penalty ; yet it might be desirable to delay the execution, while testing some particular theory. In the case of Doyle, for instance, nothing but the earnest conviction of his counsel that another party was the guilty one, saved him from execution. This surely is not a case for commutation. If Doyle is innocent he should be set at liberty, and every possible reparation be made him. If guilty, he should suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Then too if you abolish the death penalty, you

do not discriminate between a single high crime and an accumulation of such crimes. Take the above cited case of rape. The punishment is imprisonment for life. If the offender sees no higher penalty before him, he has a powerful motive to dispose of the principal witness against him. He has everything to gain and nothing to lose by adding the crime of murder.

However the experience of suffering may have affected my personal sympathies, the consideration of the public safety convinces me that this is not the time to soften penalties. Too much crime is abroad, and emboldened by the mildness and uncertainty of punishment. Most of our neighboring States retain the death penalty. We do not wish to invite crime here by the impunity it fails to find elsewhere. It is urged that we should be merciful. But to whom? I ask. To the violator of all sanctities—the assassin of all defencelessness—the pitiless spoiler of the peace and order of society? or to the innocent, the good, the peaceful and well-doing, who rely upon the protection of the State which they serve and adorn? Mercy is indeed a heavenly grace, but it should not be shown to crime. It is the crime and not the man, at which the law strikes. It is not to prevent that man alone from repeating his offence, but to prevent others from so doing. If the wretch who meditates crime sees the sure and sharp penalty before him he may take better counsels. This is merciful; to him, to his intended victims, to his possible imitators, and to the community.

And what convinces me the more that we should retain our present penalty, is the fact of which I have had abundant evidence, and must admonish you to keep ever in view, that the same parties who are so fierce for mitigating the death penalty to imprisonment for life, are equally discontented with this, and are quite as irrepresible in the demand that these criminals shall be absolutely pardoned and set at liberty, for the reason that they have been so long in prison. Witness the Thorne case, where the virulence of abuse because a free pardon was not granted to the murderer of his friend and benefactor, with this friend's wife as a paramour and accomplice, was almost equal to that with which the virtues of Harris

the ravisher of his murdered and dying victims, are compared with the crime of the stubborn Executive in not withholding the just penalty of the laws.

This shows whither these things tend—to the abolition of all penalty—the consequent contempt for law—the breaking down of every safeguard of liberty—the resort to personal vengeance—the utter demoralization of society—and a universal reign of terror. It is that, rather than the calm vindication of a righteous law by a just penalty, which should properly be called “going back to the dark ages.” Therefore it is that I deem it not wise to listen when weakness usurps the name of mercy and pleads for the impunity of crime.

PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW.

Legislation upon what a man shall eat or drink, is certainly a pretty strong assertion of “State rights” over those of the individual. But every good citizen will admit that drunkenness is an evil; a dishonor to manhood, a disturber of society, and a detriment to the State. It stands out from other vices in being the exciting cause of much of the costly litigation and criminal proceeding before the courts, and in driving men to crimes which they would not otherwise commit. Hence it is the duty of the State to restrain men from it, and protect the innocent from its depredations; and the duty of the individual to yield some of his personal rights for the general good. Our State has accordingly enacted the present prohibitory law as in its judgment an adequate means to this end, and wherever it has been executed it appears to have been effective.

Since the repeal of the Constabulary Act there does not appear to have been much effort to make use of the ordinary means of enforcing the prohibitory and kindred laws. In some localities the friends and guardians of good order have done their duty, and the traffic in intoxicating liquors is effectually suppressed. But for the most part there seems to have been a reaction from the severe measures of the previous year, and also a willingness on the part of some to let the reaction do its worst, in order to give urgency to the movement for more stringent legislation. Precisely what measures to adopt to secure the more

general execution of this law is a question on which the wisest and best will differ. It may be proposed to restore the late Constabulary system, but experience found in that much that was objectionable. It was essentially repugnant to the deep settled notions of municipal rights. It was an independent and abnormal power in the civil system. It afforded peculiar liabilities to abuse and indiscretions in its exercise. We should be able to provide some means which would more command the consent and co-operation of the people. I think it highly desirable to accomplish this end if possible through our established civil officers. But at all events let us execute our laws or repeal them.

Let no one imagine that with the severest execution—either of the liquor or the murder laws, all crime and all evil are to be expelled from among men. The most we can hope to do is to intimidate and restrain them,—the Divine law has as yet achieved no more.

These are important matters, and I am persuaded that you will deal with them without rashness or fear.

SPECIAL REPORTS.

There were several special duties laid on the Governor and Council at the last session of the Legislature in regard to which it is proper that I make report.

Immediate measures were ordered to be taken to enforce the collection of the claim against the sureties of B. D. Peck, late Treasurer of State. The Attorney General was accordingly instructed to proceed with the case before the court, but this officer appears to have found some embarrassment in the matter, which will be laid before you in his report.

Some complications having embarrassed the Legislature in regard to the bids for the public printing and binding, the matter was referred to the Governor and Council who were directed to contract therefor with some responsible party. It appeared that more favorable terms could be made with the old contractors than with any other parties, and contracts were accordingly made with them at rates considerably reduced from those of last year.

The Governor and Council were also directed to investigate the condition of incurable idiotic and demented

inmates of the Insane Hospital, with a view to separating classes of patients ; and also to examine localities proper for an Asylum, with the cost of building to be erected or purchased for this purpose. In attending to the first portion of this duty it was necessary to consult the experienced Superintendent of the Hospital, and the Report submitted by him will be laid before you. After a full consideration of the subject it has not been deemed advisable to recommend the erection of a separate Asylum at present, inasmuch as our existing Hospital building is not yet completed in accordance with the original plan, and it is thought best to bring our established Institution into as perfect a condition as possible before the erection of another. We would further recommend the purchase of the lot of land adjoining the Hospital on the South, as a measure necessary not only to the symmetry of the grounds but to the convenience of the Hospital as it stands, and to the welfare of the patients themselves.

In obedience to the direction of the Legislature, the Arsenals at Portland and Bangor have been examined with a view to the expediency of disposing of the present sites and erecting a State Arsenal in the vicinity of the Capitol. After a careful consideration of the matter, it was thought most advantageous for the State to retain the Arsenals for the present as they are. Although we have now so little of Military material in a servicable condition that we actually require no Arsenal at all, still it is not likely that such will long be the case. It is unsafe for the State to be without a moderate supply of arms and equipments, and our territory is so extensive that probably it will always be found necessary to have two Arsenals at points so remote from each other and so central within their respective sections as Portland and Bangor.

In accordance with a Resolve to that effect, a commission was appointed to obtain information as to the practical operation of Asylums for Inebriates, the report of which is to be submitted to you.

By the same authority proposals were invited from cities and towns desiring to co-operate in the establishment of a State Industrial School for girls. No responses have as yet been received. I trust no ordinary obstacles will be

allowed to delay an Institution prompted by every humane and Christian consideration, and fraught with so much good to society. Upon an accidental visit to the "Little Wanderers' Home" in Boston, I found to my surprise that more than a hundred children from this State, most of them girls, had been gathered from devious ways into this kindly fold. So impressed am I with the good which this Institution is doing, and such confidence is commanded by the broad and high basis on which it is built, that I think it would be proper to pay a certain subsidy for each child maintained there, until we can furnish some corresponding means of reclamation in our own State.

The long pending claim of the State against the United States for indemnity for lands assigned to settlers on the late disputed territory under the provisions of the fourth article of the Treaty of Washington, having been met by an act of Congress at its last session, I was advised by the Executive Council — which by Resolves of 1854 and 1861, appears to have plenary powers in the matter — to enter into agreement with the authorities of the United States to grant releases of the title of the State in the lots to which possessory claims had been laid by settlers and confirmed by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, in order that the money authorized for this indemnification might be received. This was done. The Land Agent entered upon the work of finally establishing the titles of the settlers, and the money amounting to \$113,906.25 was paid to me, and deposited in the Treasury. This claim as well as the similar one of Massachusetts, had been assigned to the European and North American Railroad Company; and Governor Bullock paid the share of Massachusetts, amounting to \$32,687.50, to me in trust for the Company. This was at once paid over to them through the State Treasurer. As there was some doubt in the minds of the Governor and Council as to the interpretation to be given to the several provisions of the Acts and Resolves, relating to the assignment to the Company of our claim, the money received upon it was not paid over to them until the opinion of the Attorney General had been obtained, nor then until a bond of indemnity in twice the amount had been given by them to the State.

A contract has been made with the Historical Society, agreeably to the terms of the Resolve for the encouragement of that society in the publication of the early Documentary History of Maine. The most gratifying results of this undertaking already appear. The volume will soon be laid before you containing many original and curious maps of the earliest voyages to this region, and the discussion and decision of the most interesting questions relating to the discovery of this coast. The volume now in preparation is still more valuable. I think it may be safely said that no more remarkable document relating to the colonization of this continent has appeared. The Society and the State are to be congratulated upon affording the auspices under which this work is to be made public.

PRACTICAL INTERESTS.

There is great need of a revision of the statutes, and I suggest that you make provision for this at the present session.

My attention has been drawn to a resolution introduced at the last session providing for biennial elections of State officers and sessions of the Legislature. It strikes me as worthy of consideration. The people are overtaxed and overburdened with elections. This weight is felt more as business interests are more active, and the demands for the products of industry are multiplied. The respect for law and its officers is lessened by frequent changes. The excitement and disorder of political campaigns is demoralizing in its effects. A change to a biennial system would be a vast saving directly and indirectly. We should be more prudent in our legislation and in our expenditure. The financial consideration is a strong one. The year 1870 would be a favorable time to inaugurate a new system. I commend the matter to your further attention.

I cannot forbear to call your attention to the imperfections of our present jail system. Besides being insecure, unhealthful and expensive, it is attended by moral evils which are disastrous in the extreme. The jails are schools of vice, and hot-beds of crime. Here the hardened profligate, the accomplished desperado, the unfortunate youth guilty of his first offence, or possibly only as yet suspected,

are huddled together without proper restraints, and with no profitable employment or amusement. Unfortunately the prisoners are not confined to one sex. It may be imagined how rapidly the interchange of criminal experience, and instructions in wicked ways bring all to the level of the lowest, and how latent capacities of evil are nourished and crime is multiplied. Some of our jails also are so situated that young people can freely gather around the windows and hold converse with the inmates. We can ill afford to have such institutions as educators of our youth. I would respectfully suggest that a commission be appointed to examine and report upon this matter.

Complaint has been made of the imperfect manner in which our land surveys are conducted, which leads to much of the litigation brought before our courts. The recommendation of the Commissioner on the variation of the magnetic needle that meridian lines marked by stone monuments be established in each county to fix a standard for the true cardinal points by which each surveyor shall be required to correct his compass, appears to me a valuable suggestion.

Scarcely any measure we have entered on promises better results than the provision for the Report upon the Water Power of Maine. A preliminary report was issued last year to meet the urgent demand ; but the edition was exhausted immediately and the expectation is more earnest still for the final report now in hand. There is available Water Power in this State to the amount of upwards of a million horse-powers—a power equal to that of 15,000,000 men. No one can fail to see that the seat of manufactures in New England is yet to be within the limits of this State. When we consider that in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, water-power is worth from \$150 to \$400 per horse-power, and rents in some places for \$70 per annum for each horse-power, we see how immediate and great a source of wealth lies in this single item of our natural resources. And it requires only a little foresight and breadth of vision to comprehend all the benefits that will flow from the full occupation of this to every branch of native industry. Other States are moving in this matter anxious to make the most of what they have. Our work should

not stop short of affording the practical advantages for which it was designed. It must be borne in mind that the active interest of the several localities has spared us the expense of a Hydrographic Survey proper, and the work hitherto has been carried on with great economy. We may with the more freedom make the moderate appropriation necessary to a satisfactory completion of the Report which the accomplished Superintendent now has in preparation.

The Railroad enterprises in the State are now pushing on with vigor, but still under disadvantage. I have before ventured the opinion that the burdens which the towns were taking upon themselves to secure the building of railroads might be found too much for them. Consider too that while these loans drain so heavily upon home capital, the bonds are then sold at a ruinous sacrifice. When a town pledges all its available means, and then is discounted by 20 per cent., it seems to me not an advantageous way to carry on a public enterprise. Pardon me if I weary you with repeating that it would seem better that the State should give her endorsement to such enterprises as she deems vital to her advancement, providing by ample restrictions against the abuse of the concession, and securing herself by lien or mortgage against the actual payment of a dollar on either interest or principal. There is no railroad in this State which would not pay well upon \$10,000 a mile. Suppose the State should endorse the bonds of a road to that extent, taking proper security for the payment of both interest and principal from the earnings of the road. The result would be, I think, that the bonds would be negotiated at par or nearly so, and outside the State, which is the same thing as bringing capital in. Home capital would be left for investment in active enterprises. Instead of adding a burden to the people it would actually relieve them. In my opinion this would be safer, less expensive, and more effective than our present system, and better than grants of public lands.

What shall we do for our Aroostook road for example, where we cannot expect nor allow towns to take the burden on them? How can we justly leave Washington and Hancock counties to cut their way through a difficult country by their own unaided strength? Or why should

a single city and its neighboring towns assume a task which is really for the benefit of the whole State?

I do not pretend to be able to present a plan sufficiently guarded and effective, but I submit the matter to your better judgment and skill.

Since our shipping interests have so much declined, we are not reaping the full advantages from our wonderful coast; but there is one way in which we may partly repair the evil; that is by opening railroads to the sea. Bring hither the products of our rich fields and busy factories—the treasures of the North and boundless harvests of the West—make our deep harbors the business outlets of the great lakes—the ocean terminus of the mighty pathways which traverse half the continent; bring hither also foreign ships to exchange here the products of distant lands, and you will thus make us not only more prosperous in wealth, but in that higher culture which comes from contact with older civilizations, and the broad recognition of other interests, and other men than those within our own borders. There may be no more than a single port upon our shore at which all this can be achieved, but this will be a vital centre which will send life through all the State.

I have heretofore remarked upon the desirableness of encouraging Scandinavian immigration. My conviction is strengthened that it would be greatly to our advantage to induce colonies of these hardy, frugal and industrious people to settle in this State. I deem the subject of sufficient importance to recommend that you appoint a committee to investigate it, and if they find the project desirable to report some feasible plan.

Whatever we do to encourage other activities we must never fail to recognize the vital importance of Agriculture. I am happy to observe that increased attention has been given the past year to raising wheat. Our farmers seem to be inspired with new hope and vigor. If anything can be done by us to encourage the spirit of enterprise in this direction our aid must not be denied. Although the soil of the State generally may be better fitted for dairy and stock produce, still soils are not wanting here that are eminently adapted to grain. Skill

too will open hidden veins of wealth, and mind mould matter at its will. Nor is our climate so rigorous as to discourage agriculture. The natural vegetation of the southern portions of Aroostook county, compares favorably with that of Massachusetts.

I have been struck with the merits of a paper in the forthcoming report of the Board of Agriculture in which are shown with much force the ruinous results of the destruction of our forests. The subject does not admit of legislation, that I am aware of, but it is well for those who have the public interest in charge to bear this matter in mind.

The natural advantages of this portion of the country which struck the early visitors to the continent were passed over by the accidents of colonization or the force of political causes. In the progress of civilization these are now coming to claim their true value, and the State is entering upon a course of prosperity such as she never saw before. It will take time to unfold fully her material resources and set in motion all the agencies which are to contribute to the glorious end.

In the rekindling spirit of enterprise, in the new courage which is beginning to attract and hold our youth, and in the opening prospect of brighter times for our whole people, I cannot but feel a peculiar and affectionate interest. And I may venture here to express the hope that those who are to come after us will not suffer the work to flag which was only inaugurated by bold measures, after the State had lost its proper place in the race of enterprise.

I trust that the result of all our efforts will be that we can keep our young men and women at home, and rear up a generation just and fearing God, exemplifying in themselves the noblest culture and doing good works to their fellow men.

CONCLUSION.

I would fain linger on this theme; but I am admonished that this greeting is also a farewell. Untried, unknowing, and almost unknown, I was summoned by the people with a cordiality I could not fully comprehend, to this high trust. The honor has been twice repeated with no less

emphasis. Whether I have been a faithful and profitable servant cannot be judged by the present praise or blame. History will write our record truly, and estimate with impartial hand the worth of our best endeavors.

It would be an affectation of indifference in me, however, to close this address without tendering through you to the men and women of this State my deep and grateful acknowledgments. To those riper in years and wisdom who in my behalf yielded their judgment to their generosity, I owe lasting thanks; to those who hesitated to trust this high power to youth and inexperience, I tender the assurance of my respect; to the young men of Maine who have rallied around me as they did when shoulder to shoulder we stormed the phalanxes of the foe, I pledge anew, here or wherever, the best part of my soul. And for you, gentlemen, while I give voice to these vain thanks, I may also seek a benediction mightier than that of man.

As we enter on our duties, beneath those battered and blood-emblazoned flags, in the presence of all these dear and sacred memories, and overshadowed by kindling hopes, may wisdom and strength be given us while we dedicate ourselves anew to honor, to freedom, and to God.

JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN.

VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE IN MISSIONS.

The Foreign Committee is before the Church with an urgent appeal. A great debt has accumulated—"Disaster is near at hand if relief come not speedily."

God grant it may so come. But this is not the end of our responsibility. There is no disguising the fact that there is a feeling of discouragement respecting our Foreign Missions such as has never existed before; and the moral certainty therewith that the present distress will no sooner be relieved than another distress will begin; to be followed with fresh announcements of "disaster near at hand." By such announcements a dying life may be sustained, but that the work will ever prosper under the present system is what no well-informed man of any party believes.*

* 1. Some persons object to the use of terms designating parties in the Church, and are at much pains to avoid them, but find it impossible to make themselves understood, without expressing the same thing in many words, which others express in few.

2. It is far better to recognize existing facts, and speak accordingly; but with moderation and charity.

3. For one party to speak of itself as "the Church" and of the opposite side as a "party," is one of the lowest acts of controversy, of the essence of *party spirit*, and has about as much sense in it, as for Whigs or Democrats, when they happen to be in the majority, to speak of themselves as "the Country," and charge their opponents, with being a "party." The only plea which can be offered by such High Churchmen as resort to this manner of speaking is that their party is now the majority. But Arianism once had the majority in the Catholic Church, and the orthodox were "a party." Probably the True Church, as contained within that which is visible, has always been a minority—"a party."

4. If any prefer the terms "majority" and "minority," those

The object of this tract is—

I. To show the *cause* of this chronic weakness,—alienation from the Board of Missions, and withdrawal of sympathy from the Foreign Committee as its agent.

II. To consider the means of permanent relief.

1. Our first work is to find out the *cause*—the original *error*—the worm which has been all the time at the root of this tree.

But why speak of the *work* of finding out an error which is as evident as the Sun? Nothing but an unwillingness to see this error, could have kept a powerful party stumbling on under such a burden, for at least twenty-six years after the error became manifest—an error creditable to the charity of those who fell into it, but not to their discernment.

This error and cause of all trouble is in the *Constitution of the Board itself*. It is in the attempt to conduct missions upon the *ecclesiastical* principle in a *divided Church*—to extend *law* over a work which ever has been, is now, and from its very nature, ever must be, *voluntary*. In proof of this statement, a brief historic sketch will suffice.

In the year 1835, the missions of our Church, which up to that time had been conducted mainly upon the voluntary principle, were at the instance of the High-Church party taken under the government of the General Convention—the Low-Church party (with some prominent exceptions) consenting upon the promises then made. These

called Evangelical would make no objection. In point of numbers they are a minority; but they are not a minority in moral power, or in their capacity to carry on Missions. And even with respect to numbers, the present writer has long been satisfied that if the distinguishing features of the High-Church system were fairly and intelligibly stated, only a minority of the laity would subscribe then, and the same might probably be found true of the clergy.

5. But whether the multitude be right or wrong, is a question to be left totally out of view when we come to inquire what the *truth* is, and what our *duty* is.

6. The question discussed in the following tract, involves, so far as the Episcopal Church is concerned, the propagation of the Gospel in the heathen world, but it involves more than this, it involves the integrity and advancement of Evangelical Christianity in the Church at home, as also the gravest point of practical as well as Theological consistency, which has occurred in our history.

two parties were then in difference of doctrine and policy substantially what they are now, and have been for centuries. All knew this, and knew that their union for the joint conduct of Missions could never be effected but upon terms of professed equality. These terms, proposed and accepted as equal, were that High-Churchmen should have charge of Domestic Missions, which they desired, and the Evangelical party of Foreign Missions, in which it had taken chief interest. Had these terms been committed to writing and formally subscribed, they would not have been more binding upon the parties and their successors, though how far and how long the parties could bind their successors is a different question. Promises were also made of impartiality in the exercise of the new power, about to be conferred upon the House of Bishops, of nominating the Missionary Bishops. Though this could not be considered as a part of the compact, such promises were certainly addressed as arguments to the Low-Church party, to induce them to acquiesce in the proposed arrangement. All was agreed to; and all who remember the day, remember the rejoicings over the harmony of action reached through this newly-discovered solvent, "the Spirit of Missions." The High-Churchmen had good reason to rejoice, for the new arrangement eliminated every voluntary feature of the old system, and put all power into a body in which they already had a majority, and which majority the new system could not fail to increase.

There was not wanting, however, a minority (Bishops Griswold, A. Potter, and Hopkins included) who foresaw, and foretold what has since happened, and voted in the negative. Bishop Meade did not arrive in Philadelphia until the plan had been agreed upon. He assented to it in deference to others, but not without many fears and misgivings.*

The new system became law by formal enactment. The two parties went in as equal, under unwritten compromises, the only practical difference between them in the general result being, that one party had *all* the power and the other none. Such was the opening situation—full of promise—full of hope; glorying was general, and boasting by no means uncommon; all things were to become new. The great discovery was then for the first time made, that "the *Church* was the Missionary Society," and that the Church must carry on *Missions*, through the same machinery by which it makes *Canons*. Otherwise it could not be "Church work." But alas, human nature had undergone no change—facts refused to sympathize—truth and error could

* Vide Bishop Meade's account at length in "Old Churches of Virginia," Vol. II, pp. 379-81. Only the want of space forbids its introduction. It is worthy of the most serious consideration.

not live peaceably when brought into close contact, and the realities of things were not long in making their appearance. The first act under the new system, was to be the election of the Missionary Bishops, one for the Foreign field, and two for the Domestic. The result has been taken as an example, of the observance had from that day to this, of the compromise on which the High-Church party got at least the *governing* power of the whole work.*

The memory of this once famous compromise is fast passing away, the only *visible* proof now remaining being the continued appointment of the Foreign Committee from the Evangelical side, which the other side takes good care shall do it no good, through its active government of said committee by means of its majority in the Board. Meanwhile the Evangelical party is held responsible for the ill-success of Foreign Missions. Let the extract from the *Connecticut Churchman*, of November 14, given below, be carefully considered.†

The facts, however, will make the most satisfactory argument.

The new Foreign Committee began with four missionaries: two in Greece and two in China, all in full sympathy with the Committee.

* The persons most prominent on the Evangelical side, had been given to understand that not only the Foreign Missionary Bishops, but one of the Domestic would be such as they might designate. This being more than they could have expected, of course gave them much pleasure. The balloting for the Domestic Bishops came on first. One was elected (who we believe did not accept). The name for the other designated by the minority was Rev. B. C. Cutler. One of the majority inquired (pen in hand) how his name was spelled, but upon counting the votes there came out the name of *Jackson Kemper*, and it was ascertained that the inquirer must have voted for him.

It was then determined that enough had been done for once, and the election of the Foreign Bishop was indefinitely postponed. (It proved to be for nine years, when such an one as the Evangelical party desired was offset by one of very different views.) This narrative would not have been given upon any less authority than that of an eye-witness. And inasmuch as the High-Church party as a party are not to be supposed capable of willful deception, we must suppose either that the leaders were not authorized to speak for others, or that they themselves intended at the time to meet the expectations which they had raised, or that the credulity of the other side inferred more than was intended.

But that the Evangelical party in surrendering the voluntary principle and their control of Foreign Missions in 1835, acted under expectations which have never been realized, there can be no question.

† "In the discussions of the Board on the Foreign work, which were full and frank beyond all precedent, it was observed with regret and solicitude that the members of the Foreign Committee spoke discouragingly of the future. Though they were to some extent justified in adopting this tone, we are reluctant to believe that they correctly interpreted the present temper of the Church. There are without question some evidences of a stationary, if not a declining interest in Foreign Missions. But this may be accounted for without supposing any actual falling off of sympathy with them. It is well known that for many years the Foreign work has been in the special care of a certain portion of the Church. Of that portion a large number have been drawn off into a voluntary society of acknowledged zeal and energy. Now it is understood that this society are unwilling to give the Foreign work a cordial support unless it be formally turned over to them. If this be so, we have the sufficient explanation of the present discouraging condition of

To these were added in time Mr. Southgate, also in like sympathy. But Mr. S. changed his principles, and became extremely hostile to the doctrine and policy which the Committee represented, and fell into correspondence with their opponents in the Board, who immediately took him up and supported him over the heads of the Committee, and continued this long after the utter worthlessness of Mr. S.'s projects had become so apparent as to embarrass the whole foreign work. The Evangelical portion of the Church, unanimously and strenuously objecting to this perversion of their charities, were still compelled by their opponents, at a heavy outlay, to sustain the sham at Constantinople, who went annually into the Board, and thus bound heavy burdens and laid them upon the shoulders of conscientious men, which they themselves scarce touched with one of their fingers. They made Mr. S. a Bishop, with high-sounding title, and jurisdiction coextensive with "the kingdom and dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey." There was, of course, nothing for him to do but to sit down at Constantinople and affect the ambassador with

that work. It is declining because of differences and divisions among its old and chosen friends. In saying thus much, we give only the substance of what was publicly admitted in the Board. A secret paralysis has been going on for some time. It is a relief to know at last the real cause of it. How it is to be met there is nothing in the present condition and tendency of things to show; though we earnestly hope that the mischief which has been wrought by the factious movements of party will be healed by the healthy and united action of the whole body. One thing is sure, the Church can never permit one great department of her organic work to be managed in the interests or controlled by the caprices of a minority operating through an outside voluntary organization."

This statement is instructive, but open to several criticisms.

1. As to the frankness of the discussions the writer never listened to one more embarrassed and unsatisfactory.

There was a marked reserve touching the *cause* of the difficulty. Of the comparatively few Evangelical members of the Board, few were present, and fewer had anything to say. One member of the Foreign Committee, commenting upon another member's account of the causes of the situation, said that he "had only touched the *circumference* of the question," but he himself stopped far short of the center. Another alluded to a proposition which had been made in the Committee to send a commission of investigation to Greece, but the hint (if so intended) fell like a spark into the sea. If there were those present with more adequate views than any which found utterance, they probably thought that however suitable a restatement of the whole case might be as part of an argument for a new organization, it would be utterly vain, and only a useless cause of irritation there.

2. That the Evangelical side is to a considerable extent unwilling to support a work thus unjustly wrested from their control, governed by those who never professed much interest in it, is no doubt true.

3. As to the allegation of the mischief having been "wrought by the factious movements of party," see prefatory notes, No. 3.

4. The majority, by disregarding the compromise of 1835, almost as soon as made, released the minority from its observance, although the American Church Missionary Society was not organized until 1860.

5. Let the last sentence of the extract be noted. That which is pronounced "sure" is doubtless a true deliverance of the "Churchman's" party, and confirmatory of what it was a part of our design to prove.

pompous puerilities, and by correspondence, keep up an agitation at home against the Committee which was forced to serve under such orders. And when the bubble had burst, the anomalous bishop and missionary had given up and returned home, the Board, which met in Cincinnati in 1850, must needs "instruct" the Foreign Committee, not only to renew this mission, but to procure the judgment of *Bishop Southgate* as to the manner of conducting it.

The Committee, though very slow, did at last protest and do all for the right which the Board would allow them to do; but it was their duty to have resigned, and the duty of all Evangelical men to have refused to take their places. Had this been done, the history of this Committee would have been more satisfactory to the interest, which, by agreement, it was to represent, than it will now be possible to make it.

With respect to China and Africa, it was the same thing, so far as it was possible for the Board to make it so. Though not a single man in sympathy with the majority had offered to go to either field, or, so far as was known, had any intention of going; no one who attended the meetings of the Board in 1844, could have doubted that, if there had been a respectable High-Churchman to be found, who could speak Chinese, he, and not Dr. Boone, would have been the Bishop. In Africa, Mr. Payne, and all who had been in the work, were passed by, and Mr. Glennie was elected. And when he declined, and Mr. Payne came again before the House of Bishops, the opposition offered, the grounds of it, and the scene which ensued, if correctly reported, will not easily be forgotten by those who were present. By providential circumstances, these two missions were kept in the line of the compromise of 1835.

The Greek Mission cannot, of course, be left out of view in this connection. Being now the chief cause of embarrassment, it demands the attention of the friends of Foreign Missions, and will continue to demand it until the truth is fully ascertained and acknowledged.

Its history is a marvel in missionary annals, exhibiting very great skill on the part of the missionary, and very little on the part of his Evangelical adherents. Consisting from the start of two schools: one free, for the small children of the poor; the other, a female boarding school, for the wealthier class, and both secular establishments, so far as the Protestant religion is concerned, or any Protestant influence: the religious teaching being formally and vigilantly in the line of the Greek superstition and idolatry, and *wholly* so, so far as any evidence has reached us, which should be held as satisfactory at the present stage of the inquiry.

The present writer, as a member of the Board, had performed his duty faithfully in the premises, and left it to those who were more immediately responsible. But having been assailed in his absence at the meeting of the Board in '65, for the testimony which he had borne to the truth, he published in March, '66, over his own name, "*Historic Notes of Protestant Missions to the Oriental Churches.*" In that pamphlet (sent to every member of the Board, and to the *Foreign Committee*) every statement previously made was substantiated, the most damaging proofs being of such a nature as to mock all attempts at refutation, and as he expected, no pen or tongue, so far as he knows, has moved in reply, from that day to this. It is not possible for the reader to understand the subject, without reading those "Notes," or otherwise obtaining a knowledge of the facts which they contain.

The principal ones had been, as one might suppose, sufficiently proved long before, when, instead of the charges being disproved, they were simply *denied*, sometimes by Dr. Hill, sometimes by travelers, and sometimes by the Committee, but always in *general terms*. With regard to teaching the idolatrous catechism, transubstantiation, etc., it was said, "There had been a great mistake, there were a variety of Catechisms* in use," etc., etc. With regard to the religious instruction being conducted by Greek priests, responsible to the jealous and watchful Synod—"there had been a great misapprehension," etc. But when it was proved that there had been no mistake and no misapprehension, then it was said that all this was long ago, and had "long since ceased." So that to allude to it in 1860, was denounced as unfair. But the Note had not been published a month, when a new and elaborate Prospectus of the School at Athens was received, identifying it with the Mission and subscribed by Mrs. Hill, and dated May 22, 1865. The part touching religion, reads as follows:—"The religious recitations, especially in the Holy Catechism, will be conducted by a learned priest of the Eastern Orthodox Church, *as they have been heretofore.* Under his supervision, also, the religious duties of the boarding pupils will be performed."

In another part of said Prospectus, it is also stated that, "In the family all the religious duties of the Orthodox are strictly and rigidly enforced." All this (as from an early day) was to assure the Synod that there was no danger of anything Protestant getting in.

* The author is well acquainted with this "variety," not only Darbaris, which was the one used in the School, but Plato's, Dendrin's, and some half-dozen published by Korae. All are published by permission of the Synod, as none other could be, and they all teach the same doctrine. For examples of doctrine, see "Notes."

The attention of the Committee was, as the writer is informed, called to this prospectus, as containing strong and indisputable proof of statements formerly made by the author and denied by the Committee. In view of evidence so voluminous, direct, and circumstantial, how is it possible for the Foreign Committee to come before the Church, as in their last Report, with the following statements? :—

“The Greek Mission, in all that pertains to its high endeavor to minister to the spiritual improvement of those among whom it has been for a period of thirty-six years conducted, occupies the same place of affectionate interest which it has ever sustained in the regard of the Committee.

“If the entrance of God’s Word giveth light, then must the Church be thankful that, by the helping hand of this mission, she has greatly aided in the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures throughout Greece; then must the Church be thankful that the offices of this mission have not embraced merely the distribution of the Scriptures, but also the patient, *daily*, thorough instruction of Greek young women in the pure and holy teachings of that blessed Word.

“Without disguise or reservation, your missionaries have instructed daily those committed to their care in the pure principles of the Gospel of Christ—and this through a period of time which has carried forward those instructions from childhood to mature years, and made them to embrace also several thousands of all classes and conditions. To doubt the efficiency of a work so conducted, would be to disparage the Holy Scriptures, which have occupied so prominent a position in the daily teachings of the missionaries as to make the Bible the one book of instruction.”

It is too late in the day for assertions like these, while the facts which render it impossible that they should be true remain unnoticed. They cannot be disposed of by assertion, or mere authority, or information received from travelers unless said travelers say how they came by their information, and what means they took to know what the truth was on the principal question involved. The charge distinctly made and (as those insist who bring it) *proved*, is that the funds expended upon these schools, so far as they are other than secular, is expended in teaching doctrines which are the same as those of the Church of Rome, and that no doctrine inconsistent with the Greek dogmas is taught. If the facts submitted in proof of this charge are as stated, there is nothing in “*Ritualism*” with which we are in such earnest and righteous controversy, to compare with them. It is these alleged *facts* which must be met. If they can be met it is the special duty of the Foreign Committee to meet

them. They owe it to their own position, at least as towards those whom they are supposed to represent. Until they are disposed of, rhetoric is vain, and affecting speeches in the Board wholly out of place, as are appeals to the "Instructions of 1836," when all were in darkness as to essential facts.*

But what seems to have weighed most with those who did not deny that errors as dangerous as anything in Romanism were formally and fully taught in the schools, was the impression that there were "Bible lessons" and other teachings silently intermingled with these doctrines which would neutralize and in time overthrow them, and that somehow or other a great practical evangelical influence was being exerted. Never was there a greater mistake. No such counter-teaching could be honestly given, even if the disposition to give it existed. Reason, also, if allowed to act as in other cases, would lead us to suppose it exceedingly improbable. The Protestant religion is not tolerated, and the laws which guard the country from it are numerous, specific, and stringent, and their infraction is watched by a vigilant and suspicious priesthood. The following extracts are from Kladon's Ecclesiastical and Educational Laws of Greece, published by permission of the Minister of Religion, Athens, 1860, pp. 740. 8vo. Space allows but few of the

* The following is an extract from a letter received from Bishop HOPKINS, dated Nov. 11, 1863:—

"The position which I took at the Board of Missions about the Greek School, was as you state; but the great majority were pledged to sustain it, and my opposition amounted to nothing, save to deliver my own conscience. There is now a renewal of the old desire to enter into some sort of union with the Russian Church, which brings up the same question. There is no danger of its being done, however, because the Russian Church will adhere to *her* principles, if ours should prove ready to depart from *theirs*.

"They will find it, if I mistake not, the same thing in Tract No. 90, that Oxford may be willing to go toward Rome, but Rome will not come toward Oxford. The ignorance which prevails about the Greek Church, and the want of theological consistency on the part of the few who profess to be better informed, strikes my mind as being perfectly surprising."

Bishop BURGESS also said to the writer, in reference to opinions given in the Board by two members, who had then recently come from Athens:—"My view of the Mission remains just what it was before, and I throw the responsibility of its further support upon them."

With respect to these and many other visitors at Athens, whose reports were given in all honesty, and which probably have had most influence with the Committee, the writer has said to several of them, "Did you see anything which the missionary did not show you?" "No." "Did you hear anything which the missionary did not tell you?" "No." "How then do you know whether false doctrines were taught in the Schools or not?"

They prove only the truth of the remark of a great missionary to Burmah:—"These Schools are very pretty things to show to foreign travelers." The Uniformity of the reports of travelers, of the Committee, and of the Missionary, is not surprising; as they have a common origin."

passages marked for insertion. Art. 2: p. 13. "The highest ecclesiastical authority resides under the King in the Holy Synod."

Art. II: p. 15. "The Synod keeps a vigilant watch over the strict preservation of the sacred dogmas of the Eastern Church, and watches carefully the books which are intended for the use of the youth and children in colleges and schools, and most particularly over those which treat of religious subjects; and as often as the Synod is satisfied that any one, who ever he may be, undertakes to disturb the Church of the Kingdom by strange teaching, or attempts proselytism, it calls upon the civil authority," etc.

P. 112. "The Holy Synod watches over the careful observance of the sacred dogmas, and when informed that any one undertakes to disturb the Church with strange teachings, either by word or writing, in order to proselyte, or for any other purpose, the Synod has the right to demand the removal of the evil through the agency of the civil authority," etc.

"In relation to the books, pamphlets, and every kind of publication treating of religious subjects" * * published in or out of the kingdom, "it is the duty of the Synod, if informed that they contain anything opposed to the sacred dogmas, the holy mysteries, the ecclesiastical canons, the teachings of the Catechism, the traditions, the festivals or the usages of the Orthodox Church, to demand the co-operation of the government, and interdict the use of such books in the schools and to bring an action against the author, the editor, the publisher, the bookseller, the importer and colporteur, who may have been engaged in disseminating such writings, and subject them to the rigors of the civil law."

P. 121. "The Holy Catechism is to be taught (in the schools) in extenso, "εὐπλάτος"—three hours each week."

P. 544. "Private schools, boarding schools, and teachers in families are subject to the authority and supervision of the government and its agents," etc. And finally it is declared (p. 276) that "The schools established by missionaries are under the immediate surveillance of the government. The Catechism is taught in them by priests of the Greek Church," etc.

Such are the laws, conceived and enacted with the precise intention to prevent such a religious impression as this Mission and its advocates tell us is being made. These laws the missionary is pledged to obey in the spirit as well as the letter. In this pledge the Committee and Board are implicated. If then the Bible instruction reported by the Foreign Committee as being carried on be not in accordance with the "Dogmas;" or if any influence is being exerted to undermine the Greek idolatry and superstition, it must

be by a disingenuous and dishonorable concealment—such as would unfit its agents for doing the Lord's work; so that the profession, taken in connection with the facts, involves an inherent contradiction. Such a work may stand in *foro conscientiæ* (for conscience is the creature of opinion); it certainly will not in *foro cœli*.

There remains then only to be considered the *literary* advantages of the "Mission." These, so long as the boarding school continued, were not over-rated. The present writer, compelled as he was in conscience to apprise those who, from providential circumstances looked to him for information, of the truth respecting the religious teaching, was glad enough to make out all he honestly could in favor of the schools on other grounds. His testimony was ample and it was cordial; and ever since, he has sought information from the most intelligent and impartial sources accessible; among others, from the Greek Minister at Washington, through Judge Huntington, of Connecticut, a member of the Board, who writes in reply to my inquiries (Oct. 20, 1868) as follows: "In reply to your inquiry, whether I have any information which may throw light upon the question of addition to our missionary force in Greece, allow me to say that during the last winter I met in Washington, Mr. A. R. Rangabé, the Greek minister to our Government. Mr. Rangabé was formerly Professor in the University of Athens, and subsequently minister of Foreign affairs under King Otho. He is one of the most distinguished scholars and statesmen of Greece. In conversation with him I inquired about Dr. Hill's school. He said in former days it was a great benefit to Greece. It was established when Greece had no schools, but she had now numerous and good schools, quite as good as Dr. Hill's, which superseded the necessity for his. He spoke of Dr. Hill's boarding school as *the* school by which he was most known in Athens. He did mention what Dr. Hill calls his 'Mission' School, but seemed to think it of little importance. I asked him what influence Dr. Hill's Mission had had on the Greek Church in any way. His reply was very emphatic—'not the slightest.' He spoke of Dr. Hill very kindly, and admitted that formerly his school was of much advantage, but at present their own schools were as good if not better than his." The remainder of the letter is about a work published by Mr. Rangabé, from which it appears that Greece surpasses any country in Europe and most parts of our own in its attention to education.

The "Mission School,"—so-called—the only work, it appears, now in hand, is for the small children of the poor, and when seen by the present writer consisted of several hundred crowded into two rooms.

In a town of the size of Athens they might consist of any number, from one hundred to one thousand. They were drilled in mass much after the manner of our Infant Schools, exclusively by Greeks, with visits more or less frequent from Mrs. Hill. The teachers of this school are presumed to be paid from the appropriation to Athens, but at what rates we are not informed, for up to the date of our last inquiry, no statement had ever come from Athens as to the particular uses to which the appropriation was put. This "Mission School" (as distinguished from the "Boarding School," of which so much was said, and which is now at an end), as conducted when we saw it, was useful enough as a primary secular school, but *of no missionary value*; and such, it appears, is Mr. Rangabé's estimate of it at present.

A debt of \$10,000 has, it appears, accumulated at Athens. Perhaps it may prove much greater, but the claim put in for that amount by Dr. Hill seems to be an equitable one, and in view of the rules under which the Mission seems to have been conducted, he has a good right to expect its payment.

But how Evangelical men can be expected to co-operate in sustaining such a work, does not appear. That it should have called forth such admiration from persons in the Board of certain views, and have been the only part of the Foreign work in which the majority evinced any interest, can be understood. But how the *Foreign Committee* keeps on, with such facts unnoticed, while the Secretary punctually pens his annual eulogistic endorsement of the Mission, is a puzzle and stumbling-block to their brethren.* The condition of Greece, meanwhile, is most deplorable, so far as foreign influence is brought to bear upon her religion. It is either in the line of her own idolatry and superstition and working in subjection thereto, or it is infidel. Of the large number of young men (quite as large a proportion as in in this country) who receive a thorough University Education, hardly one, it is said, thinks of the Priesthood. It seems to be looked upon as a beggarly profession, adapted to the ignorance of the lower classes to which it ministers and in which it shares. Most of the new education is infected with the German infidelity, which flows in with the German literature and science. Some of the higher ecclesiastics are said to have fallen under the same influence. This was cautiously alluded to by Dr. Hill in his report as read before the

* There are said to be not a few who tolerate this Mission in the belief that it will soon come to an end. But the Board is resolved upon a different course, having repeatedly voted to strengthen it and having so instructed the Committee; nor is it easy to see how this Committee can in consistency with their former endorsements refuse to go on in the same line.

Board, but it was left out with other matter as we were sure it would be from the published report.*

So far as can now be seen, the most likely means of deliverance for the Gospel in Greece, is a powerful evangelic influence from abroad: such an influence as the English Church Missionary Society, is now in a situation to exert. But the Church Missionary Society abandoned that field long since, under the avowed conviction that, with the existing laws, its work could not be conducted there with a good conscience.

The prospect of any modification of these laws, is not flattering, since from traditional and immemorial prejudices such as it is next to impossible for an American mind to appreciate, the preservation of the old religion—"The Dogmas"—intact, is considered inseparable from their national independence and political liberty, which is the chief interest which the higher class takes in the subject.

It seems astonishing that any portion of our Evangelical brethren in America (for it is only a portion, and as we believe, a small minority) should differ so widely upon this question with those in the Church of England. Not even a series of cunningly-devised panegyrics, unsupported by facts, (such as the last and all preceding reports from Greece,) could have produced what all have seen, without the powerful anti-Evangelical sympathy, which the Ecclesiastical principle has brought to the support of the "Greek Mission," the history of which is not yet finished.

II. Our second and principal inquiry is concerning the *means of relief*. All attempts to mend the old system have failed. Through a quarter of a century of tinkering and discontent, things have grown worse and worse, and were never in so bad a condition as now. The "hurt" of this "daughter" of the Church has been

* Where the conclusion is not foregone and desperate, something may be learned from the following account, given from the observation of the Unitarian minister, Dr. Bellows, which is not only more in accordance with the facts, but with Evangelical truth, than what we are accustomed to hear:—

"The Hellenic Church is now governed by a Sacred Synod, of which the Metropolitan of Athens is President. It is independent, since 1833, of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It has eleven Archbishops and twenty-four Episcopal sees. The State supports the bishops, but the rest of the clergy are dependent on the voluntary gifts of the people, and on the sale of prayers and the fees for ceremonies. They dress shabbily and live meanly, and appear to be worthy of little more than they receive. To read and write is a sufficient literary qualification for the priesthood. The people have practically some choice in their priest, who is generally granted to their petitions. It might be hoped that the public education of the people, and especially the influence of the Gymnasia and University, would supply annually a considerable body of instructed young men for the Church, who would not fail to raise its character. But alas! the influence of learning upon those who have been brought up in these dark superstitions is not thus far to make enlightened Christians, but rank infidels. It is the rarest thing for any graduate of the Athens University to go into the Greek Church. It seems to be beyond hope of any reform in Greece, and to be fast becoming merely the church of the ignorant and weak."

healed "*slightly*"—nay it has not been healed at all. At the late meeting of the Board it was even acknowledged, but in part, and hence amid all the jubilations over the domestic field, the counsels for the Foreign ended in gloom. The worst feature in the whole case is, that this protracted loss of confidence in the conduct of the work, has produced a wide-spread feeling of discouragement as to the work itself. Let the reader ask himself whether his hopes of much success, even in Africa or China, have ever been less sanguine than now. To have affected the whole body Spiritual in this wise is no trifling or temporary evil. It will take all the wisdom in counsel which can be commanded, to reassure the clergy, and many sermons and exhortations on their part to bring up the laity to the ground on which they stood twenty years ago. The very first step in the process on the part of the Evangelical body is to cut loose from the old machinery altogether, and be rid of its disheartening antecedents, from its very inception to this day. It has not only hindered the cause which it was intended to promote, but its tendency has been to demoralize themselves—the present feebleness of this whole department of the missionary work, not being its only consequence, perhaps not its worst.

Let a new organization be formed, or the American Church Missionary Society become American and Foreign. Let the Russo-Greek Committee, and their friends, or the Board take the enterprise at Athens into their own hands; pay its debts, and use it as they see fit, and they will never hear anything further from its opponents. Let it be put to the choice of the missionaries in Africa and China—under which institution they will continue. It will then be open to both to undertake new enterprises in accordance with their own views, and both will be free from the distrust, and crimination, and controversy, which have been the deadly upas of the scheme of 1835, under the shadow of which the missionary spirit withers and dies. Both parties will be benefited by a return to the voluntary principle, and so of course our common Church. The benefits derivable and morally certain from such return, are these two—*peace* and *prosperity*.

I. *PEACE*, at least comparative peace. It is certain we have it not now. But I hear one, or a hundred protest "this is wrong—wrong—all wrong, and it ought not to be yielded to." But if the complainant be of the majority, I ask him, "will you for the sake of this peace surrender any of your plans for propagating your own views exclusively, so far as in your power, through both committees," and he will answer, "No, I cannot in conscience consent to it, and *you* would not under like circumstances," to which there could be no reply, and consequently, no peace, but upon an unconditional surrender to the High Church policy. That this is not to be expected is sufficiently evident already, and will become more so. It is unreasonable to ex-

pect that *either* party could in conscience consent to be excluded from either field. But if both are open to both, all the resources of the Church will be called out, and many causes of irritation will cease, and "discord, child of hell," be driven from one at least of his chosen haunts.

It was just so when the pretended exclusive claim to associated church-publishing was set aside, and the Evangelical Knowledge Society was formed. Nothing could have so effectually terminated controversy in that department. There was an end of pamphlets. The Church Book Society was in peace, while the other accomplished and is still accomplishing a great work. It was just so when the American Church Missionary Society was formed. If quarrelling over the domestic department has not yet entirely ceased, it has so nearly ceased that it attracts no further notice, while the work almost at once doubled its efficiency. Who doubts—what candid man can doubt—that the organization of this Society was one of the wisest measures ever taken for the prosperity of the Episcopal Church?

The adoption of the voluntary principle for the conduct of these two voluntary works has not only put an end to strife in the conduct of the particular works themselves, but to this extent in the whole Church, whose unity is so threatened as to demand all the wisdom which it contains for its preservation. If these two channels were necessary for the separation of influences so repellant as to threaten an explosion by contact, much more are they and all such openings necessary since the rise of ritualism.

The voluntary principle (never before 1835 departed from in the conduct of missions in the whole history of the Episcopal Church) is the safety-valve of the Church under the strain to which her whole structure is now subjected. Had we the authority of a prophet and the tenderness of the disciple whom Jesus loved, we would use them all in entreating our brethren of the High-Church party who feel a like anxiety for the preservation of the unity of the Church (which we know most of them do most earnestly) not to throw any obstacle in the way of this voluntary principle in any sphere in which it has heretofore been allowed. If they judge of their relative strength in the whole Church by that which they have in the General Convention, and so despise the danger, they will be greatly deceived. May such wisdom be given to conservative men on both sides as shall through the presence with us and blessing of the Great Head of the Church keep us together until these calamities be overpast.

II. *Prosperity.* That we have no prosperity now in the Foreign department, is sufficiently confessed on all sides. Fourteen hundred churches in the *Northwest* we are told in the appeal, contributed *nothing* to Foreign missions last year. A list of the delinquents,

LETTER.

HANOVER, N. H., *May*, 1869.

TO THE ALUMNI OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE :—

THE Commencement of 1869, at Dartmouth, will be famous for the gathering of Alumni to celebrate its hundredth anniversary. It will be marked by a great concourse, cordial greetings, pleasant memories, and hopeful anticipations. It will signify respect for the venerable and fruitful mother, joy at her prosperity, and zeal for her enlargement. Her thronging children will gratefully listen to her history, recite her praises, and receive her blessing. They will crowd her avenues with mutual gratulations ; her halls will ring with their festivities ; and the place of prayer will witness to their fervent supplications for her increased usefulness and honor.

It will give life and tone to this contemplated festival of the Alumni, that their *Alma Mater* deserves the tribute. Her enterprise has not failed. She has realized largely the design so significantly engraven upon her seal — "*Vox clamantis in deserto.*" Her voice has served to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make straight in the desert a highway for our God. She has performed her special errand of teaching Christ to the children of the forest, as they were passing away before a more favored people to whom, in

their turn, she has dispensed "The wisdom that is from above." Her children will honor her for the great service she has rendered to mankind, and for her greater expected services to other generations.

It may not be thought presumptuous, that one who, though not of their number, has sustained relations to the College of not less importance, should seek to contribute such as he has to the objects of the anniversary. It has been his privilege to serve the College, according to his measure, for forty-two successive years, as a Trustee, and for thirty-five years, as President. Of the whole number of the Alumni — four thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, in all the departments, as by the last Triennial, two thousand six hundred and seventy-five, or more than half, and also more than half of the academical Alumni, were graduated during his term of office. Of the hundreds likely to be present at the Commencement few comparatively of more than forty years' standing can be expected. The great majority will be composed of those who received their diplomas at his hands. To all he tenders, with great respect, the compliments of the occasion. But to those who have been for years his pupils his sense of relationship is peculiar. It is as if paternal, and implies a right, not indeed of authority, but of free and familiar discourse to the end of life. To them, not exclusively, but especially, he writes, that principles and subjects which he deemed fundamental in his particular departments of instruction, may be summarily recalled for their deeper study, and perhaps safer guidance, in their present higher relations to society. If in these things there was any virtue, or any praise, they will now better think of them. Or, contrarily, they will

have better opportunity to define and refuse the errors to which, however unconsciously on his part, they have been exposed. That which he deems most worthy of their consideration he can best embody in such remarks as his proposed limits will admit, after some preliminary observations, on *The peculiar responsibility which Christianity now imposes upon educated men*. For Christ the College was founded, and has been administered. To Christ all its influence in all time belongs. Throughout these pages that consideration will be supreme.

When secret societies were likely to become the fashion, as they have since become extensively the passion, of American Colleges, their common parent — the society of PHI BETA KAPPA — took itself out of its bad predicament. It renounced its cabalism, and interpreted its symbols. Many considerate persons had become distrustful of the fallacy which those symbols represent — that philosophy is the guide of life — and were fearful of its effect. Others, less thoughtful, or less scrupulous, were yet willing to open the question for discussion. The society still retains its name, not, however, as a sign, but for its dignified associations. The idea which its symbols suggest, few would now choose to maintain seriously as a proposition. It is remembered, and will never, it is hoped, be forgotten at Dartmouth, that Christ denies all mastership and rabbinical authority but his own. It is remembered that Paul, when he criticised the philosophy of old Greece — the highest and proudest of any period of earth — which our modern wisdom can only imitate afar off, and with greater confusions, emphatically denounced it as “Foolishness with God.”

The questions between philosophy and faith are of long standing, and will be of indefinite continuance. They pertain not to all studies that pass under the general name of philosophy, for that belongs to many subjects of inquiry with which Christianity has no controversy, nor any concern but to make them more subservient to the ends of life; but to the supernatural order of revealed truths in their relations to individuals or society;—as the personality of God, his moral and providential government by Jesus Christ, and his end in the creation, redemption, and final judgment of the world. They cover the ground of Scriptural theology and ethics, subjects which concern the life of the world and are essential to it. They represent the views of God and man, respectively, in regard to the relations subsisting between them, the duties growing out of these relations, and the consequences of human conduct during a probationary state. In respect to these vital matters the difference between reason and revelation is as the difference between the finite and the infinite, a creature and his creator, a guilty subject and his rightful sovereign. Christianity recognizes the difference, and insists upon it. Philosophy virtually annuls it. It has fallen under the original temptation to be as God, and to decide all questions on its own account. “Philosophy,” says one of its most distinguished leaders, “represents the sacred right and invincible craving of human reason to give account to itself of all things.” That vicious assumption is characteristic of its whole history as a rival or antagonist of Christianity. It is especially confident and aggressive at the present time.

Christianity is at a disadvantage in the controversy,

because it is on the unpopular side, and the questions at issue can have an absolute and final decision only at the end of the world. For philosophy reasons: Christianity declares. The one rests upon argument: the other upon assertion on a professed divine authority. Philosophy tests the declaration and assertion by its own standards, and appeals to the judgment of society. Christianity simply repeats itself, and refers to the asserted future judgment of God: — “Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked.” “For he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men in that he hath raised him from the dead.” Philosophy has sometimes accepted the assurance, and then, of course, has resigned its peculiar character and become faith, as when Paul preached Jesus and the resurrection in the Areopagus, and some believed. But when, as also on that occasion, it remains, for the most part, true to its own pretended calling, and rejects or qualifies the assurance, so that this and all other evidences and doctrines of Christianity are denied on *a priori* or speculative grounds, or become shadowy and ineffectual, through the sophistries and obscurities of the perverted reason, then no appeal can be made but to the predicted revelation of the Son of Man from heaven. For that we are taught to wait, and, of course, with a confidence proportioned to our conviction of the authenticity of Christianity on its ordinary external and internal evidences which are criticised by philosophy.

But this disadvantage of Christianity is rather seeming than real. In the lights of history, experience,

and analogy, it is of no account; for God vindicates his own word practically as He carries on his government in successive periods; and, though partially at present, yet enough for an unsophisticated and generous inquirer. Thus, — to say nothing of minor proofs, — the questions at issue are solved satisfactorily in respect to the antediluvian world, the old pagan nations, and the Jewish Commonwealth, through a period of four thousand years. These all had their respective probationary periods in which they had opportunity to prove the supposed sufficiency of reason, as compared with natural or revealed religion, in the conduct of life. Their complete failure has been demonstrated by events. They preferred their own lights to the lights which God gave them instinctively, or by oral or written revelations. The consequences were fatal. God vindicated his wisdom against their supposed and pretended wisdom by their destruction. Their ruins are an everlasting memorial of their folly.

A partial and equally satisfactory solution of the questions may also be had from the inadvertent admissions of the ancient philosophers themselves down to the time of Christ. They began rightly and at the same point with believers of all periods: for to live as creatures presupposes a beginning of life; and the guidance of life presupposes a starting-point. That beginning and that starting-point is God, who is recognized by the universal instinct of mankind. God thereby asserts his hold upon all men, whatever be the direction of the reason afterwards. For a living being to be without that instinct is to be not human, but a brute, without moral susceptibility, and, of course, incapable of receiving a

revelation. The most erratic of the philosophers down to the present day when infidel speculation outruns antiquity, do not reach the point of their skeptical, atheistic, or pantheistic theories, without departing willingly from their original impressions. Indeed, one who would either disprove or prove the Godhead *a priori*, could not set out upon his argument at all, but for the idea of God already existing as an instinct of the soul. Out of nothing nothing could proceed.

But the ancient philosophers, though instinctively recognizing God, reasoned themselves into perfect ignorance of his attributes and government. Their instinct was made of no effect by their philosophy. "Though they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." At the very seat of philosophy Paul found an altar inscribed to "THE UNKNOWN GOD" — a virtual confession at once of the being of God, and that all true knowledge of Him was lost. But for Paul's teaching in the Areopagus, the philosophers would have been as blind to true theology and ethics as the idols which they manufactured for the better subjugation of the people to superstitious and despotic rule. Despite his teaching, they loved their own darkness rather than his light, and consequently the learned and the ignorant perished together. God utterly confounded their vain speculations by his providential judgments. As to Greece and all the distinguished civilizations of that classic period, the great questions between philosophy and faith were settled by events. Their glory has been turned into shame.

This is enough to create a strong presumption against philosophy in all subsequent periods, inasmuch as, from the nature of the case, it can only change its types and costumes agreeably to the diversified races of mankind and stages of civilization, but not its essence. It is still man's view of God and his government in distinction from revelation, however that view may be modified by accidental causes in different periods. Nature can only reproduce itself, varying only with the latitudes. Whatever be the adjective, the substantive, *semper et ubique*, is the same. Accordingly the careful student will observe a marked resemblance between the philosophies of the earlier and later periods; and, as history, in this respect, only repeats itself, we may reasonably look for similar results to the end of time.

As far as philosophy has been modified since the time of Christ, it will be seen to have been mainly on the line of Christianity itself; that is, by insinuating itself into the Christian institutions, so as to impart to them more or less of its own distinctive character, and neutralize their legitimate effect. It has affected to serve Christianity that it might better corrupt and supersede it. It has worked its way covertly into the citadel to betray it. The many antichrists who appeared even in the apostolical churches, and infected the Christians with their false ideas, and turned away many from the faith, we know historically to have proceeded from the schools of philosophy which figured in that primitive period. They made Christianity, within two or three centuries, infamous for its corruptions; and laid the foundation for the scholastic theology and ethics, and the adulterous union of Church and State, which existed so disastrously during

the Middle Ages. Except in the retreats of the comparatively few confessors and martyrs, Christianity became a mere political engine, secularized and dishonored for a thousand years. The result is history. God presently vindicated his authority by events that startled the anti-christian nations, reopened his Word for the guidance of society, and introduced another and a higher era of probation.

The excitement which the Reformation gave to the human faculties was general. It liberated, to a great extent, the long fettered intellect and conscience of society. Its specific effect was to destroy reverence for authority — an effect healthful in its application to the usurped authority of Rome, but ruinous as applied to the legitimate authority of Christ and the subsidiary ordinances of God for the regulation of human affairs. The philosophers, with characteristic subtlety, through mere infatuation, or for political effect, confounded these distinct ideas, and the Reformation was leavened. A new light reflected from reformed Christianity through speculative and delusive media, had dawned upon them; and the disgrace into which sensualism had fallen provoked them to new methods of deceit. Accordingly they proclaimed the airy and fascinating doctrine of universal liberty as well from the restraints of Christianity as of Rome, which had claimed, and had been popularly admitted, to be an authoritative representative of Christianity to the world. This, of course, was a virtual renunciation of the sovereignty of God, and dissolved the bonds of moral government. The next step was the casting off of all the subordinate restraints of social life. The ability and not the weakness of man; his dignity and not his sinfulness and shame; his imaginary

rights, and not his duties; and a reorganization of society upon the basis of universal freedom, equality, and fraternity, as if organization were possible, or even supposable in such a case, were the new gospel for the deliverance and advancement of the nations. Of these imaginary rights — since all superior authority was virtually renounced by the new philosophy — every man became consequently his own judge — a god to himself. All men being naturally equal, and all rights natural, equal, and inalienable, no particular man or society could so appropriate the gifts of nature, or the proceeds of industry or skill, as to place themselves upon a higher level, or gain for themselves a higher influence or prerogative than their neighbors; and any such assumption would deserve to be met by abuse or violence even unto death. That was the practical logic of the new philosophy. Its aim was to establish, directly or covertly, not the right which is unquestionable, of being protected in the enjoyment of such privileges as could be naturally and constitutionally acquired, for that was a bed too short for our philosophers to stretch themselves upon it, but to share equally with other men who had made a better use of equal or superior gifts, or were legitimately placed in more dignified positions; — the right not only to raise one's self by virtue, but to degrade others by force; to have a heaven upon earth by drawing down the sky; the right not only to make the plain a mountain, but the mountain a plain, and, in the next reduction, to make the plain a swamp, a foul morass, where noxious animals might enjoy the equal privilege, if that could be supposed, of reveling in their own slime. The effect, of course, would be not only the upturning of all ex-

isting fabrics of the Church and State which then possibly deserved such a judgment at the hand of God, but to make the insane, and consequently unauthorized, executioners of his vengeance mad; to turn every man against every other man, and introduce an extreme of anarchy and crime more fatal to society than the very tyrannies which had been so unchristianly subverted. That was the doctrine, expressed or implied, of the new philosophy, and it seemed to the demented people as a light from heaven — a panacea for the ills of abused and suffering humanity; for it gave them liberty to seek their happiness agreeably to their own false and depraved ideas. It was hailed as inspiration. Its propagators were canonized as the saints of a more glorious era, publishing, after an improved fashion of redeeming mercy, “Liberty to the captives, and the opening of prison-doors to them that were bound.” An approaching *apotheosis* of humanity was proclaimed. The right of private judgment was set above all constitutions and laws human or divine. The temples of reason took the place of the temples of the Lord; and the madness spread till it found its judgment in the horrors of the French Revolution — an event hardly equalled as a warning to the affrighted nations, since the destruction of Jerusalem.

Philosophy itself stood aghast at the consequences of its own folly. But never distrustful of its resources, it soon recovered its self-possession, and made its greatest and perhaps last attempt to recover its lost advantage. With sovereign coolness it turned about, and paid assiduous compliments to the very Christianity which it had sought to crush. It professed the supremacy of God, the dignity of Christ,

the sublimity and beauty of the Scriptures, and their adaptedness to the suffering condition of society. It proposed to become "a handmaid" to Christianity as a rational and liberal institution which could not fail, with the superinduced advantage of improved versions, philosophical exposition, and scholastic patronage, of universal prevalence and indefinite accomplishment. From a handmaid it became a coördinate. "I believe," says its refined Corypheus, "that in Christianity all truths are contained. But these eternal truths may and ought to be approached, disengaged, and illustrated by philosophy;" not the Holy Spirit whose office it is to take of the things of Christ and show them to the renewed mind, but the universal Reason incarnate in the minister of public instruction in France. "Truth," he says, "has but one foundation; but truth assumes two forms — mystery and scientific exposition. I revere the one; I am the organ and interpreter of the other." The distinguished writer represents his class, and his class now claim, in the language of an approving historian, "to represent *the Catholic thinking of mankind* — the *sensus communis* of humanity — not a fixed method, but one which can adapt itself to all the phases which knowledge may yet assume — its movement that of the spiral, which, though making its perpetual revolutions, is ever tending upwards toward a higher perfection, and pointing to heaven itself as its final aim."

This specious fallacy obtains, and is likely to be prevalent throughout the Christianized nations. It has already gone down from the schools among all classes of the people. Its portentous period is fully upon us. We are in the midst of it. Its soporific

influence surrounds us like an atmosphere, and makes us oblivious to the urgent warnings of the Scripture which would more truly advise us as to the "*sensus communis*" of humanity: "Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned." We become insensible to these inspired admonitions. We qualify them as intense, and not intended to convey a literal truth. Or we refuse them altogether, as if they belonged only to a ruder age, when the Scriptures were indited, and not to humanity in general, or not to the present period of a more enlightened and liberal dispensation. We accept these apologies of philosophy for its disguised or open unbelief. We strike hands with the now more seductive adversary of six thousand years; and the affiliated parties unite in terms of compromise and fellowship for a return to Paradise. Ambitious Philosophy courts Christianity to increase its volume and extend its patronage; and enfeebled Christianity accepts Philosophy to make its otherwise uncongenial doctrines acceptable to liberated humanity. They go on together, in illustrious partnership, to introduce their, presumed era of universal Christian civilization, and celebrate their united conquests in a blest millennium, with reference to a common end — the happiness of man. For, though a bewildered and emasculated theology still professes as its end the glory of God, it is the glory of God in the production of human happiness — which the wily philosopher cares not to question. He is content with the neces-

sary inference that without the production of happiness God is not glorified, and with the inevitable conclusion that veracity and justice belong not to the philosophical conception of moral government. The logical and practical result is simply a more specious illuminism — a return by another road and with a more respectable showing, to the doctrine of the revolutionists. It subjects the whole scheme of the divine government to the interests of its rebellious subjects. It puts the Man-god and not the God-man upon the throne. The fallacy is not less but more injurious because of its greater subtlety and its baptism with a Christian name. So our Samson sleeps in Delilah's lap, and the growing eclipse of faith indicates a hastening fulfillment of that idiomatic negative interrogatory of our Lord so pregnant of warning to the world — "When the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith upon the earth?"

That philosophy is the guide of life might be admitted with proper limitations. But it would be practically to no purpose to define them, for society is taught, without examination or scruple, to overstep them. It makes even a merit of the transgression, as if the largest stride beyond the boundary of human knowledge argued the noblest ambition, and highest intellectual accomplishment. But that such an idea is true or defensible in its literal statement, or as it was imported from the illuminated countries of Europe, or as it is now extensively professed in the learned world, or as it is descending from its airy heights to inflate the popular mind and revolutionize society, is dishonorable to Christianity. For the wisdom of nature and the wisdom of Scripture, though etymologically they may have the same point of de-

parture, are morally and in effect infinitely divergent. The one is represented to us as "Earthly, sensual, devilish;" the other as "First pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." Philosophy, in its now scholastic acceptation, has passed out of the domain of science into that of *omniscience*: from the known to the unknown; and from the unknown to the unknowable. It is impatient of probabilities and moral certainties, for its intuitions belong to a higher sphere — the sphere of the universal reason — the present manifestation of divine intelligence in the philosophers. It rises to the criticism of all things in heaven, or earth, or under the earth; their first, medial, and final causes; their origin, subsistence, and end; and their times beyond the records of history, or the limitations of prophecy. Its voice is held to be the voice of God in the high places of transcendence, and is ideal; or the low places of materialism, and is positive; or, between them, in the magnetic regions of the sensuous imagination, and is spiritual; but equally in all it is authoritative. The God of philosophy — "The Prince of the power of the air" — adapts himself to the varying humors and conditions of society, but never resigns his usurped prerogative. True science modestly confines itself to its own constitutional limits, and rigidly defines them. It concerns itself only with facts and events; their phenomena and relations; their qualities and conditions; their modes, tenses, and laws; the line of causes and effects which pass in review under the natural or moral providence of God. It uses probability for what it is worth, and rests on moral certainty; but shuns hypothesis and speculation, except

for innocent experiment, and utterly rejects them when incapable of demonstration. The supernatural it leaves reverently to its proper miraculous, historical, and experimental evidence. It is humble and devout. But philosophy "rushes in where angels fear to tread." It disdains the gentle, or the stern remonstrances of science, though to gain an end it boldly appropriates the name of science, and, when figures and diagrams can be made subservient, it hesitates not to claim for any of its wanton theories the sanction of the mathematics. It arrogates supremacy as a universal critic. It reduces all knowledges to its own methods. It embodies them in its own formularies. It projects its dogmas with unfaltering assurance, and enforces them by whatever penalties it has ability or opportunity to inflict. To refuse them is to be ignorant or perverse, and hostile to the spirit and genius of an advancing age. It goes on, unconscious of its own fallacies and delusions, to its predicted seat as God in the temple of God, and waits only for that affected impersonation of the Godhead which the Christians are taught to expect in the final antichrist of prophecy. Who, or what that remarkable individual will be, as far as that is a matter of legitimate inquiry, may, perhaps, be learned best from the history of philosophy itself; not indeed as to his person, origin, or home, but his character and office as the representative of aspiring and progressive but lost humanity, indifferently pagan, Jew, or Christian, and performing his rôle accordingly in the great drama of prophetic history — an idealist, a spiritualist, a positivist, a Romanist, or whatever may serve the turn; or all these combined in a political and priestly tyrant, first to deceive the nations by sophistry, then to enslave

them by fraud or violence, lastly, to fight for universal supremacy; and then to be cast down to hell, — “Whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of his mouth, and destroy by the brightness of his coming.”

It becomes educated Protestants especially to take their stand now against this fashionable idolatry of the reason, as they have been used to stand against the Romish idolatry of sense. Romanism, or any similarly organized civil and ecclesiastical power, is less to be feared than any of those spiritual infatuations which, for the time, threaten to supplant it. It has less refinement, but more sobriety. It admits some primary truths. It stands upon some axioms. It reasons from some postulates. It is not merely shadowy, fantastic, and illusory. Yet, from the dread of Romanism alone, Protestants should resist this more subtle enemy of the faith. For Romanism has not lost its spirit, and will not be balked of its design and purpose. Already it perceives the necessity of a closer alliance of Catholic faith with Protestant learning, and modifies itself accordingly for a greater popular effect. Having long assumed the place of God, it is but another step to the denial of Him. It will naturally affiliate with some accommodated variety of positive and atheistic philosophy, and become then politically formidable in proportion to its deeper prostitution. Hume, Comte, and the Papacy, belong essentially to the same category. They agree with each other better than either with Christ, and their combined forces may yet engage in the deadliest strife of earth against Him. Romanism, though its present rationalistic competitor be more insinuating and seductive, yet retains and treasures up the brute force

which, as things are in the present world, is sure to prevail at length over flights of fancy. A frenzied imagination necessarily ends in a strait jacket. Romanism may be stripped, for a season, of its temporalities, and a paralysis may seem to have seized upon its strong arm. But its real strength will be recruited in the season of its apparent weakness. Reaction will ensue ; for that is the law of earth, not more certain in physics than in the social state. When enthusiasm and fanaticism shall have become more delirious and destructive, Romanism will rebuild the palaces and temples they have demolished. It will put its iron heel upon them. It will scourge them into submission for the very boon of life and property. It will seduce them according to its wont, to exchange the fancied but licentious liberty which gains nothing, in the long experience, but poverty, suffering, and death, for money, and place, and pleasure which have, at least, a semblance of substantial good. It will make them unconscious slaves to their own lusts, and then subservient to its own ambitious and selfish ends. It will engage their allied forces of trade and commerce, of politics and religion, to work together for its gorgeous ceremonial and its schemes of conquest, under the pretense of increased patriotism and devotion, till it shall ripen the nations for more conclusive judgments of the Almighty. Such is ever an ultimate consequence of being started from the foundations of moral government. The instrument of judicial vengeance will not be wanting in its time. But whether it be a Latin, or Greek, or any other idolatrous power that shall undertake to control our modern fever of the brain, and exalt itself at the yet greater expense and suffering of the convulsed and

angry nations, the watchmen should be upon their tower not entranced or sleeping through its magic spells, lest they be unwittingly captivated by the destroyer, and fall into his condemnation. The Scripture accordingly admonishes us as to this last of the corrupt governments and civilizations of prophetic history: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

Reason doubtless has its province in matters of faith. But about this it is not to my present purpose to inquire. It is enough here to refer to our standard classic — "*The Analogy*." Christianity presupposes rationality. It is addressed to the reason. It would be nothing to us without our reason. But its first and last requirement of us, on a death penalty, is that we implicitly submit our reason, in the use of all its powers, to the unconditioned reason, the infallible wisdom and absolute authority of God: "He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." "Without faith it is impossible to please him." The requirement is peremptory and final. It is grounded in the fact of man's fall from original righteousness, and the consequent impossibility, without a revelation, of his return, individually or socially, to God. But for this fact a Christ would have been unnecessary, and would never have come into the world. "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which is lost." But this fundamental fact of Scripture enters not into the reckoning of philosophy. Philosophy ignores, or denies, or qualifies and limits it, so that it makes no figure in its speculations, and hinders not the natural effect of unbelief upon disordered minds, or of ex-

cluding from Christianity whatever cannot be reduced to the reach and cognizance of a mere natural wisdom. But, without reference to this humiliating fact, reason, from whatever other causes revealed or supposable, is characteristically limited, obscure, irregular, infirm, oblique, perverse, and nowhere more evidently so than among those who are called to make the greatest use of it. The subjects that most concern us in our relations to God and his moral government, lie utterly beyond its reach. Nothing that it reaches can be fully comprehended. Within its proper sphere it betrays, through the idol loves that continually seduce us. A great master has well described them as they figured in his day. But taller idols of the speculative reason have largely captivated society and multiplied its confusions since the time of Bacon. We have well-nigh reached the highest supposable stage of philosophical inquiry. We have passed from the sensational, ideal, skeptical, mystical, eclectic, to the intuitional; and some, scared at the giddy heights where their compeers are lost among the clouds, fall back upon a crude materialism where experience, which they now substitute for faith, may convince them, but too late, of a personal God and his supernatural judgments. The rational, in distinction from the evangelical, has become the fashion of society, after some one or another of the Protean forms of spiritual idolatry. Every nation of Christendom has its Athens, and every Athens its Areopagus. Even the ministers of religion are thought best to magnify their office when they qualify doctrine with speculation, convert the literal to the mythological, and substitute excellency of speech and of wisdom for the knowledge of Jesus Christ and Him cru-

cified. A necessity as of bread is extensively laid upon them so to accommodate the simple Gospel to the demands of a secularized, ambitious, and fastidious generation. Consequently our learned and sacred institutions are in danger; and the danger is nowhere perceived more than by many of their sincere but burdened friends and benefactors who labor under a pressure which they have not fortitude to bear, or courage to resist, or strength to overcome. It constitutes their profound lament, and they prophesy accordingly with tears in secret; or, if more openly and sternly for public warning, yet with sad forebodings, as of Cassandra when Troy was overthrown, or the Lord's prophets when Jerusalem was made a heap, and of its desecrated temple not one stone was left upon another.

One could with less scruple accept this affected wisdom if its various types could be reduced to a common measure, or a common denominator. But all the spheres might as well be brought to one diameter, or all the races of men to the same figure or complexion. It is an ever variable quantity. Probably no master of speculation would meet, in any circle of cultivated or untaught men, an unqualified response. It would be questioned whether he were not unduly exalting a favorite study; a distinguished school; an aspiring sect; an overreaching political party; or whether he sought not to justify his own partisan or sectarian peculiarities, invidiously, to the disparagement of other men. Besides, the most eminent would lack the proper sanctions. All fail in their credentials. One coolly affirms, "I am God;" another, "I am the organ and representative of God;" a third, that "Reason is a critic even of the Holy

Ghost ;" a fourth, that " The voice of the people is the voice of God ;" a fifth, that " It belongs but to two or three in any age or country to be representatives of the Divine Wisdom to the generality ;" a sixth, that " God is everything, and everything is God ;" a seventh, that " The idea of God belongs only to the infancy of society, and is exploded in its maturer age." One dignifies Christ as the greatest of prophets with an internal evidence of doctrine sufficient to justify his claim as a commissioner from heaven, but not God incarnate. Another maintains the incarnation, but rejects doctrines to which it is essentially related, and without which it fails of its professed design. A third affirms the God-man, but only as God has taken to himself a true body without a reasonable soul ; the reasonable soul being represented only by another Emanuel with new and higher revelations from the Spirit-world. A fourth figures to himself a man-god, a sage, a philanthropist, a politician, a reformer, a deifier of humanity, reorganizing society for a golden age of universal liberty and happiness. There is no end to such idolatries. In our own New England, once puritan, and rejoicing in its one " standing order," now some scores of sects exist less distinguished by the few simple-hearted believers, who fall accidentally into their communion, than by their denominational and philosophical peculiarities — all different in name and form, but each one appropriating the mind of God, and the providence of God, and authority to speak, and approve or condemn in the name of God. But as yet no mystic dove descends upon these illuminated guides of life ; the waters divide not at their touch ; the dead arise not at their call ; the sun and moon stand

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not still while they wage their respective wars. "We want therefore a higher critic, not the pantheistic fiction of a universal reason, an inner light, a higher law, but the absolute, the Divine, and proved to be Divine by the proper works of God." We want authority, certainty, repose. We want the "signs of an Apostle" — miraculous attestations. Our philosophers refer us to the internal evidence of their respective theories, as if the same ever-living and true oracle could give out such uncertain and contradictory responses. But internal evidence is more, or less, or nothing, according to the humors of the day. Our Lord himself, though He uttered absolute truth, did not rely upon it, for He knew what was in man, and to what little purpose He should commend his perfect doctrine to the ill discernment, the prejudices, and false biases of society. Wherefore his appeal was not dialectical to the uncertain judgment, but demonstrative to the less bewildered senses: "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works." The philosophers of that day — the Scribes and Pharisees, the Chief Priests and Elders — rejected Him notwithstanding. But the simple-hearted received Him, for they justified his argument: "No man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him." "These miracles that thou doest," as distinguished from the jugglery of impostors, the deceptive play of electricity, or the unaccountable delusions — the false miracles of "the spirits," the demons, the devils, who then "ran riot" in society not less remarkably than at the present time. The miracles of Christ first convinced them of the divinity of his doctrine. The doctrine

then opened itself, through their awakened sensibilities, to the quickened intellect, and was made effectual, as far as God pleased, in the heart. The evidence was composite and irrefutable, as well signified in that remarkable passage between our Lord and the messengers of John. They asked him, in John's name, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" And they were answered: "Go ye, and tell John the things which ye do see and hear. The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached unto them. And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." That — the external, the internal, and the experimental — is a threefold cord which cannot be broken.

Christianity, then, and not philosophy, is the guide of life. For, whatsoever has miraculous authority is from God; and what proceeds from God must be an ultimate criterion, since there can be nothing before, or behind, or above God. Christianity, having this seal, is set for our rule and guidance in respect to all matters within its sphere. It puts every man in a state of probation in regard to the conduct and ends of life, and the responsibility of every man is proportioned to his means of knowledge. On these *principia* we must stand if we would stand at all. Otherwise we are afloat on a wild sea of conjecture and hypothesis without chart or compass. Thenceforth all reasoning is vain, and Epicureanism — the natural offspring of infidelity — is the only true wisdom of man: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

As to what constitutes the legitimate province of

Christianity the questions are more difficult, and require careful definitions. The extreme of narrowing its limits with the philosopher, and that of extending them with the believer, beyond their constitutional adjustments, may be equally injurious. Both parties are in danger of yielding to the temptation. But to the disinterested lover of truth the *via media* will not be hidden. "It is plain to him that understandeth, and right to them that find knowledge." The questions all begin at the personality of God, and his moral and providential government by Jesus Christ. They concern especially the relations of the natural and supernatural; the finite and the infinite; the creator and the creature; the created and the derived; law and grace; the disordered world and its *παλιγγενεσία*, and, of course, have great reach and comprehension. The line between these different subjects, constitutes the boundary of human knowledge. Beyond that limit, without the aid of revelation, all is shadowy, mere image, *εἶδωλον*, and the most aspiring intellect is the most likely to be confounded. Within it is the assigned domain of the human faculties, and Christianity allows them the largest scope and the freest range. It encourages the most liberal studies. It delights in the greatest accomplishments of learning when not gained at the expense of faith. We may go to the very limit of possible attainment and have its blessing if we stop at its bidding, and regulate ourselves meanwhile by its promised Spirit. But it signifies God's will in respect as well to the natural as to the supernatural, which are both related parts of his general system; and it is supreme in all the spheres. Directly it concerns not itself with subjects of the natural order. It

leaves them for the better trial and discipline of our natural powers. But, indirectly, its reach is universal, for it brings the two worlds together in their constituted relations, and interprets them respectively as far as its teachings concern the conduct of life, and are comprehensible in the present probationary state. With its guidance we may pass "the flaming bounds of space and time." Without it our wings melt and we are plunged; or we become eccentric — "Wandering stars, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever." Christianity is the central figure of a vast scheme of natural and moral providence of which every part is related to every other part, and can be adequately understood only as that eternally constituted relation is considered. Without that consideration our studies of the supernatural are merely imaginative, visionary, magnetic, illusory, and destructive. Our studies of nature are as really if not equally deceitful, except as we have a constant reference to the personal Cause in which nature itself subsists, the end for which it exists, and the means by which it consists, "For of Him, and to Him, and through Him are all things." Without it we pass from the lower to the higher to degrade the supernatural by our earth-born analogies. We figure to ourselves nothing there, as far as we can figure anything, but natural causes and general laws, or a principle, an order, which is a mere abstraction and is nothing. Or we return from our aerial heights to the lower sphere just to build castles in the air, to substitute our Utopias for paradise, and our dreams of human ability, progress, and perfectibility for the millennium of prophecy and promise. Dryden thought not of such a reference, or such an inference

when he sang of Old Timotheus and the Divine Cecilia : —

“ He raised a mortal to the skies,
She drew an angel down.”

But for all legitimate purposes of knowledge, both the mortal and the angel are spoiled by the unnatural transmigration. They lose their proper character, misuse and misapply their respective powers, and build Babels to their own shame and the multiplied confusions of the world. Hence ever is the jargon of the schools, and presently its disastrous effect upon the people. Then from the sometimes learned, but often unintelligible discourse of ambitious masters, “ the profane and vain babblings,” or “ foolish and unlearned questions ” of their idolatrous imitators, a general bewilderment ensues, “ The prince of the power of the air ” prevails, and society passes on, through successive stages of delirium, to its catastrophe. Christianity withdraws to the quiet abodes of the humble and devout, as our Lord to his loved retreat at Bethany, or flies from persecution to the dens and caverns of the mountains.

Christianity then is the “ *Ultima Ratio*.” There is no “ higher law ” than the revealed will of God. All else is chimera and vanity, however dignified by name, or powerful by patronage. It is so far a critic and discerner of all things that nothing in any department of intellectual research can be true, which is “ willingly ignorant ” of it, or refuses to be tested by it wherein its test directly, or indirectly, applies. It is an ordained regulator of our thoughts and judgments, if not as to the phenomena about us, or within us, their qualities, modes, or laws, yet as to their common dependence on the infinite mind, their common relations to moral government, and the common his-

toric or prophetic account of them in Scripture. To leave it out of our account in any hypothesis, theory, or system that concerns the guidance of life, theologically in reference to God, or ethically in reference to man, would be not only unwise, but practically false and fatal. We may suppose such a system otherwise perfect in its kind, if that were possible to man, giving us a true account of man as an active, intelligent, and moral being created in God's image, his relations well defined, a righteous law imposed upon him, his obligations clearly stated upon the ordinary speculative grounds of the philosophers, or even the Scriptural and only true ground — that of glorifying God.¹

¹ Upon any question about the ground of moral obligation, the end of living, one may well hesitate to doubt such men as Presidents Hopkins and McCosh. But, inasmuch as they doubt one another, after the fashion of other great and good men when they speculate, it may not be impertinent for a third person who is not a philosopher, but on simply Christian grounds, to doubt them both. Doubting is not uncourteous. A regulated skepticism is not necessarily unfavorable, and it may be sometimes indispensable, to the better development of truth.

Dr. McCosh doubts Dr. Hopkins because the latter seems to make Endaimonism or enjoyment to be the end of living. If this, as is supposed, be logically a part of his system, it has the merit, at least, of being in apparent accordance with the Catechism. It is in certain agreement with the Declaration of Independence, to which the learned author may have been too readily disposed to shape his reasoning. But it is not good philosophy, according to Dr. McCosh, who makes the end of living to be the right. Right being self-evident, is of course, more ultimate and of higher authority than either the Catechism or the Declaration. "We regard God," he says, "as having a claim upon our love, not because we are necessitated to love Him, but because it is right, and men see it to be so at once." It is self-evident, an ultimate and universal truth.

Both these excellent men would doubtless subscribe to the Christian precept: "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God." God has that claim upon us. It is our duty to glorify Him. But the question arises, What is the ground of the obligation? Why should we glorify God? Dr. Hopkins, according to his critic, would say, Because my faculties are adapted to that duty, and in performing it, my faculties will be in harmony and I shall be happy. Dr. McCosh would say, Because to glorify God is self-evidently right, and that is the beginning and end of the matter. Both have a show of truth, because, on the one part, to glorify God will certainly, as a natural consequence, produce enjoyment, on the whole; and because, on the other part, to glorify God, that being his command, is certainly right. But both are short of the mark, because enjoyment — the great figure of the one, though

We may suppose the whole conception, in principle, design, and method, faultless, and that it should accord-

personal and actual — is unworthy ; it virtually dishonors God by dividing his glory with a creature ; and because right, or rightness — the great figure of the other — is a mere abstraction, impersonal and — nothing. The one loses sight of God in the enjoyment, and virtually makes God nothing. The other loses sight of Him in a mere intellectual image which, being nothing and put in the place of God, makes Him less than — nothing. As Christians they would both glorify God, and be saved, though possibly only by fire, because of the wood, hay, and stubble which they build upon their foundation. As philosophers they are lost, not morally and essentially, but in their metaphysics — that cloud-land where so many wise men have lost their reckoning. Their speculative zeal betrays them. As Christians they keep in the sunlight. As philosophers the mist covers them, and, so shrouded, they might stumble, and cause others less Christianized to stumble fatally on the dark mountains. "This," to use Dr. McCosh's pertinent language, "is the logical consequence, and if not drawn out by themselves, it will be drawn by others ; and the history of philosophy shows that what follows logically will, in fact, follow chronologically, when the system has had time to work and show its effects."

Is there not a more excellent way which, because it is not philosophical but Christian, is the only way for us if we would attain to the true end of life ? Why should I glorify God ? Not because it is useful or agreeable, though it be so ; and not because right, though it be so ; but simply because He is God. There is nothing more ultimate than the Alpha and Omega, the personal I AM. Nothing else practically is ultimate and unconditioned. My sense of God is instinctive. My sense of obligation to Him is also instinctive. They are self-evident ; and it would be a question for the philosophers whether, but for these self-evident and universal truths, we should have even any abstract ideas of the right, or the good, or beautiful, or true, and be other than a more accomplished variety of brutes. However that may be, these instincts are within us. They are, as it were, a part of the conscious soul, which natural and revealed religion does but educate and draw out into a clearer light, and settle in a more profound and operative conviction ; and which, because it is religion and binds us to a personal God, produces practically an effect which is impossible to philosophy. It brings us into the Divine presence, into personal relations to a personal and eternal Sovereign — an authority than which nothing could be more unconditioned, absolute, and final, and with which certainly neither happiness nor rightness, nor any other real or imaginary good, could be compared.

"*Aliquando bonus Homerus dormitat.*" Both these honored writers seem to me, in a sense — intellectually — to worship idols. The one unduly exalts self, as charged upon him by his critic ; the other an abstraction — an image — by his own showing. They go into the house of Rimmon by different doors, and lay their offerings on different altars ; but the house is the house of Rimmon, and a dangerous place for Christians. It is better to worship in the temple of the Lord, and to behold his glory. Yet they know the true God, and worship Him in spirit and in truth when they go into his sanctuary. It is only in the chair of philosophy that the glory is obscured. So deceitful is all the unconsecrated and unblessed atmosphere of earth.

But, apart from these learned disputants : one cannot but be aware how

ingly commend itself as theoretically unimpeachable ; yet, disconnected from Christianity, or connected with it but in name and compliment, it would, as things now are, fatally mislead us, because it leaves out the facts on account of which Christianity is given to us as a guide of life. It thus virtually nullifies the revelation. It stops short of the Scriptural and ultimate end—and even of all supposed and speculative ends, for as much as it ignores the relations now actually subsisting between man and man, and between

difficult it is for men in general, and especially for philosophers, to break up their inveterate habits of thought, and resign their long-cherished opinions or associations even when, in their sometimes dispassionate moods, they fail to justify them to their own minds. But if they will persist in imagining any of their speculative ideas concerning the conduct or the ends of life to be more ultimate than the idea of a personal God, or more authoritative than his Word, I think they must yet perceive that they so imagine only metaphysically and spectrally, and not at all in any practical, definable, or intelligible sense, except as one may understand the meaning of terms which are used to signify unintelligible and ineffable ideas. For, practically, right and wrong are nothing but as they pertain to moral agents and moral actions : and moral agents and moral actions presuppose or imply actual relations, rules of conduct and criteria of judgment ; and these can be predicated only of a moral sovereign—a supreme personal authority—who is God alone. Relations and rules concerning us as fallen and sinful, being the ordinance of God, all duties and rights pertaining to them depend, of course, upon his infinite intelligence, his regulating will, and are knowable only by ascertaining that will through whatever channels it may please God to make the communication to mankind. The clearest and most authoritative communication is his Word. The *Logos* has spoken, and all who hear are obliged to refer all questions of right and duty to that infallible criterion. To measure them by any other standard, and to make that other standard a test and interpreter of revelation itself, and to apply that other and fictitious standard to individuals, nations, or races, or to make it the regulator of affairs in Church or State, which is the great temptation of philosophers, is virtually to renounce allegiance to God. It becomes arrogant and superstitious ; or enthusiastic, fanatical, and destructive. It will incur his displeasure, according to the nature and aggravation of the offense.

If our modern philosophers, particularly our political philosophers, would give due heed to these necessary distinctions, and keep strictly to "The Law and the Testimony"—the only supreme authority,—they would avoid the difficulties into which they are continually plunging themselves and society by their affected obedience to "a higher law," which is not a law nor a Gospel, but a chimera which enthusiastic people imagine for themselves and on their own account.

all men and God, or discusses them as mere philosophical abstractions impossible of application in the present disordered state. Such a theory or system, being simply philosophical and disconnected from the Scripture, contemplates man not as he is now — a derived, but as he was — a created being; whereas the derived being is no longer as was the created being, in God's own image, but in the created man's fallen and sinful image; not in harmony, but at enmity with God; not loving but hating his neighbor; not unfortunate but sinful; — which facts necessitated the Christian scheme. Man's nature and relations being not now as created and instituted, but as born with him, his change of character and relations occasions a corresponding change in the revealed and consequently only true account of his rights and duties. God changes not, nor his righteous law; but man. "The gold has become dim, and the most fine gold is changed." "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint." The relations of man to God, and of man to man; of nation to nation, and race to race; of period to period, and age to age; our relations to physical natures, to the earth and atmosphere, to time and place, to mode and quantity, all are disturbed. Nothing is normal. Nothing works in its original and created order. The curse has gone down to the lowest animate and inanimate objects of nature which is all put in subserviency to man. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together waiting for the adoption, the glorious liberty — redemption of the body — the resurrection — of the sons of God." "The rights of man," that fiction of philosophy, which some imagine to be

absolute and independent, as the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, have no existence in the Scripture. Christianity recognizes nothing as our right, but as a privilege, a favor, permitted to the guilty and condemned for a specified probationary period, under continual abatements and restraints, and on the express condition of good behavior in the constituted relations of social life. We may enjoy our privilege and be protected equally in the use of it, while we encroach not upon the privilege of our neighbor; but we have no equal right to his greater privilege, or to the hard earnings of his greater industry and skill. God gives us not life but upon the limitation definite or indefinite of seventy years; nor any liberty without restraint; nor happiness but in obedience to law; and He ordains law over us according to the necessities of our condition; and our conditions not as dependent on our individual will, but the constitution and laws which are appointed for the preservation of society amidst the manifold accidents, contingencies, and unaccountable vicissitudes pertaining to our present fallen state. Otherwise our privilege, forfeited by sin, will be alienated when sin becomes transgression of the law, of which forfeiture and penalty no man is permitted to be judge in his own case, but only as his case is referred to the "powers that be," the constitutional umpire under which the providence of God has placed him. He undertakes to judge at his own hazard, which may be fatal. Weakness, disability, pain and sorrow; discipline, restraint, compulsion, punishment, and other nameless disadvantages of our fallen and guilty state, are the lot of all men, and of some more than others. Equality under the Divine constitution, and in any

department of God's general government, is unknown to Scripture. If supposed possible in a perfect state, though Christianity denies it even of heaven, where there are "thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers, and one star different from another star in glory," yet it would be clearly impossible in the present fallen state of earth; for not even Omnipotence could make a triangle equal to a square. God cannot be absurd. He cannot deny Himself. To imagine otherwise is atheism.

Such is the present stated order of the disordered world, its very disordered order continually more disordered through the ignorance and malfeasance of its depraved administrators till the mysterious providence of God shall be answered by it, and He who made it first shall make all things new. Any different account of the present distracted state of things could not be a true philosophy. Any practical application of a supposed perfect system of philosophy based on different suppositions, however dignified in name, could not but be ruinous in effect. It would be as if to order a hospital for the sick by mere scientific treatises of physiology, or a lunatic asylum by psychological metaphysics, or to manufacture engines, or navigate ships by the pure mathematics without allowance for the disturbing or conflicting agencies of nature. The more perfect the abstract science, or the corresponding skill, the greater the resulting injury without a careful reckoning of the disturbing forces. Nothing can truly guide us that falsifies, or denies, or ignores the facts of life as they actually exist, or the related facts of Scripture. Revelation is given to us for the very reason that otherwise the necessities of man individually, or in the social state,

could not be met, and the world would die before its time. To reason otherwise is to make the revelation of no effect. Education fails when it draws out the human faculties without such a reference, and when it puts them under its highest natural pressure to gain the curiosities or elegancies of literature, the accomplishments of art or science, or the refinements of philosophy, without a paramount regard to the principles, doctrines, and precepts which are revealed to faith. What our Lord says is true in the most comprehensive sense, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me;" "To the law and the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because they have no light in them."

To the unsophisticated Christian the argument against philosophy as a guide of life may best appear, summarily, from a simple statement:—

The law of God is ultimate and supreme: "Thou shalt love." This is the universal rule of life.

But we speak of law also as the inherent principle of nature which actuates us whether in obedience or disobedience to the rule; or as our way and manner of living irrespectively of obligation.

Actually, according to the Scripture, our inherent principle and our corresponding way of life are in disobedience to the authoritative rule. "There is none that doeth good, no, not one." "The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." Whatever futile inquiries we may see fit to make as to the ultimate origin of evil or the fall of man, this inspired record, illustrated by the experience of all ages, stands against the world. "The whole world lieth in wickedness."

The problem then is : Can the inherent principle — the law of sin — in our fallen nature be brought into accordance with the law of God, and how? We are shut up to this inquiry.

The only possible answer is from the Scripture. The ambitious *a priori* reasoner would never, and could never, have thought of an answer but for his antecedent knowledge of revelation which sets forth God's eternal purposes and covenants, the redemptive work of Christ, and the offices of the Holy Spirit. These truths are entirely supernatural, beyond the scope of the human faculties, receivable by us simply as matters of faith, and designed to save us only through the righteousness of the Redeemer signified by the new life of love which they are intended, at God's good pleasure, to produce. These truths are illustrated and commended to us by natural analogies ; but to have known them without a revelation would have been impossible. All attempts to reduce them to the measure of philosophy have been worse than futile. The philosophers called Christian, in making such attempts by any of the various methods of the natural reason, have wearied themselves in the fire for very vanity. The volumes of theological speculation more or less hostile to these truths, or seeking to bring them within the compass of the natural reason, have loaded the shelves to no purpose, have been read to no purpose but to confuse the undisciplined people and distract the nations. It is hardly extreme to say that had they been never written, or burned as soon as written, it would have been better for the world.

Christianity then, being thus supreme, puts us, in all our studies and pursuits, under its own peculiar

probation, and the probation corresponds to our respective abilities and culture. How mankind, or any part of them, behave under this probation, is a mere question of fact. Christianity itself asserts unmistakably our common failure. History is no less decisive. They who have attained, in any considerable degree, to knowledge, wisdom, or virtue, agreeably to this authoritative standard, have constituted but a small proportion of mankind. The majority even of the wise have become vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart has been darkened! It is probable that the greater part of its religious teachers have been its worst corrupters, and have misled society to its greatest loss and shame. Hence the overthrow of the old historic nations. Hence also the Protestant revolutions. They were designed for restitution — a new life; but have effected little more than reformation — a new form. Wickliffe fell short of Peter, and Luther fell short of Paul. Protestantism itself becomes infected with new and more dangerous forms of spiritual idolatry. The new lights of “*Renascent France and Germany*,” have been placed in the sockets of Calvin and Melancthon. That it should be otherwise were contrary to the laws of our infirm and broken nature, and to all known analogies. For the ordinary gifts of Providence have been, for the most part, stimulants to our vagrant fancies and unruly passions. Pride and luxury have been, to a great extent, a correlative of riches, tyranny of power, licentiousness of liberty, and destructiveness of reform. Out of successive revolutions society has risen to higher levels, to more refined and gorgeous civilizations, but to fall into barbarian rudeness or paralytic decrepitude. Action and reaction are the

universal law, and motion is only backward and forward till the machine wears out. How soon we know not. Certain the end will be we know from the Scripture for our warning. Sudden it will be as the lightning that flashes across the heavens; but of the day and the hour the Father only knoweth. Wherefore the strongest historical and moral reasons exist for enforcing the responsibility which Christianity imposes on educated men. These reasons are more and more urgent as the world grows older in its vain conceits. No thoughtful man can imagine that we have outlived our dangers.

First. We may observe the responsibility of educated men under Christianity, theologically, as a vital religion.

I use the term Christianity not in an abstract, or speculative and indeterminate sense, and not strictly in reference to the New Testament alone, but the whole canonical Scripture which is, in brief, a history of God's moral government over this world by Jesus Christ with reference to the more perfect manifestation of Himself to the higher spheres in the ages to come. It describes God's dealings with man and the earth from the creation, fall, and redemption, to the casting down of the apostate and false spirit — "The God of this world," and the general "Restitution" at our Lord's return from heaven — the parabolic nobleman from a far country. So Christ taught his disciples: "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets He expounded unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things concerning Himself" down to the time of his "sufferings, and his entrance into glory." So also, after his ascension, his Apostles take up the theme

in reference to the still prophetic history of the world: "Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles to take out of them a people for his name. And to this agree all the words of the prophets, as it is written: *After this I will return*, and will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; that the residue of men may seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord who doeth all these things." The whole Scripture is thus clearly resolvable into history, its very doctrinal and devotional parts pertaining to the history of a spiritual kingdom — an *ecclesia* — gathered from among the Jews and Gentiles, disciplined and trained, through manifold adversities, as in a wilderness state, harassed by hostile world-kingdoms, tempted and plagued by the falsehoods, shams, and vanities of earth, till it should enter upon its promised inheritance in a better age. Of these world-kingdoms it treats only as they come into ostensible relation to the *ecclesia* as being comparatively of no account; but it puts the *ecclesia* under their civil protection, enjoining courtesy, obedience, and reverence as to all secular affairs, inasmuch as they are God's ministers for the preservation of natural society, to restrain the unruly and keep the distracted world from a premature catastrophe.

This use of Christianity in reference to a spiritual kingdom of God signifies its spiritual and vital character. But I speak of it as it is, *per se*, in distinction from all schools, sects, parties, creeds, masters, forms, that bear its name and assume to be its representatives, though not necessarily in opposition to them, for they may reflect truly, if not perfectly, Christ's

own image upon the world. I speak of what is real, as inspired; and not the apparent, which is moulded to human judgment and opinion. Christianity must indeed have its representatives in a world of sense — an organic, visible Church, to receive, propagate, and defend it, and a ministry to preach it as a witness to the government of God among the nations, and for the trial of human character in reference to the predicted judgment. The living truth must take to itself a body, whatever that may be, about which I do not now inquire. But we must distinguish between the organism which is mechanical, and the moving principle which is vital, between revelation itself and the views which are interpreted out of it. We refuse not interpretations for whatever they may be worth. But the analogy of faith is better than learned criticism, and a rude concordance than a gilded commentary. We despise no variety of what is called sacred learning. Let it do its best, and have the largest range and freest disputation. But the true man wants the common solvent which Christianity itself proposes, not the pretentious, illuminated wisdom of a rabbi or a savant, but the inscrutable influence that proceeds forth from the Author of the Scripture, and its great promise to such as would know it truly as it is, and not as it is made to speak in the formularies and dogmas of its perhaps partisan, but certainly imperfect and fallible expounders. The Spirit goeth only with the truth. Christianity is unique, peculiar, independent, supreme. It is above our categories and methods, and exclusive of them. It is not *a priori*, and speculative; it is not *a posteriori*, and inductive; it is not sentimental, rational, intuitional, eclectic. It is above them all, superhuman, supernatural, and not

reducible to a known and natural criterion. Its reach is infinite, connecting the present with what is out of sight preceding, and equally with what is out of sight succeeding, the known with the unknown, showing what we ourselves were, and are, and shall be, our true position, our latitude and longitude, in the vast system of which we are consciously a part. It is a religion of its own — *religare* — to bind us to God, and train and discipline us for a state no more of trial but of retribution. It produces a Divine life, and ministers sustenance and strength to the heavenly principle. It renews and it instructs. The life is a simple principle, and independent but of the new-creating Spirit. The growth is related to all the susceptibilities and activities of the living agent. The life is the same in all who partake of the heavenly *afflatus* — the old man and the child, the rich and the poor, the savage and the sage. It is independent of race, nationality, or secular conditions: "There is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, male or female." It recognizes all these ordained relations, and enjoins the faithful performance of their respective duties. But it is developed through the respective faculties of individual persons in their respective spheres, which it forbids us to destroy by violence or disturb by stormy partisan agitations. Our personal abilities, upon its supposed energizing power, become its scale and measure. The man of lively instincts has a greater capacity of Christian excellence than the sluggish and inapprehensive. The reasoning mind takes in a still wider range of elevating thought; and the highly imaginative, while it heeds the constitutional limits of the speculative faculty, enlarges the sphere

of liberal studies, of heavenly meditation and devout affection. Other knowledges affect Christianity; Christianity affects them. As far as any man is gifted to comprehend them, he acquires a better method of learning, and a higher likeness to infinite intelligence. The life stimulates the culture; the culture invigorates the life. The reciprocal effect is the indefinite advancement of the whole being. All the way from the dull Esquimau to Paul is this chain of sanctified intellect and affection. But according to their respective measures are their several responsibilities, and the issue will correspond.

But nothing in the present state answers practically to its idea. Christianity has its own perfect law — its manner of activity. But it is hindered by other laws: by the idolatries of the sense, of the reason, the imagination, the affections; of mode, and time, and place; by the jealousies and strifes of parties; by the types of an ever-changing civilization; by the peculiarities of individual men, and we know not what invisible influences from another sphere. Perturbations and eccentricities exist as well in moral natures as in the depths of the earth, or the circles of the heavens. Practically Christianity is everywhere hindered. It is most hindered where it should produce its best effects, and most dishonored where it should be most dignified — among learned men. It has been most obscured where it should have been most illustrated — in the schools, which have made the Word of God of no effect by their traditions. Scholasticism has been the fruitful mother of all the idolatries old or new. It has done to Christianity what it had done to natural religion, — has changed its glory to corruptible images: a gross sensualism figured

by blocks and stones, and made active in bigotries, superstitions, and despotisms which have crushed the spirit of humanity; or, oppositely, to a spiritual imagery and a corresponding fanatical intoxication made wilder and more destructive than ever a Greek imagination had conceived by the lights which it has reflected from Christianity itself, through deceitful media, upon the forbidden precincts of the spiritual world. Out of such false wisdom has proceeded almost every current of unbelief that has swept the unconscious masses to their ruin. Romanism that broods over ignorance, and hatches its cockatrice-eggs, springs not out of ignorance. Rationalism that infatuates the crazed millions of revolutionary history, is not brought forth in hovels. Aristotle and Plato live over again in every period of a better dispensation, but more out of their spheres and more injuriously than as they lived of old. They have dishonored themselves by their unworthy affectations of Christianity, as we dishonor ourselves by making them our masters. They sway us insensibly hither and thither, to this side, or that side, of the central truths — the *via media* of the only infallible directory. They appear in the dignity of pretended knowledge; they affect a ceremonial sanctity. They sit in the temple of God as with a Divine prerogative. They are hailed as heaven-descended by the multitude of undiscerning, but eager and sympathizing minds that perceive not the fallacy till it destroys them.

They who deny Christianity because of its failure hitherto to prevail over the disorders of society, and they who, nevertheless, look for its universal triumph in the present age, because of the supposed helps of a progressive material civilization, and construct their

ecclesiastical and political machinery accordingly, are equally at fault. Here it is that bad and good men, because of a common philosophical illusion, join unnaturally in measures of speculative reform that result at length in a greater demoralization of society. They forget that Christianity, during the present dispensation of trial and discipline, is not designed for universal comprehension, but is probational, — “Set for the fall and rising again of many, that the secrets of all hearts may be revealed.” Agreeably to any abstract conceptions of it, or as it may turn out under a supposably higher dispensation and different conditions of the earth and man, it is doubtless sufficient to realize the expectation of a perfect state common to the philosophers, the politicians, and the speculative theologians of our modern period. But it is not sufficient to overcome our moral freedom. That would annul all evidence of its divinity. Its efficacy therefore is necessarily conditioned not only on its presence *to* the mind, but its presence *in* it, inwrought and inworking by the promised Spirit as a vital part of it, — which depends not on nature, but on supernatural grace ; so that no question about the progress and success of Christianity, during the present probationary state, can be settled without exclusive reference to prophetic Scripture. Nothing can act where it is not, except ceremonially, fantastically, or magnetically, leaving the springs of vital action untouched. Christianity has indeed its own perfect law. But there is a law of evil as well as of good, and they cannot be practically understood out of their adverse relations to each other. We must look at moral government on both sides of it. Against the Christian confessors we must put the sophists and infidels of

every grade. Otherwise we are one-sided, partial, and practically false. We are deceived by appearances ; by our prejudices and our hopes ; by our learned associations, our denominational or partisan engagements, or whatever other causes naturally affect our judgments, or stimulate our desires. So it is that we come to regard Christianity as a *materia medica* — a mere remedial system, by a sort of chemical or mechanical process, combining or assimilating all natures without respect to our voluntary activity, or to any predetermined purpose and plan of moral government. Christianity is put, not logically to our judgment, but declaratively to our faith ; not physically to constrain us, but morally for our choice. Between the choosing and refusing it discriminates. In the refusal is criminality. In the opportunity to choose or refuse is moral trial. In the issue of a probationary state moral government will be honored. Christianity could have saved the Jews, and given them the kingdom which the Saviour brought nigh to them and preached among them. But they refused it, and consequently — for they are still in God's covenant — it is held in abeyance, and "Jerusalem is trodden down of the Gentiles till the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled." Meanwhile that apostate nation remains in a state of judicial blindness. It could save the Christianized nations ; but they pervert it anti-christianly to a greater condemnation in proportion to their greater light. It puts us all under the greatest possible advantage in regard to personal character and recompense. It could flow out from us as healing waters over the wastes and deserts of earth to produce universal thrift and gladness. But its history answers not to its idea. Practically we fail in our

probation ; and a sevenfold reproach lies consequently upon us inasmuch as our right use of the Gospel might long ago have renovated the earth.

It is material to observe, in particular, how the philosophical proclivities of the age mislead us. "Vain man would be wise though he be born like a wild ass's colt." We naturally affect wisdom. We glory in it, as well we might agreeably to its Scriptural idea. But that no man independently of a vital Christianity can attain to any higher than an earthly wisdom which the Scripture characterizes as false and futile, there was certainly no evidence when the Gospel was first promulgated in the most cultivated portions of the world. It was promulgated on the very account that the highest human wisdom had utterly failed, and must ever fail, of any true enlightenment or reformation of society. "Where is the wise ? Where is the scribe ? Where is the disputer of this world ? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world ? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." If there were any exceptions in Egypt where philosophy was born ; or Greece where it was nurtured and grew up to ripe manhood ; or Rome where declining it became political and aspired to secular preëminence, Paul was certainly ignorant of it, or made it of less than no account in his moral reckoning. Nor does philosophy in its modern history, since it has received baptism and a Christian name, encourage any hopes from its prevalence among the nations. True, it professes to accept Christianity, and to revere it. It clothes itself with the garments of Christianity. It builds and adorns temples to its honor. Even

Frenchmen, who with Voltaire would have crushed "the wretch," now take off their hats at the picture or statue of the Redeemer, for Christ is now brought down by the new philosophy to the level of their philosophical and political ideas. Philosophy expounds it to them. It has assumed to be their Holy Spirit, — their interpreter and guide, — thereby committing the unpardonable sin. It compels the Scripture to work in its gearing, to become the echo of its fantastic ideas, and tributary to its own vanity and ambition. There are illustrious exceptions in high and low places — "Seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal;" but, otherwise, what are we doing with Christianity the world over? We enlighten it from the fires of our own altars. We improve it by notes and versions; we make it comely with our meretricious ornaments, and popular by our secular accommodations. We make it subservient to our lust of power; our schemes of universal conquest for our school, our sect, or our party; the instrument of our political advancement, our commercial thrift, our fashions and our pleasures; the justifier of our intrigues, controversies, and wars by which we think to deliver Jerusalem, and to restore by civilizing the world after new and improved patterns of a Messianic kingdom. We make Christianity our servant, and not our master. We reverse the Divine order of wisdom and accomplishment. We put a "higher law" before the Ten Commandments; intuition before doctrine; doctrine before miracle; induction before doctrine, and speculation before induction. We reduce them all to the measure of common sense — its oracle the "*vox populi*," and its *ultima ratio* the ballot-box with some committed

French or German cosmopolite as "*Custos Rotulorum*." So we go on. We imagine when we should see with our eyes, and handle with our hands. We substitute chimeras for demonstration. We look for resemblances which beguile, rather than for differences and distinctions which would correct us. We mistake our hopes and wishes for experience. We confound the possible and actual uses of Christianity, the *vis vitæ* which is within it, with the organism — the burr — which is designed only to protect it. In that mistake we apply it practically not as a life, but as a lever; not as a productive, but motive power. We figure it to ourselves romantically as an all-comprehending element, a universal solvent, a magnetic principle attracting to itself all learning, wit, and beauty; a centre to which art, and arms, and governments are tending by a sort of spiritual gravitation, like the fiction of an universal reason, insensibly absorbing all that had been developed from it back into itself, to the end of universal happiness and glory. This covert pantheism infects society unacknowledged and unseen. It obscures the simplicities of the revelations. It blinds us to their actual verities, and the hardly less affecting lessons of history, analogy, and experience. We forget that in the present constitution and course of things, the possible and the actual are heaven-wide apart; that there is no bridge across the gulf between nature and the supernatural; and that Christianity is ever tending practically to an issue of antagonistic forces in which not our speculative ideas of virtue and happiness, but the perfection of moral government will have a realization before the worlds. We observe not that the blazonry on its shield is not "*gaudet victoria*," but "*gaudet tentamine, virtus*," and

that victory at length ensues, not by the natural but the supernatural, and is crowned and jubilant only when the battle of life is over. Meanwhile we rise or fall. The whole scheme puts us on our good behavior in reference to the opposite results of good and evil in a resurrection-state of glory, or a second death.

Thus "Philosophy falsely so called" misleads us. It mistakes semblances for realities; fictions for facts; the formal for the vital; the sentimental and æsthetical for the spiritual; the intellectual for the moral; the eclecticism of the finite for the absolute of the infinite. It is not that we do wrong to learn, but that we learn by a false method, and that we test not our masters by the only just criterion. We make small account of the Pascals, the Butlers, the Edwardses, except as we can interpret them to our own side; and wander in the mists with Kant and Hegel, Coleridge and Cousin. We substitute some specious illuminee for the trusty Greatheart, and consequently mistake the enchanted ground for Paradise, and Vanity-Fair for the New Jerusalem. Jordan is a hard road to travel, and we locate the Celestial City on the hither side of it.

In view of these vital causes of social demoralization and decline, the responsibility of educated men is particularly evident both in reference to a divine life within themselves, and the production or preservation of it in other men. To them it emphatically belongs to test all questions that affect the interests or influence of Christianity by its own authoritative standards; to make distinctions according to existing differences; to justify openly their deliberate conclusions; and stand to them with the confidence of

knowledge; the purpose of conscious benevolence; the energy and fearlessness of faith. Otherwise, the bad consequences of their failure will exceed all reckoning. They cannot indeed be supposed to prevail against Christianity, for it stands in a power that can raise up children to Abraham from the very stones of the earth. But they may greatly hinder it. They cannot quench the Spirit who proceeds forth from it, at God's good pleasure, so that his quickening power shall not pass over to "The babes and sucklings," who are below the plane of their fictitious learning; but they may darken their minds with sophistries, pervert them from their simplicity, disturb their confidence, divide and scatter them, or embroil them in partisan or sectarian controversies, and neutralize their otherwise healthful influence upon society. Knowledge gives power. That is a universal law. Abilities, discipline, learning, station, are ordained to control human affairs. In the reverse all things become disordered. The power is sometimes most effectual when least perceived. It is like caloric, electricity, life. We observe it not when it moves the social machinery; or when that halts and stops through its occasional defectiveness; or works inconstantly for its fitful activity; or is exploded and scattered through a rash, unskillful, or timorous application of it. Christianity could do without it. It has sometimes performed its greatest wonders by inconsiderable means, or without means, by fishermen, by babes, by fools, by things which are not; but this mainly to exalt its own prerogative; not to disparage learning, but to confound and abase it when it has ceased to be true to its only just *principia*, and given to the human precedence of the Divine. But when itself vitalized then it diffuses

life, health, and beauty: "The wilderness becomes as Eden, and the desert as the garden of the Lord." And because it has been so refused and used, so dishonored and honored, therefore it is proved to be under moral government and accountable. To what extent, in the proper conditions, it might not advance the race, is past all reckoning. The vision tarries, and doubtless its dark problems will yet more confuse and fret us till experience shall resolve them.

Second. We may observe the responsibility of educated men, ethically, in reference to the incidental and collateral uses of Christianity.

Since the captivities of the Jews, and the suspension of their theocratic economy at the destruction of their city and temple, things secular and political have constituted no part of the Divine communications to mankind. The outside or Gentile nations are held morally responsible agreeably to the law of nature as written instinctively upon the soul, or as reduced to formularies by the wise, or as republished miraculously in the Scripture; but otherwise they are left to manage their ordinary affairs; to organize their societies; to make and administer their governments, at their own discretion. It does not appear from Scripture that any existing form of government, in any age or country, that is, government in principle and form, distinguished, as it necessarily is, always, from its administrative policy, is not the best possible, for the time being, for the people over whom it is established; nor that the government so established is not a providential order and agreeable to the will of God. If any might be supposed otherwise, an absolute autocracy and despotism like that of Babylon would be most in point. Yet it was said by authority

to Nebuchadnezzar, "Thou, oh king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all." And again: "For the majesty that he gave him, all peoples, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him. Whom he would he slew, and whom he would be kept alive; whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down, till his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride." Nothing before or since, in principle, has been so like the government of God. The same is true, in measure, and by a like reason, of Assyria, Greece, and Rome, whose several types of government were forms of the absolute, more or less modified agreeably to the changing genius and habits of their respective peoples. Despotism, by a natural law, softens with the advancing cultivation of the people, till, at length, to a limited extent, they are capable of freedom. Liberty, however, in its turn, becomes licentiousness. It soon engenders corruption and prostitution, degenerates into anarchy, and necessitates a reacting despotism which, though in a sense elective, may become more oppressive on that account, through the now unconscious feebleness, or partisan madness, of the people, and provoke heavier judgments of heaven for a greater abuse of its otherwise legitimate because necessary prerogatives.

Accordingly the Scripture leaves it to society to look after its own real or supposed interests, in this respect, agreeably to its own natural ideas. Christ and his Apostles, in setting up a higher dispensation

of religion, yet interfere not with the existing order of natural society. Contrarily, they accept it as the ordinance of God, and require a scrupulous conformity, putting all parties on their good behavior. Upon parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and servants, rulers and subjects, they simply enforce the duties of their respective different relations, and forbid all change by revolutionary agitations, or until the lower advance to the higher in the stated course of natural discipline, or until a different order is constitutionally and legitimately introduced. They allow nothing to the disorderly passions of society. In regard to the lowest and most abject of all the social relations — the servile — the evangelical precept, because of the great temptation to irregularity and general disorder, in this respect, is the most express: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters as worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." The relation even of an unbelieving master under the peculiarly severe government of Rome, was accounted, *in itself*, honorable and acceptable to God. The teachers of a contrary doctrine are severely condemned as "Consenting not to the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, but as proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth." Such was Paul's unequivocal admonition to a minister of the Gospel. It applies with peculiar force to all who bear the sacred office in every period, since no circumstances can affect the nature or obligatoriness of an inspired ethical precept which contemplates things as they

are ; as God sees them, and not as they are misconceived and misrepresented by the philosopher or politician, with reference to their mistaken or selfish ends. Christianity recognizes reform, however necessary or desirable, as proceeding legitimately, not from without, but from within. Otherwise the constitutional order is reversed, to the general disturbance of affairs :

“ We do but skin and film the ulcerous place,
While rank corruption mining all within,
Infects unseen ; ”

and the unlooked for consequences are fatal.

This unworldly character of Christianity, as dispensed by Christ and his Apostles, is a great feature, and calls for the grave consideration of educated men. A careful reader of the Gospel will be struck by the fact, that whatever earthly and material good may come incidentally and collaterally of Christianity by its refining of natural society, yet neither Christ nor his Apostles ever make allusion to these natural benefits, however important in their own order, as pertaining to his peculiar and distinctive work ; but the contrary everywhere appears. The Christians are taught not to expect or desire such things ; that they who are most chastised, in these respects, are most blessed, and they who have most of such earthly consolations, will be likely, on that account, to be the greatest sufferers in the coming world. The beatitudes in the sermon on the mount were expressly designed to rebuke the overgrown naturalism of the Jewish teachers who, by their traditions, had secularized the Scriptures, dishonored the Decalogue, and perverted the symbols by which the Messiah had been foreshadowed, till these teachings represented nothing to their dulled minds but earthly policies

and expedients, and the setting up of a temporal kingdom. Not a word do we find in the Gospel about its improving of government, or agriculture, or trade, or commerce, or philosophy, or any of the institutions which are designed for their advancement; and these are never proposed to us as "handmaids" to the faith. Our Lord lost no opportunity of doing good to the poor and afflicted of his people. But He did not come to deliver them from their political and social adversities; and He was in general refused on that account. When He healed the sick and raised the dead, He did not pretend that to be his special errand into the world, but only an evidence of his Divine mission for an infinitely higher purpose, and that this higher purpose would be effected, in general, only through the manifold adversities of his disciples. "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you." So it behooved them to suffer with Him till they should reign with Him in his kingdom. Their future glory would be proportioned to their patience under the burdens of the present probationary state. Otherwise, by rashly attempting to clutch the shadow they would lose the substance.

It is specially observable that those natural good things which we sometimes refer inconsiderately to Christianity, belong to a department of God's general government, which, though modified by Christianity, as will be presently observed, was set up ages before Christ, and would have had its own natural course and issue if Christ had never come into the world. They have their own peculiar order, and are regulated by laws with which He interferes not more than with geometrical measures, or the circles of astronomy.

The natural laws must still have their effect the same as if He had never introduced a supernatural economy. Fever will rage, agues will shake, fire will burn, and water will drown; the elements will contend; social disturbances will convulse; war, famine, and pestilence will destroy; ignorance, prejudice, avarice, ambition, and party spirit will keep the world in perpetual strife, and Christ has no commission to prevent it. He gives us plain assurance that these are necessities of the present fallen state; that they will be ever occurring to the end; that they will be more perilous and fearful as the end draws near, attended by corresponding physical disturbances—earthquakes, famines, and pestilences in diverse places; and that any attempted removal of them otherwise than by the infusion of a Christian spirit, as far as opportunity should serve, would be not only ineffectual and futile but destructive, like putting “New wine into old bottles, or new cloth into an old garment.” It could not be without confusions, disturbances, and rushings in the general disordered system of the world: as all history has confirmed.

But it is not less material to observe that there are many alleviations of the present disordered condition of the earth and man, and that these are mainly referable to the indirect influence of Christianity, adapted, as it is, to our present state of reprieve and discipline. While families, states, nations, races, have their respective courses and probations according to a natural order, they are collaterally affected by Christianity inasmuch as that serves to give direction and tone to the individuals, and particularly the leaders of society, who form a part of them. Thus Christianity acts incidentally upon all secular institutions, and modifies

our political and social states. It is not easy to overrate these uses of Christianity, till it becomes itself enfeebled or corrupted by its earthly adhesions, and then accelerates decline. All the civilizations are in point; and in this sense, which is the only legitimate and honorable sense, Christianity may be called "*a power*," and necessary to the common welfare of society. No government could now venture, except indirectly, to renounce it. All partisans propitiate its sects, generally indeed to its ultimate prostitution and dishonor; but, meanwhile, to their greater temporary aggrandisement. For Christianity, even when not vitally accepted, holds, in measure, the conscience of men, their sensibilities, intellect, imagination, and passions. It moderates power, tempers legislation, and regulates liberty. It chastens literature; purifies the intercourse of social life; makes our industrial pursuits subservient to a greater utility and convenience, and multiplies facilities for a more diffused intelligence and thrifeful enterprise. Its very ritual and ceremonial, its Sabbath, its Church, its ordinances, are positive institutions, formal and fit exponents of its spiritual life, and thereby adapted to the discipline, correction, and restraint, as well as the conversion of men. Its converted men are diffused — "The salt of the earth and the light of the world" — among other classes of society, and their conservative influence checks its destructive tendencies, and defers or shortens its retribution. Their example, teachings, and prayers draw many otherwise thoughtless and profane persons away from their evil courses toward the point where God meets them by his efficacious grace. A merely nominal Christianity is an adornment, and for a time may be a conservative element, of civiliza-

tion. Its æsthetic value is of no small account till it becomes scarlet, meretricious, and idolatrous. Society would be in a better state though its religion were mere pageantry, than if it were only notional and spectral, and out of all concern with the every-day work of life. An altar to an unknown god is better than libertine iconoclasm. A mediæval Christ is better than a cosmopolitan Christ. Or, if these should be compounded in a product half stupid and half delirious, that revolting anomalism of allied superstition and fanaticism would be less injurious than sheer atheistic or pantheistic unbelief; for while there is life there is hope. Such a spurious religion would yet act as an alterative and stimulus to the morbid and otherwise torpid energies of society — a convenient substitute for a normal healthfulness, just as the Divine providence, in another sphere, introduces mechanical invention to assist man's decaying strength; or enlarges the *materia medica* to relieve our increasing alimentary obstructions; or multiplies gems and cosmetics to repair our fading beauty; or theories, visions, and conceits to make up for the lack of intellectual vigor, proving yet a remaining degree of conservative activity, and a power to defer or shorten our necessary catastrophes. Or, worse than this might happen without real dishonor to Christianity, through the spring which, aside from its vitalizing and moralizing power, it gives innocently to the bad physical energies of men, just as a noxious equally with a wholesome vegetation owes its luxuriance to the same sunshine and rain of heaven. The sun is glorious. Who would extinguish the sun? Yet, if any man would live, as things are, under the equator, he must make up his account with malaria, and storms, and

earthquakes; with poisonous products, noxious animals, and brutified humanity. The sun is not at fault, but the earth and man — the one depraved in his affections, the other consequently broken in its constitution, and jostled in its polarity.

The direction of this collateral influence of Christianity is mainly in the hands of educated men. They are at the centre of the social system. The subordinate spheres move around them. Whether this is best, men may speculate as they will, and take their risk of violating a providential order, as many now do with a strange unconsciousness of their own delusions. But they cannot alter it. Things are what they are, and cannot be otherwise — which a Christian statesman never will forget, and philosophers and politicians never will remember. No theory can practically annul the law of gravity; nor could any corresponding violence, without destroying the balance of the social system. The divine constitution will have its course till its ends are answered in the issues of a probationary state. Any change is fatal. It was only when God would punish Israel for their apostacy that He reversed his law. It was then accordingly prophesied: "As for my people, children are their oppressors and women rule over them." They were judicially abandoned to that anomalous and destructive infatuation. After all the insane plunges of society, we are obliged to fall back on wisdom and virtue for the safe ruling of the world, or restoring it from its confusions. Children may demolish; men only can construct. Ignorance and passion may disorganize society; force may subject it; wisdom only can guide it. "There was found in the city a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom de-

livered the city, though no one remembered that same poor man." For the subversion of that fundamental law there is no principle, precept, or precedent in the Word of God. Our modern socialistic and reformatory theories have no warrant or likeness there. They are mere pictures hung up in fairy castles of the imagination, or cells of the recluse that are never ventilated; matters of *virtu* for the curious; or pleasant day-dreams for the sentimental; or gaudy visions of the speculative enthusiast; or cunning artifices of the politician. They belong not properly to earth as it ever has been since it felt its primeval shock, and ever will be till its prophetic restitution. It belongs not to heaven, for there "Are thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers, and one star differeth from another star in glory." Scanty enough our knowledge and wisdom are, at best, and weak our virtue. They may fail to rule the world. Anglo-Saxon wisdom and virtue may fail, like the old wisdoms out of which they grew. With a corrupted Christianity, secularized agreeably to the humors of a distracted age, what better were New England, or Old England, or a universal Teutonic compound, than the mind of the glorious East where wisdom was born, and the true wisdom became incarnate, but was driven out? The human, in its best conditions, soon reaches its limits in the present state. Its successive rapid rises surprise us. Its declines confound us. When abused, as at length it is abused, to selfish purposes, the worst reactions ensue, and the proudest fabrics are overthrown. But, if selfish intelligence and wisdom fail, what must not come of selfish ignorance and folly? Should the abuses of constituted power react to cast down the Divine ordinances of

rule and government; and the pride and vanity of self-aggrandizing learning produce a reflux tide of equally licentious ignorance; and usurping and overreaching greatness be humbled before besotted littleness; and partisan chicanery gain the rewards of generous and substantial worth, the last chapter of any nation's, or the world's history, would be written.

Great questions here open to us, too little thought of, but of the greatest consequence to educated men, as to the social relations of Christianity—the relations of Church and State. They have never been settled by philosophy. Christianity only can resolve them. Otherwise we must still look for greater disorders to society from the dash, or the affected union, of these coördinate but independent powers. Speculatively, the problem involved is threefold: the virtual merging of the Church in the State, the civil magistracy having the general control; or of the State in the Church under prelatic rule; or the interpenetration of both with a mixed secular and sacred sovereignty. It has exercised the human faculties hitherto to no purpose. Jealousies, disputes, and wars sectional, civil, and international, naturally ensuing, seem rather to multiply with greater intensity as civilization advances. Hence another problem, the greatest of all, which is urged upon us as well by the increasing exigencies of society as by the prophetic Scriptures which foretell them. It meets us now whenever we soberly consult experience as well as history and prophecy, namely: Whether Church and State will ever, during the present probational dispensation of Christianity, be harmonized so as to ensure to the world what it must have if it would realize the common expectation of a better future—a true The-

ocracy? For Christianity never loses sight of a universal theocracy of the nations — a restored world — Church and State harmonized under the acknowledged and manifested sovereignty of the King of kings. For that the Christians are taught continually to pray, till the glorious prophetic vision shall descend from heaven. Meanwhile God holds the angry and contentious nations in his hand, and reiterates his law. He calls upon his apostate churches to renounce the guidance of a false earthly wisdom; and upon both Church and State to give heed to his Word lest they offend the little ones who believe in Him, and lest they “Perish by the way when his wrath is kindled but a little.” The period of Christ’s absence in heaven — the period of suffering to his people — is the period of trial to the subordinate world-powers constituted for the carrying on of affairs till his return. Their responsibility is to Him as the sovereign ruler. No voice of pontiff, king, or people, is equivalent to the voice of God. No type, or representative, no practical embodiment of humanity; no sect, section, or party; no tone or symphony of the “*Vox populi*”; no speculative fiction or abstraction of humanity, will divide the government with Him. The same law is over all; and “The nation and kingdom that will not serve Him shall perish.” This is Christianity as promulgating its new commandment to the world, and only in conformity with it can Church or State subsist. How they will stand in their probation is the problem of prospective history; and it deeply concerns all educated men. But more particularly:—

Government is over all. It presupposes a fountain-head of all authority. It implies law, subjects, and

rule. All the facts of government are signified by that comprehensive term — the State. In common discourse Government and State are equivalents. But State has a peculiar significancy, because it implies settlement in a determinate course, inwardly of moral life, and outwardly of organization and process. The State is the individual moral being indefinitely multiplied and extended. It is ordained of God, and is under his general sovereignty as his minister. It is propagated and sustained by general laws, and is accountable accordingly. It is coeval with the race. We cannot conceive of race without it. It is the manner in which the race exists. We cannot concrete the idea of humanity but by the State. We can conceive of race under any specific form of government, but not without some form under the universal sovereign. Such is the present general but informal and ineffectual theocracy of the earth — the aggregate of the nations under the several distinct constitutions or laws of their respective orders, but all under the moral government of God. Every distinct order of the multiples of man, every separately organized civil community, under its own proper constitution and laws, is a state. Every particular state, on its own account, and every union of states, as our own, is a moral institution ; its reasons are self-evident. They are not less self-evident because some reasoners affect to deny them ; just as the external world, or our own personality, or the Divine personality, are not the less self-evident, because some have fancifully reasoned away their personal consciousness, or their sense-perceptions, and resolved all things into an idea.

But the Church is not a moral institution, that is,

its reasons are not self-evident. It is not an institution of which we could not conceive that it should not be, or not be otherwise than as it is. We could not conceive — *a priori* — that it would be at all. It exists for reasons which could not have been known without a revelation, though some philosophers have ambitiously put their pretended *a priori* judgment, in this respect, in the borrowed place of Scripture. It was not founded for reasons pertaining ultimately to the Church itself, or the State, or their interests, such as the special reason of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” or any other reasons measurable or appreciable by the human faculties, but in reference to worlds and ends beyond comprehension except as declared or intimated by the Scripture. The State is relative to man as man: it is essential. The Church is relative to man as fallen and redeemed: it is contingent. The State is political; its powers are secular. The Church is spiritual; its powers are of the world to come. The State is general. The Church is particular. The State is the comprehensive circle. The Church is a wheel within a wheel, an “*imperium in imperio*,” organized only in reference to its own peculiar character and ends. But both Church and State revolve about their common centre, and in reference to a common ultimate end — the manifestation of the Divine perfections in the issues of a probationary state.

Such being the difference between the Church and State, of which their distinct organizations are a proof, it results that, as things are, they can have no authority the one over the other, nor any voice or representation the one in the other, in regard to matters affecting their separate and distinct peculiar-

ities. They could not legislate for each other, nor intermeddle with each other's affairs, in the present wild and distracted state of the world, without counteracting their respective designs and ends, and destroying the very idea of their respective different probations. This is confirmed by the authority of Scripture. The Jews, for example, were a pattern State, an isolated nation, sequestered by the special call of Abraham, placed under specific ordinances and laws, with different formularies in their successive stages, and instructed and warned by prophetic inspiration. Within that isolated nation was the Church — the children of Abraham according to a wholly different institute, and with reference to different and infinitely higher purposes of God. Under such a perfect theocracy there was the greatest supposable advantage for a union or identification of the Church and State. But it was otherwise ordained. Moses was the lawgiver, and Aaron was the priest. Judah sat upon the throne, and Levi ministered at the altar. The regal and sacerdotal functions were never, by Divine appointment, interpenetrated. If at any time they became practically confused, and in whatever degree, so that the priesthood interfered with royalty, or royalty with the priesthood, jarring and revolution immediately ensued. When Saul, the first king of Israel, for the enlargement of his political prerogative, assumed the functions of a priest, and offered sacrifice, it was treated as sacrilege. God rejected him, and gave the kingdom to another family — the house of David. "It was only in the last period of the total decline of the Israelitish nation, and shortly before and during the first days of the Roman dominion, that the regal dignity and the of-

fice of the High Priest were united in one family in such a manner as to correspond with the notion that is at present usually but incorrectly understood by the term theocracy.”¹ That abuse signified the approaching overthrow of the nation.

Christianity, in distinction from Judaism, excludes also all union or interference of the secular and spiritual powers, during the present mixed state of good and evil, and the predominance of evil, in the world. It is promulgated to all the nations. It gives them law — not laws in the sense of a formal code like the Mosaic, — but principles and precepts by which individual life should be governed, and all codes should be methodized and administered by the individual official persons having them in charge. It embodies the spiritual elements of the old theocracy, but without its national and political peculiarities. It is not specific, but general; not technical, but moral; not direct, but inferential. Hence it is fitted for the nations severally, and generally for the world. It puts the world under the moral guidance of the sovereign ruler; and all particular civil governments are declared to be his representatives and agents for carrying on the affairs of state agreeably, not to their own speculative ideas, but his sovereign will, and in view of a certain temporal retribution. As to the Church or churches subsisting under these constituted civil guardians and protectors, we have a type in that which was gathered, after Pentecost, at Jerusalem, out of all the states and kingdoms of the commercial world. But these world-kingdoms themselves are held otherwise in perfect separation. They are declared to be under moral government and account-

¹ Schlegel.

able after their respective natural orders, and judgments are denounced upon them if corrupt; but they are not reduced under ecclesiastical authority, nor permitted to assume it. The Church and State are not put into any such intercommunication as to imply a reciprocal responsibility for each other's conduct; but the contrary is assumed to the end of the age. The ministers of the Church are taught to confine themselves to their sacred calling; to know nothing, and to make known nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, leaving all matters of state to the secular officers whom God has appointed to that very thing. Otherwise they are personally dishonored, their office is degraded, and general confusion, animosities, and discords ensue. From the nature of the distinct institutions, such a reciprocal relation, under any dispensation as yet known, would be impracticable, or fraught with immeasurable evils both to Church and State, and it has hitherto formed no part of the Divine plan. All the judgments denounced by Christianity against the nations, and yet prophetic, are connected with the interaction, or the clashes of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. Upon this point mainly hinges the Eastern Question, which has so long vexed and embroiled the civilized nations. Upon this, in fact, now hinge the equally complicated Western questions; and almost the whole Christianized world now rocks and reels, as if in a last convulsion, through the virtual misalliance, or the antagonism of these coördinate and related, but independent powers, as our own experience proves. To be ignorant of these facts, or to be unmindful of them in the management of affairs, and refuse Christian reproof and warning, is to put the things that remain and are

ready to die in greater jeopardy. It is unworthy of educated men.

It is, however, clearly supposable that, after a *supernatural* order, such as God should see fit to appoint, a state of universal knowledge, wisdom, and virtue might be introduced, in which the civil and ecclesiastical offices would be not only compatible, but interchangeable, so as to subserve the highest imaginable advancement of the race, and of the higher intelligences in other related spheres, of whose existence and concern with the affairs of earth, the Scripture gives us such positive intimations. All the constituted powers of such a sublime theocracy would be harmonized in showing forth to the universe of minds the Divine perfections, as these are so remarkably illustrated by the Jehovah Jesus of the prophetic Scriptures. To use an illustration of the profound author of "*The Analogy*:" "Suppose a kingdom or society perfectly virtuous, to which, if you please, may be given a situation advantageous for universal monarchy. The head of such a kingdom would be a universal monarch in another sense than any mortal has yet been, and the eastern style would be literally applicable to him, *that all people, nations, and languages should serve him*. And though, indeed, our knowledge of human nature, and the whole history of mankind, show the impossibility, that a number of men here on earth should unite in one society and government, in the fear of God and the universal practice of virtue, and that such a government should continue so united for a succession of ages, yet, *admitting or supposing this*, the effect would be as here drawn out. And thus, for instance, the wonderful power and prosperity promised to the Jewish nation

in Scripture would be, in a great measure, the consequence of what is predicted of them, namely, that the people should be all righteous and inherit the land forever. The predictions of this kind, for there are many of them, *cannot come to pass in the known course of nature ; but suppose them come to pass*, and then the dominion and preëminence promised would naturally follow."

Our far-seeing author characteristically delights, as above, in parable. But careful readers will observe that by hypothesis he means prophecy, and by prophecy history as written beforehand by Him who seeth the end from the beginning. But otherwise than by miracle the hypothesis would be impossible ; for the constitution and course of nature change not but by the express *fiat* of the Creator. There is no known law by which either physical or moral natures undergo an essential transformation or reversal by an inherent *vis vitæ*, a self-moving, or any natural power. Accidents, contingents, may be overcome ; disease not natural but acquired will yield to treatment ; a wound will heal ; the course of water may be interrupted ; complexion may be intensified by climate ; manners and customs change with times and places ; all modes depend on casualties ; but natures never change except by supernatural power. The rivers flow not back to their sources ; the Ethiopian changes not his skin, nor the leopard his spots ; men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. No form of government, no order of administration, no method of discipline, can convert hatred to love, selfishness to benevolence, or subdue, however they may control or modify, the sinful passions of the soul. To be reformed the world must be converted ;

and for the proprieties of a converted world the curse of sin that has reached down through all physical natures must be removed. No theory of development and progress which loses sight of these distinctions can be true, because unnatural, because contrary to all history, analogy, and experience, and because unscriptural; for nature, history, and Scripture necessarily consist; the providence and the Word of God never contradict each other. Our philosophers of reform and progress mistake the accident for the essence; the shadow for the substance; an image of their own fancy for the reality as ordained of God. Brilliant their theories may be, but the brilliancy is that of tinsel. The attrition of experience leaves but a crude, unsightly substance that turns their glory into shame.

But prophetic history realizes the hypothesis. Rather, the hypothesis is framed to the history, and not the history to the hypothesis; for the liveliest imagination could not have conceived beforehand what the history describes. It is God's own account of his intended work in the course of his moral and providential government by Jesus Christ, and it gives the only possible solution of the vexed problem of the ages: a series of facts and events significant of a true theocracy, another supernatural economy more illustrious than that of natural religion which society refused, and thereby brought upon the earth the waters of the Flood; or that of Judaism which the covenant nation dishonored, and thereby their city, temple, and commonwealth were overthrown; or the institutions of the Gentile nations which have passed and are passing away for their unchristian or anti-christian wickedness; — a dispensation of grace

miraculously given to a church militant, succeeded by a miraculous dispensation of glory to a church triumphant:—a *παλιγγενεσία* of the earth and man; a deliverance of the whole groaning and travailing creation from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God—a resurrection-state of honor and immortality; a commonwealth of the thenceforth ransomed nations gathered and harmonized under the Shiloh of Jacob's prophecy; the Star and Sceptre of Balaam's inspired vision; the everlasting Father and the Prince of peace of the rapt Isaiah; the Jehovah; the *ὁ ἐρχομενος*—of all the Scripture, at “The Appearing which in his times He shall show who is the blessed and only potentate, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and who only hath immortality.”

But here it is specially observable, in fulfillment of the prophetic history, that the glorious King of this new, and universal, and true theocracy, who will take the throne of his father David in Jerusalem, is also emphatically *Priest*—a great High Priest—as well as King. And yet more is our Lord distinguished as a High Priest not of the Levitical order, but of the tribe of Judah and the house of David—a *Royal Priest*—“Made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the law of an endless life;” and, because of his sacrifice once for all, “Having an unchangeable priesthood”—the true Melchisedec, a fit antitype of “The King of Salem and Priest of the Most High God,” and worthy of the honors which He is destined to receive in the predicted age of glory. For to Him the children of their representative father Abraham—the natural children then restored by faith, and the children called in Isaac,

whether of Jews or Gentiles in all the periods of a preached Gospel — shall bring their offerings forever. “ Their kings shall be nursing fathers and their queens nursing mothers ” to this new institute of God, and “ They shall bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it : ” — the whole not a figure, but a fact ; not a myth, but a reality ; not poetry, but history ; not a philosophic image, a political or an ecclesiastical speculation, but an overt manifestation of the Son of God to take the sovereignty which, at his first appearing, He purchased with his own blood : the whole a fact described by all the prophets, from Samuel down, in literal language level to a child ; or tropes to give the fact a higher illustration ; or symbolic analogies to make the whole, when the analogy should be seen, more impressive and awakening to the stupid world : — the whole not a figure, but a fact ; or, if not a fact but figure, then all the prophecies which have been fulfilled, as of the flood, the first coming of our Lord, or the destruction of the ancient pagan nations, and of Jerusalem, have not been fulfilled but in appearance only, and the whole of Scripture is equally resolvable into fable ; and we ourselves are not actual beings ; and the world itself is but a Berkleian creation — nothing but an idea : the whole not a figure, but a fact, the incarnate Christ not less a fact than the creative Christ ; and the returning Christ not less a fact than the ascending Christ ; and the regal, reigning Christ not less a fact than the priestly, suffering Christ ; — all a fact, and as really a fact as that we now write or read of it. How — the *modus* — we know not. But we know it as well as how the worlds were made ; and the babe knows that as well as the philosopher ; for both know

nothing now, and can never know but by experience hereafter, and hereafter only as the consequence of a present faith.

So the ancient covenants will be fulfilled in their times. But, inasmuch as all this is an impossibility according to the present constitution and course of nature, or any Divine communications as yet made, or otherwise promised, to mankind, a thing not of development according to philosophy, but of destructions and new creations according to the Scripture and experience, we must look for it as foretold in literal prophecy, and not agreeably to our speculative, whether philosophical, political, or ecclesiastical, ideas. The Divine, and not any human wisdom, must be our guide, and, meanwhile, quicken our energies for the improvement of the present state of things. It is for our trial and discipline to make the best use possible, by natural means, of what God can effectually restore only by supernatural interposition, and of which He particularly requires the faithful occupancy till such time as He is pleased to superinduce a better order. Our work is in the present. Its relation to the future, as well as the future itself, belongs to a wisdom above our own. To that wisdom equally belongs our way of doing it. Platonic and Utopian methods reach not beyond nature, and cannot effect what is impossible under a natural and broken constitution, as experience and history should, by this time, have taught us. Otherwise we merely resign ourselves to a stupid unconcern; or waste ourselves in fantastic and chimerical pursuits; or rashly oscillate between extremes till the violent action and reaction break our social mechanisms in pieces. On the one hand we just stiffen with Hobbes, or, on the other, dissolve with

Voltaire. Now we forge spiritual fetters with Gregory, and then sever all bonds with the strong-minded women of the present day, and their emasculated co-workers of the other sex who make light of the normal prerogative of manhood, and hungrily sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. Or we are shoved up and down the sliding scale between them with the more honest and earnest, but misguided seekers who vainly aspire to a heaven upon earth without death and a resurrection. Or, yet more romantically, we look to be translated, and, by adding galvanism to steam, to become Enochs and Elijahs, and shoot the gulf in spite of gravity. Our fiery engines might almost seem to do it; but where would be the cars and passengers? We could honor Hobbes and Paine, Gregory and Voltaire, all the superstitions and fanaticisms, the despots and illuminati, of all times, for what they are worth, if it were possible to reckon so small a quantity. But they have all failed, and are now lost sight of in the rush of later aspirants who, with similar delusive principles, are contriving more ingenious methods of applying them, and inflating society with more gaudy visions of a golden future. Much more could we honor the greater men — civilians and divines — who labor more wisely and unselfishly for the benefit of society; the men of broader intellects and finer sympathies, of more corrected tastes and better manners, who, as far as their influence is permitted to extend, strengthen the things that remain by their various learning, their subtle judgment, their staunch integrity, their sharp criticism of existing evils, their comparatively prudent measures of reform, and their remaining respect for primitive Christianity. We could be almost capti-

vated by their occasional glowing pictures of an imaginary perfect state, but that we have seen the delusive colors so often fading out in the poisoned atmosphere of earth. We should be borne along by their resolute and persistent confidence that sometime, or somehow, burdened nature will throw off its load, and the lost harmonies of society be restored, if we had not so often seen their best matured projects fail, according to the Scripture, of their contemplated and expected ends. They are still met, at every approach to the gates of Paradise, by the cherubim and the flaming sword. They have not observed the point where a speculative fallacy has misled them. Their wisdom, great though it be, is of the earth, and the stream can go no higher than the fountain. Who would leave the light of heaven for their manufactured torches? Who would not lament, that these otherwise competent, and the only competent, leaders of society in the darknesses they are called to penetrate, should substitute their fictitious flames for the hallowed fire that ever burneth on the altar, to be consequently popularly outshone and outdone by the unskillful, unscrupulous, and audacious caterers to the prejudices and passions of demoralized society?

That sacred fire ever burneth. It is not for want of light, but of eyes to see it, that society is led about so long, hither and thither in the wilderness. There is a straight way and a short one to the land of promise if we cared to walk in it. Christianity is not at fault more than the natural, or patriarchal, or Mosaic dispensations, that the generations perish, one after another, in the desert. For, let it be that Christianity has done so little comparatively for the reformation of mankind, so that a shallow thinker might imagine

that any other wisdom would have done as well. Let it be that, notwithstanding its professed saving power, the nations from east to west, in distinction from the few righteous men within them, have fallen. Let it be that civilization and religion have rolled round the world till they have now almost reached the confines of the globe, leaving behind them so much of decrepitude, barbarism, and misery; that race after race has tried its experiment to so little purpose; that the resuscitation of effete nations has hitherto mocked the wisdom of statesmen, and the zeal of philanthropists; that our present Teutonic civilization — the vigorous offshoot of the old Greek and Roman, — rich as it is in advantages for material growth, intellectual and moral discipline, the installed educator and evangelizer of the world, is yet profiting so little by the experience of the past as to gain nothing upon the increasing population and wickedness of the western, to say nothing of the exhausted and incapable eastern, hemisphere; let it be that the Christianized nations are now making up their history in as great discouragement as the nations that have passed away, and are practically confuting that delusive speculative optimism which is ever willingly ignorant of evil, of its author or its penalties, which sees nothing present but flowers and fruits, and nothing future but a glorious harvest; let it be that Christianity has done so little. Yet, what but little have we of any other good, as things are now, of health, or wealth; of genius, learning, power; of sympathy and help; and that little mixed with evils in our best conditions, and presently taken from us before it can be called our own? Christianity has done but little. Be it so. But what is that little, not in degree, but in quality

and effect, as compared with paganism which it has not supplanted ; or Mohammedanism which still figures adversely in one of its ancient and lordly capitals ; or infidelity which now proudly lifts its heel against it ; or anti-christianism, whether of modern Rome or Athens, that would fain interpret its virtue out of it ? If it be little, what is that little, to have tempered the asperities of its own contentious sects ; to have raised and invigorated inert and lifeless masses, or checked and balanced their otherwise destructive agencies, and diffused even through the dark ages of credulity and superstition a spirit of reverence, of learning and art that has given to its own apostate nations so great social preëminence above the barbarous nations of the earth ? What is now that little in these ends of the earth to which Christianity has been virtually banished from the lands of its nativity, that in our families, villages, and cities, our schools and colleges, our governments and laws, our labor, trades, and commerce, such a conservative element should have so long existed with power to regulate, in measure, the whole social movement, and produce incidentally a civilization so thrifty, refined, and brilliant as to be thought even by many wise and religious men looking only at the outward appearance, significant of the withdrawing of the cherubim and the flaming sword, and a speedy return of the race to Paradise ? If Christianity has done but little, when did it ever profess the design of doing more than little — the ingathering of a little flock — during the absence of its author in heaven, and the continuance of the world's probation ? What does it speak of more, in its present age, than of opening a strait gate and a narrow way for a few patient bearers of the cross, to whom

not despising the present shame, it will give, in a better age, under a higher dispensation, the inheritance of the earth?

But, if any still imagine otherwise, that is, if, in the way of cavil and objection, it should be urged that Christianity is not worth much while it fails to realize our speculative hopes, and while so many unlearned predictions come short of their anticipated fulfillment, let such persons inquire what would be the natural consequence if its light, such as it is, were quenched, and a sheer naturalism should succeed, of which some of our most assured philosophers, and especially the female part of them, already begin to boast! There are not wanting large portions of the world to which Christianity, if not absolutely unknown, has not penetrated to any considerable effect, or from which it has been for centuries virtually excluded. It were mere affectation to pretend, that the present Christianized nations, if the light of Christianity were withdrawn from them, have any advantages which those countries had not for social and political advancement, or would not, in due time, be equally degraded. If any country could pretend to such advantage it would be our own, on whatever grounds, historical, social, or political, the reckoning were made. Let it then be supposed that the experiment were here carried out, not of abolishing Christianity by legislative decrees, or popular commotions, as in revolutionary France, but of overshadowing and insensibly annulling it by the more ordinary process of secularization; by the fashionable insinuation of a worldly spirit; the gradual substitution of speculative conceits, of learned mythologies, of an unbelieving and licentious literature, of æsthetic entertainments

of merely philanthropic and reformatory enterprise, of stormy political agitations, of sectional jealousies and hates; or by lawless encroachments and vindictive partisan animosities and wars, justified, on this side and on that side, upon plausible but loose and shadowy pretenses. Let it be supposed, that in our rapid material career, quickened as it was, in its early stages, by the activity which Christianity itself gives indirectly to the natural energies of society, we should become giddy from the very height of our secular greatness, and that, looking abroad upon the outspread panorama of the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, we should, for the tempting boon, fall down and worship the lying spirit. Let it be supposed, that the more distinctively religious classes should then, as would be natural, lose their proportion to the rapidly increasing population, and gradually their restraining and correcting influence upon the ruder portions of society; that the Church should consequently become stationary or retrogressive, subsiding into indifference, or stimulating itself with ambitious and romantic hopes, joining, for advantage, in the universal physical activity, multiplying its secular organizations, its political alliances, spreading itself, on public exhibitions, for popular effect, and exhausting its spirit in working its apparatus. Let it be supposed, that while it was becoming lavish in its furniture and adornments, proud in its gorgeous display, and fantastic in its movements, the heavenly fire was going out upon its altars, its services accommodated to the spirit and genius of an exacting worldly civilization, and its ministry subservient to the changeable humors of an excited, capricious, pleasure-loving and headstrong people. Let it be supposed that

the Church and State should imperceptibly lose their balance and proportion, and become now mutually repulsive, and then coalesce for a common political effect; that consequently the maxims of a worldly prudence should take the place of independent virtue, and ideas of expediency and utility become paramount to constitutions and laws — the ordinances of God. Let us suppose their venerated institutions to fall off insensibly from their old foundations, and justify their departure from established precedents, and lose sight of the ancient landmarks; that the oracles should give out wild, inconsistent, and contradictory responses; and, amidst the subtleties of dispute, the sophistries of loose and uncertain interpretations and consequent political embarrassments, society should become more and more excited and distracted; that the common atmosphere should be filled with murky vapors; that governments, politics, art, science, commerce, trades, should crowd incontinently one upon another in fitful, jealous, and angry movement. Let us suppose that all this effervescing excitement and overreaching activity should, however, seem to the now unconscious generality to indicate only the march of a more vigorous Christian civilization; that its progress should be hailed from every hill-top, its hosannas be rung in every temple; and the wild cry of an infatuated people should be regarded as the voice of God heralding the material and political, and, by an absurd consequence, the moral renovation of the world. What, upon these suppositions not improbable, not incredible, but analogous to events in recorded history, and consonant with all the voices of Scripture, must not become of the last, the westernmost, the most highly privileged of the nations of

the earth, when its proudest and most exultant civilization should be weighed in the balances of *moral government*, and the fiery letters should come out upon the wall — “MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN?”

I presume not to prophesy beyond what becomes every thoughtful student of the Scripture and of moral providence. But cause and effect have a necessary relation to each other. General principles work out slowly but surely their natural results. To observe this law may not be philosophical or patriotic according to received ideas; it may find little favor with ambitious leaders, or an intoxicated people, but it is wise agreeably to all history and experience; and to testify accordingly may not be inconsistent with a Christian love. Our country is in danger. Its future is mainly in the hands of its educated men. It will outlive its perils if they prove not unmindful of their privilege, and refuse not to bear the responsibility which is laid upon them. They may fail, as nearly all the past have failed, by unduly exalting their prerogative. But their failure will be greater in resigning it. It will be final when, for any supposed personal or political advantage, they shall commit the authority which God has given them to incompetent administrators, or heedlessly divide it with inexperienced multitudes without the discipline of knowledge, the sobriety of wisdom, or the restraints of virtue. Already, as it has been well said of the Christianized nations in general, “From that tragic fate of humanity we are removed but a step.” When the greatest state-prophet of earth looked upon the symbolic representative image of all the world-civilizations, presently a stone, cut from the mountains without hands, fell upon its brittle feet and toes of iron and

clay, and the whole figure was crushed into dust, and scattered to the winds of heaven.

That, however, as it concerns us deeply to know, is not the last of earth, but of its falsehoods, disorders, and miseries ; its bad governments, its apostate churches, and its deluded peoples. For “ The stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.” Such is the great hope that makes us not ashamed to testify for Christianity against all that would obscure its light, or hinder its effect. Christ will dethrone his adversary, and introduce a higher dispensation no longer militant but triumphant. Of this new *αιών* the prophetic Scripture is full and eminently distinctive. The attentive student will observe the line of separation everywhere traceable between the prophetic events of the Old and New Testament dispensations, and the events of the higher dispensation which would succeed them at Christ’s return from heaven. It is a well-known idiom of the prophetic writers to group the events of all the dispensations, as in a picture, in the same books or chapters, as if they related to the same periods ; and this has led incautious readers to great misapprehensions. But the character, design, and end of these events, so grouped and almost confused as they are in prophetic Scripture, and their actual occurrence, as far as yet accomplished and recorded by sacred or secular writers, give them a positive determination to different ages or dispensations, or to different periods of the same age ; as, for instance, the different apostasies of the Jews, their recoveries and final return to their own land ; the destruction of Jerusalem ; the end of the Christian age or world, and the different comings of our Lord. This order

of prophetic description, bewildering to the casual reader, when better understood, forcibly illustrates the passage of the true Church of God through its difficult stages and vicissitudes from the city of destruction to the heavenly city. It is a panorama of the ages, so as we have seen in our pictorials, at one view, Bunyan's Christian, in all the periods of his hard experience, till he enters into his rest. This idiom of the prophets, when appreciated by the studious inquirer, will greatly facilitate his study of all the related parts of Scripture, and guide him through the perplexed and otherwise possibly impenetrable labyrinth of speculative interpretations. The history of God's moral providence will open to him in beautiful simplicity, as he traces, in fit historic order, the call of Abraham; the rise, decline, and fall of the Jewish nation; the Messiah, the promised deliverer, coming to them, as predicted, in the line of David; his offer to them of the promised kingdom — a kingdom at once civil and ecclesiastical, temporal and spiritual, exempted from the evils of the present probationary state, agreeably both to the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants; their rejection and crucifixion of the predicted King and Priest; the consequent destruction of their temple and the treading down of Jerusalem till the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled; then, onwards, the leading events of the subsequent Gentile dispensation; the ingathering of the Gentile Church; its departures from the faith; the hostility of the Gentile kings and rulers; the raging of the heathen, and the vain imaginations of the people; the rise and prevalence of antichristian powers which should culminate in the mightiest and most malignant of the world-kingsdoms and their ambitious despots — a power that

should deceive both Jews and Gentiles, and, if that were possible, the very elect; that should gain a metropolitan residence in Jerusalem; assert universal empire — a man-god; — and “practise and prosper,” even to the point of subjugating the world, till “The Lord should consume him with the breath of his mouth, and destroy him by the brightness of his coming;” — the whole constituting a body of learning which, though of infinite reach and consequence, is level, when reduced in historic narrative, to the understanding of a child. It represents the known conflict of the ages between Christ and “the archangel ruined” for the possession of this fallen world. It sets forth the militant and suffering dispensations of the true Church — the chosen people recovered while the strife is going on — the mixed scene of good and evil, evil predominating in the world, till the crushing stone proves the conqueror’s power and right, and then, in glory and majesty, succeeds the millennial reign of righteousness and peace. This triumph of the world’s Redeemer; his return in glory to the city of his shame; the planting of his feet on the well-remembered Mount of Olives; his possession of the covenanted throne of his father David; his restitution of the covenanted people; and the outflowing of his infinite loving-kindness over the ransomed nations, constitute the enraptured song of all the holy prophets in affecting contrast with their laments and burdens over the antecedent miseries and disorders, through which all this victory and glory are obtained. It is the theme of their largest discourse. It exhausts their powers of rhetoric, so that they can speak to us no longer, and point only to the succeeding ages of ages — the *αἰωνες των αιωνων* of *glory* — in

which "To the principalities and powers in the heavenly places will be made known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."

But of this the design of this letter does not call me to speak particularly, except that it concerns all educated men so to inform themselves, from the only authentic source, of the design, the course and end of God's moral providence among the nations, as that, in these difficult times, they may not fail under the peculiar responsibility which Christianity lays upon them. The questions that invite them are difficult, not indeed to the child-like and unsophisticated inquirer, but as they have become clouded and embarrassed by the philosophical and political theories, and the corresponding speculative and scholastic theologies, of our modern period. But, however great the difficulty from these or other related sources, that is an argument to educated men not for supercilious indifference to the great issues before them, or a rash judgment upon partial examination, but for the more scrupulous reconsideration of received opinions, and a more earnest and critical study of the Scriptures. For the issues are of life and death to the States and nations of the earth; and to educated men the States and nations will owe their rise or fall, their glory or their shame.

It may possibly assist inquirers, particularly among my former pupils, if, in closing this letter, I should say a few words of personal explanation.

During my connection with the College, the department of ethics and theology having become vacant, its duties were assigned to me by the Trustees, and performed accordingly for a considerable term of years.

In the course of this service my conviction of the cardinal and vital truths of Scripture was greatly strengthened. I found here a foundation, a settlement, and a criterion. But, between these vital truths and the commonly received opinions respecting the social relations of Christianity — opinions in which I had fully acquiesced — I perceived, at length, an irreconcilable inconsistency which I had never before considered. That a fallacy existed somewhere it was evident, for truths can never be at variance. I sought for it with diligent and painful study, and found it, as I became presently confident, concealed amidst the subtleties and obscurities of our modern speculative philosophy. This tissue of sophistries, as it appeared, had imperceptibly changed the relative positions of God and man; had made our ethics and theology subservient to its visionary ideas of human ability, perfectibility, and glory; and was secretly producing, under its characteristic visionary pretenses, a general disintegration of society in our own country, and throughout the civilized world. It was a startling and affecting discovery. It put me at once upon a more Scriptural and consistent method of inquiry; and the views expressed, though very imperfectly, in this letter, opened upon me with a clearness and force to which I had been a stranger in all my antecedent professional inquiries. Thenceforth I taught them to the classes, not as I had been brought up, nor as they learned from the books in general, and not according to the popular belief; but, more scrupulously, agreeably to my own convictions.

Very conscious of the common liability to error, sometimes an anxious thought occurred to me lest, through some mistaken element in my reckoning, I

should unwittingly mislead the students. That thought alone would have kept me from a proselyting spirit. But it was always relieved by perceiving what was also well understood by others, that my teaching, on this line, was without effect. I accord to the students the praise of respectful attention, of earnest questionings, and intelligent discussions. In this respect they never failed in duty or propriety; but, somehow, they never saw reason to resign their traditionary beliefs. However greatly I might be in error, I did not learn that I was doing them injury by what seemed to engage them only as "peculiarities," and gave an increased stimulus to their most important studies. If here and there an individual, perhaps three or four in a course of years, acquiesced in these peculiarities, they did it not because they were so taught, but as a consequence of private, independent, and persistent study, so that the responsibility was all their own.

That anxiety, however, constantly diminished. Presently it was entirely removed. Now it is forgotten. Increased length of years, broader studies, larger experience and observation, have given me an assurance that I shall doubtless carry with me to the grave. That what I have hitherto taught and written has been with so little effect, serves rather to strengthen than diminish it, inasmuch as it is a prophetic evidence of truth not to be believed.

But it is also doctrine as well as prophecy, that the good seed of truth, when it has had time to vegetate, will spring up and bear its proper fruit, as God shall please. In that confidence I have written these pages, nothing doubting that the principles here propounded will, in due time, be justified by events; and that

many of the sons of Dartmouth who have so candidly, though incredulously, listened to them, will, also, upon a deeper study, approve them. Nor can I give up the expectation, justified by so many providential analogies of history, that the venerable College itself, whose voice, a hundred years ago, cried so effectually in the desert, will, within the hundred years to come, cause itself to be heard, on a greater occasion, and to yet better purpose, in the high places both of the Church and State, uttering, not typically, the cry of the Eremite, but antitypically, and perhaps echoing, the more emphatic cry of the true Elias who is to come — “*Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.*”

I remain, with sincere regards,

Yours, etc.,

N. LORD.

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CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS.]

1870.

THE Convention which, on call of the Church of the Pilgrimage in Plymouth, met in the Broadway Tabernacle, in the city of New York, on the 2d March last, to "take such action as shall seem to it expedient, for ordering the Commemorative Services" of this 250th year since the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, passed, among others, the following resolution, viz :

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended that during the month of May, next, every Congregational pastor set forth from the pulpit, our obligations to the Pilgrim Fathers, the influence of their faith and polity upon the character of the nation; and the duty we owe to the memory and principles of the Fathers, to maintain, enlarge and transmit the inheritance we have received at their hands.

It was felt by that Convention to be of the highest importance that this request should be complied with, if practicable, *by every pastor and acting pastor of a Congregational church in the land*; for the possible direct relation of such preaching to the prosperity of all the Jubilee endeavors of the year, by which it is sought to put our American Congregationalism at once upon a plane of higher life and broader efficiency, not more than for its probable educational results, in giving to all Congregationalists clearer conceptions of their principles, a more precise acquaintance with their history, and a more accurate perception of the relations of their polity to the civil and religious prosperity of our own land and of the world.

As the month of May will soon be here, and the time afforded for special research upon this subject is not long; and as the books in general circulation, which treat of the Pilgrims and their history, and of the great struggle out of which sprang that Separatist faith which established itself upon the rock of Plymouth and leavened this new world, are neither numerous, exhaustive, nor always authentic; and as the sources of some of the most accurate and interesting portions of these annals have been discovered by investigations comparatively recent, whose results are as yet mainly confined to the shelves of the few great libraries, while these are not within easy reach of the majority of Congregational pastors; the Executive Committee, to whom that Convention entrusted "all matters of detail connected with the commemorative endeavors of the year," have decided—in deference to suggestions and requests received from various quarters—to publish a little pamphlet of Memoranda—historical, chronological, etc., in the hope to aid all special students of the Pilgrim history in their studies, by indicating to them where to find what they desire to refer to just now, so that their library research may perhaps be lightened, and in the hope of putting in the most condensed form within the reach of those whose circumstances do not favor their consultation of the libraries, some hints of the facts of which they are in search.

Hastily prepared, and felt to be exceedingly fragmentary and inadequate, the following pages are therefore sent forth in the hope that, while they will hinder nobody, they may possibly, in default of something better, prove helpful to some investigators, and so aid a little in the Jubilee work of the year, and the good results for the honor of the Fathers, the prosperity of the future, the benefit of man, and the glory of God, which are sought in it.

EDWARD S. TOBEY,	} <i>Jubilee</i> <i>Executive</i> <i>Committee.</i>
WILLIAM W. PATTON,	
HENRY M. DEXTER,	
SAMUEL HOLMES,	
A. S. BARNES,	
RAY PALMER,	
ALONZO H. QUINT,	

BOSTON, MASS., April 25, 1870.

CHRONOLOGICAL GLANCE

AT PROMINENT FACTS OF INTEREST,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE

Pilgrim Fathers, and their History.

1380. Wycliffe completed his translation of the Bible, multiplied copies by the aid of transcribers ; and, by God's blessing on His Word, thus unbound from the fetters of alien tongues, a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds sown of that religious revolution, which a little more than a century later, astonished and overturned the world.

1418. Council of Constance ordered Wycliffe's bones to be ungraved and burned for those of a heretic.

1534. Henry the Eighth of England, for the reason that the Pope would not divorce him from Katharine, his wife, divorced the Church of England from its allegiance to Rome.

1550. Puritanism dates from John Hooper's "scrupling the vestments," and refusing to take the oath of supremacy, until King Edward had run his pen through a part of it.

1554. The Frankfort congregation of exiles arose, under the persecuting reign of "Bloody Mary," and the Puritan separation began with Englishmen outside of England.

1566. Date of separation in England, by Puritans who were shut out of the Church, and restrained of the press, and who thought, as separate congregations had for some time been existing at Frankfort, Geneva, and even in London, it might be right, and their duty, to come out and be separate from the corruptions and superstitions swaying the English Church, and its service.

1570. Thomas Cartwright pushed the fundamental proposition to reduce all things in reforming the Church to the apostolical way, as contained in the New Testament. For this he was expelled from Oxford, and took refuge abroad. Coming back seven years after, he maintained that government by the eldership is of divine appointment and obligation — anticipating, mainly, the views and practices of the Presbyterian party of the time of the Commonwealth.

1582. ROBERT BROWNE threw a new element into the conflict of opinion which was agitating the English people (under Elizabeth), by evolving from the New Testament, essentially, the Democratic system of Church polity.

1591. A church of English exiles, actuated by the principles of Browne, but misliking his name, was formed at Amsterdam, of which Henry Ainsworth became pastor.

1593. Henry Barrow, John Greenwood and John Penry put to death for their Congregational principles.

1606. The Mayflower Church was formed by mutual covenant, at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire.

1607. Harried out of England, this Church begins to fly to Holland, and in the next spring, all get over to Amsterdam, where they continue about a year.

1608. The Mayflower Church removed to Leyden, where Robinson was sole pastor, and William Brewster was chosen elder.

1611. ^{25 April.}
^{5 May.} John Robinson and others of his church bought a house in the Kloksteeg in Leyden, near the University, which "being large," was both occupied by him, and used by them as their place of Sabbath worship.

1615. ^{26 Aug.}
^{5 Sept.} Robinson became matriculated in the University. Age, thirty-nine.

1620. ¹/₁₁ July. The last revised conditions of the agreement of the English merchants with the intending colonists were settled, and the emigration to America finally and absolutely determined on.

1620. More particular schedule of the events of their emigration hither, and of the first six months of their settlement—in illustration of their sufferings in laying the foundations of civil and religious liberty herè.

Day.	Old Style.	New Style.	
<i>Tues.</i>	11 <i>July.</i>	21 <i>July.</i>	Left Leyden.
<i>Sat.</i>	5 <i>Aug.</i>	15 <i>Aug.</i>	Sailed from Southampton, (two ships.)
<i>Sab.</i>	13 "	23 "	Put back to Dartmouth.
<i>Wed.</i>	23 "	2 <i>Sept.</i>	Sailed again.
—	—	—	Put back the second time to Plymouth, and Speedwell dismissed.
<i>Wed.</i>	6 <i>Sept.</i>	16 "	Sailed from Plymouth, (102 in the Mayflower.)
<i>Mon.</i>	6 <i>Nov.</i>	16 <i>Nov.</i>	William Batten dies at sea.
<i>Thurs.</i>	9 "	19 "	Saw Cape Cod.
<i>Sat.</i>	11 "	21 "	Anchored in Provincetown harbor, signed the compact, chose Carver Governor, and went ashore.
<i>Mon.</i>	13 "	23 "	Unshipped the shallop, and went ashore to wash.
<i>Wed.</i>	15 "	25 "	Started on first expedition inland.
<i>Thurs.</i>	16 "	26 "	Found springs in Truro, went as far as Pamet River, found a kettle, dug up corn, etc.
<i>Fri.</i>	17 "	27 "	Sunk the kettle in the pond, and went back to ship.
<i>Mon.</i>	27 "	7 <i>Dec.</i>	Second and larger exploring party started in shallop and got to East Harbor Creek.
<i>Tues.</i>	28 "	8 "	Went on to Pamet River, and inland from it.
<i>Wed.</i>	29 "	9 "	Revisited Cornhill, and Master Jones and a part went back to the ship.
<i>Thurs.</i>	30 "	10 "	Found wigwams, graves, etc., and got back to ship and found Peregrine White had been born in their absence.
<i>Mon.</i>	4 <i>Dec.</i>	14 "	Dies, Edward Thompson.
<i>Tues.</i>	5 "	15 "	Francis Billington nearly blows up the Mayflower.
<i>Wed.</i>	6 "	16 "	Third exploring party started in the shallop, and got as far as Eastham. Jasper Moore dies on the ship.

Day. Old Style. New Style.

1620.

<i>Thurs.</i>	7 <i>Dec.</i>	17 <i>Dec.</i>	Explored up Welfleet Bay, and inland, and slept at Great Meadow Creek; Bradford's wife falls overboard from the ship, and is drowned.
<i>Fri.</i>	8 "	18 "	Had first encounter with Indians, then coasted round the bay, following the shore westward and northward, went by Barnstable in a snow storm so thick they did not see its harbor, broke their rudder, split their mast into three pieces, and in a heavy north-easter ran in under the lee of Clark's Island in Plymouth harbor after pitch dark. James Chilton dies on the ship.
<i>Sat.</i>	9 "	19 "	Rested, refitted their mast and rudder, etc.
<i>Sab.</i>	10 "	20 "	<i>Kept the Sabbath</i> on Clark's Island.
<i>Mon.</i>	11 "	21 "	FOREFATHERS' DAY. Landed on the Rock, and explored.
<i>Tues.</i>	12 "	22 "	Started back for Provincetown, and the Mayflower.
<i>Fri.</i>	15 "	25 "	Weighed anchor for Plymouth, but a foul wind drove them back.
<i>Sat.</i>	16 "	26 "	Dropped anchor inside Plymouth beach.
<i>Mon.</i>	18 "	28 "	Party from the ship landed and explored.
<i>Tues.</i>	19 "	29 "	Second exploration of the shore.
<i>Wed.</i>	20 "	30 "	Third expedition, resulting in decision to settle near what are now Burial Hill and Town Brook.
<i>Thurs.</i>	21 "	31 "	Stormed, and nothing could be done, but Richard Britteredge dies on the ship.

1621.

<i>Fri.</i>	22 "	1 <i>Jan.</i>	Storm continues. Goodwife Allerton gives birth to a still-born son.
<i>Sat.</i>	23 "	2 "	As many as can, begin to cut and carry timber on shore for the common house.
<i>Sab.</i>	24 "	3 "	Those on shore hear a cry of savages—as they think, but see none. Solomon Prower dies.
<i>Mon.</i>	25 "	4 "	Busy on the common house. Indian alarm again, but saw none. The beer being low, they begin to drink water on board the ship.
<i>Tues.</i>	26 "	5 "	Foul weather, no going ashore.
<i>Wed.</i>	27 "	6 "	To work again.
<i>Thurs.</i>	28 "	7 "	Divided whole company into nineteen families, and measured out lots for them.
<i>Fri.</i>	29 "	8 "	Tried to work, but rainy.
<i>Sat.</i>	30 "	9 "	Same weather and same result. Saw Indian smokes in the distance.
<i>Mon.</i>	1 <i>Jan.</i>	10 "	At work again. Digory Priest dies.
<i>Wed.</i>	3 "	13 "	More smokes seen, but still no Indians.
<i>Thurs.</i>	4 "	14 "	Standish and a party go out, and find wigwams, but no Indians. Shot an eagle, and the poor hungry men likened its flesh to mutton!

162^o_i.

Day.	Old Style.	New Style.	
<i>Fri.</i>	5 <i>Jan.</i>	15 <i>Jan.</i>	A sailor found a herring, so they hoped for fish soon, but found they had no hooks small enough for cod-hooks.
<i>Sat.</i>	6 "	16 "	C. Martin very sick, and sends ashore for Governor Carver to see him "about his accounts."
<i>Sab.</i>	7 "	17 "	Carver goes on board.
<i>Mon.</i>	8 "	18 "	Fine, fair day. Shallop gets some fish. F. Billington discovers the pond since called by his name. Martin dies.
<i>Tues.</i>	9 "	19 "	Divided their lots of land by lot, laying out a street with cabins on each side.
<i>Thurs.</i>	11 "	21 "	William Bradford taken sick while at work.
<i>Fri.</i>	12 "	22 "	Rained again. John Goodman and Peter Brown lost themselves in the woods, chasing a deer.
<i>Sat.</i>	13 "	23 "	An armed party went out seven or eight miles in search vainly, but at night, the lost men returned, faint and frozen, so that Goodman's shoes had to be cut from his feet, and it was a long time before he was able to walk.
<i>Sab.</i>	14 "	24 "	More being now on shore than in the ship, they intended to have worship in the common house, but its thatch took fire and burned off, which prevented.
<i>Mon.</i>	15 "	25 "	Stormed again, so that there was no communication between the ship and the shore.
<i>Tues.</i>	16 "	26 "	Three fair, sunshiny days, like April, followed, and cheered on their work.
<i>Fri.</i>	19 "	29 "	Began to build a shed to store their provisions. Stormed again. Saw two wolves.
<i>Sat.</i>	20 "	30 "	Made their shed.
<i>Sab.</i>	21 "	31 "	<i>Kept their first Sabbath worship ashore.</i>
<i>Mon.</i>	22 "	1 <i>Feb.</i>	Fair. Stored their meal, etc., in the shed.
<i>Mon.</i>	29 "	8 "	Cold with sleet, but cleared, and the long-boat and shallop carried goods ashore. Miles Standish's wife Rose, dies.
<i>Tues.</i>	30 "	9 "	Frosty, with sleet. Could not work.
<i>Wed.</i>	31 "	10 "	More so. Those on the ship saw two Indians running away.
<i>Sab.</i>	4 <i>Feb.</i>	14 "	Wet, and so windy as almost to blow the Mayflower (now light), from her anchorage, and the windy flood almost washed the "daubing" out of the chinks of their cabins.
<i>Fri.</i>	9 "	19 "	Too cold to work. The cabin of the sick ones caught fire, but was put out without much damage to them. Killed five geese, and found a dead deer.
<i>Fri.</i>	16 "	26 "	Cold. One fowling saw twelve Indians, and heard more. The said Indians made a great fire at night in the woods, and stole some tools that had been left out.

Day.	Old Style.	New Style.	162 ⁰ ₁ .
Sat.	17 Feb.	27 Feb.	Began to organize in a military way. Chose Miles Standish Captain. Two savages made signs on a near hill, but ran away.
Wed.	21 "	3 Mar.	Got the great guns out of the ship, and mounted them on what is now Burial Hill. William White, William Mullins, and two others die.
Sab.	25 "	7 "	Isaac Allerton's wife Mary dies.
Sat.	3 Mar.	13 "	The birds sang, and there was a thunder-storm.
Wed.	7 "	17 "	Began to sow garden seeds.
Fri.	16 "	26 "	A second meeting to arrange military affairs was broken up by <i>Samoset's</i> coolly walking in upon them "straight to the Randevous," and in tolerable English, making the brief speech of "Welcome Englishmen." He told them that all the Indians about Plymouth had died four years before by an extraordinary plague. They fed him, and lodged (and watched) him over night.
Sat.	17 "	27 "	Dismissed him with presents.
Sab.	18 "	28 "	<i>Samoset</i> came back, with five others, "to trade," and bringing the stolen tools. Tried to send them away, because it was Sunday, but <i>Samoset</i> pretended to be sick, and wouldn't go.
Mon.	19 "	29 "	Fair. Sowed seeds.
Tues.	20 "	30 "	Ditto.
Wed.	21 "	31 "	Sent <i>Samoset</i> off. Another military meeting again interrupted by the sight of Indians on the hill. The carpenter, long sick, got well enough to repair the shallop, so they could "fetch all from aboard" — so they cleaned out the ship, and their colonizing became complete.
Thurs.	22 "	1 Apr.	Another fine day, and another attempt at public business interrupted by the return of <i>Samoset</i> , bringing <i>Squanto</i> , (the only survivor of the Indians native to the spot,) and announcing <i>Massasoit</i> , who, with his brother, <i>Quadequina</i> , and suit, made a formal call, and concluded a treaty — which was kept by both parties, until Philip broke it in 1675.
Fri.	23 "	2 "	Visits exchanged between the colonists and <i>Massasoit's</i> party. <i>Squanto</i> went to fish for eels, which he trod out of the mud with his feet, and caught with his hands, and which the colonists thought "very fat and sweet." Concluded their military and other public business, and re-elected John Carver for Governor, for the new year, beginning on Sabbath the 25th.
Sat.	24 "	3 "	Edward Winslow's wife, Elizabeth, dies. A great mortality prevailed during this month, above the names here given. Nearly half the sailors of the <i>Mayflower</i> died also.

1621.

Day. Old Style. New Style.

- Tues.* 5 *Apr.* 15 *Apr.* The Mayflower starts for England on her return voyage, but none of the diminished company wanted to go back in her.
- — “ — “ Governor Carver died suddenly, “and his wife being a weak woman, dyed within 5 or 6 weeks after him.” William Bradford was chosen Governor in his place, “and being not yet recoverd of his ilnes, in which he had been near ye point of death, Isaak Allerton was chosen to be an Assistante unto him.”
- Sat.* 12 *May.* 22 *May.* Edward Winslow was married to Mrs. Susanna, widow of William White, who had died, ^{21 Feb.} _{8 Mar.}
The first marriage in the Colony.
- Mon.* 18 *Jun.* 28 *Jun.* Two servants fight a duel, each wounding the other. The company sit on their case, and adjudge them to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours without meat or drink ; but “within *an Hour*, because of their great Pains, at their own & their Master’s [Stephen Hopkins] humble Request, upon Promise of better Carriage, they are released by the *Governor*.”

“The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and ye sick and lame recovered apace, which put, as it were, new life into them ; though they had borne their sadd affliction with as much patience & contentedness, as I thinke any people could doe. But it was ye Lord which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them ; many having long borne ye yoake, yea, from their youth.” — Gov. Bradford’s *Hist. Plim. Plant.* 98.



VARIOUS EXTRACTS, ETC.,

ILLUSTRATING THE

RISE, CONDUCT, HISTORY, OPINIONS, TRIALS AND INFLUENCE, OF THE PLYMOUTH MOVE- MENT, AND MEN.

From the rise of the Papacy to the Reformation, the theory of the Church was that of an all-embracing centralized organism ; governed by the Papal Hierarchy, and whose private members had simply the right, duty, and responsibility, of submission and unquestioning obedience.

Wycliffe.

“Upwards of a century and a half before the time of Luther, Wycliffe had exposed the superstition and despotism of Rome. Born in the early part of the fourteenth century, [near Richmond, Yorkshire, 1324, died at Lutterworth, 31 Dec. 1384,] he anticipated the discoveries of his more fortunate successors, and labored with an assiduity and rectitude of purpose, which entitle him to the admiration and gratitude of posterity. Though his labors did not effect an alteration in the ecclesiastical polity of his country, they made an extensive and permanent impression. A numerous class of followers were raised up, by the Providence of God : these preserved the precious seed of the kingdom until more propitious days ; and, though assailed by the fiercest persecutions, were enabled to hand down the sacred deposit to the times of the Lutheran reformation.” — Price’s *History of Prot. Non-Conform.* i : 4.

About 1380, Wycliffe completed a translation of the Bible into English — the first ever made public. “It was not made for his own use, but for the enlightenment of his country. His object was to throw the broad blaze of revelation upon the corruptions of the Church, to expose before his fellow-men the errors and superstitions into which they had fallen, and to disclose to their view the narrow path which they had missed. The numerous copies of Wycliffe’s translation preserved for four centuries and a half, attest the early publicity of his version, and the diligent means employed for the multiplication of transcripts. It may safely be affirmed that not one of the partial versions previously made, had ever been as widely diffused as this ; and it was the formation of the bold idea of its general circulation, and the execution of the daring and unexampled project, that constitute the peculiar and glorious characteristic of the reformer’s enterprise.” — Bagster’s *English Hexapla.* 13.

“The disciples of Wycliffe were termed Lollards, and were found in most parts of the kingdom. Knighton, a canon of Leicester, and a cotemporary of Wycliffe, tells us that in the year 1382, ‘their number very much increased, and that, starting like saplings from the root of a tree, they were multiplied, and filled every place within the compass of the land.’ This language must undoubtedly

be understood with some limitation ; but we cannot mistake the inference to be drawn from it." — Vaughan's *Life of Wycliffe*. 154.

"One thing I boldly assert, that in the Primitive Church, or the time of Paul, two orders of the clergy were held sufficient — those of priests and deacons. No less certain am I, that in the time of Paul, presbyters and bishops were the same, as is shown in 1 Tim. iii, and Titus i." — Wycliffe, *Dialogue*, xiii.

"Wycliffe, was the first of Puritans, as well as of Protestants." — *Bogue and Bennett*, i: 27.

"Nothing came to the birth in the 16th century, that had not lain in embryo in Wycliffe's time, under the common heart of England." — *Palfrey's Hist. New England*, i: 108.

"Hitherto, the corpse of John Wycliffe had quietly slept in his grave, about one and forty years after his death, till his body was reduced to bones, and his bones almost to dust ; for though the earth in the chancel of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where he was interred, hath not so quick a digestion with the earth of Aeldama, to consume flesh in twenty-four hours, yet such the appetite thereof, and all other English graves, as to leave small reversions of a body after so many years. But now, such the spleen of the Council of Constance, as they not only cursed his memory, as dying an obstinate heretic, but ordered that his bones (with this charitable caution, if it may be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people) to be taken out of the ground and thrown far off from any Christian burial. In obedience hereunto, Richard Flemyng, bishop of Lincoln, diocesan of Lutterworth, sent his officers, (vultures with a quick sight-scent at a dead carcass) to ungrave him accordingly. To Lutterworth they came, (summer, commissary, official, chancellor, proctors, doctors and the servants, so that the remnant of the body would not hold out a bone amongst so many hands) take what was left out of the grave, and burnt them to ashes, and cast them into Swift, a neighboring brook running hard by. Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean ; and thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over." — *Fuller's Church Hist. Brit.* ii: 423. See also Fox's *Martyrology*, i: 606.

"Thus speaks (that voice which walks upon the wind,
Though seldom heard by busy human kind),
'As thou these ashes, little brook, wilt bear
'Into the Avon, Avon to the tide
'Of Severn, Severn to the narrow seas,
'Into main ocean they, this deed accurst
'An emblem yields to friends and enemies,
'How the bold teacher's doctrine, sanctified
'By truth, shall spread throughout the world dispersed !'" — *Wordsworth*.

Henry the VIII and the Reformation.

For the reason that the Pope would not divorce him from Katharine, his wife, when he was tired of her and wanted to marry Ann Boleyn, Henry divorced the Church of England from that of Rome, really founding a new Church in England.

"The existence of the Church of England as a distinct body, and her final separation from Rome, may be dated from the period of the divorce." — Short's *Hist. Ch. Eng.*, 102.

"Upwards of five years were employed by Henry in negotiating with the Papal Court. Wearied at length with its procrastination, he ordered Cranmer to pronounce the sentence of divorce. The Archbishop accordingly declared the marriage of the king with the lady Katherine, null and void; and on his return to Lambeth, he confirmed the marriage of Henry with Ann Boleyn, which had been privately solemnized by Dr. Lee, some months before. This step precipitated the king into a course of measures hostile to the papacy." — Price's *Hist. Prot. Non-Conf.*, i: 22.

"Henry perhaps approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness, as the infirmities of human nature will allow." — Sir. James Mackintosh's *Hist. of Eng.*, ii: 205.

"The doctrine of the regal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, had been familiar to Englishmen for many generations. It had been successfully maintained up to a certain point, by the greatest of the Plantaganet kings, and had been ably vindicated by Wycliffe, one of whose cardinal heresies consisted in the denial of the supremacy of the Pope. All that Henry did was to apply and extend a doctrine that had long been filtering through the minds, both of the aristocracy and the commonalty. Hence the otherwise inexplicable circumstance, that his assumption of unlimited supremacy excited only what may be described as a professional opposition. . . . In that age indeed, there seemed to be no alternative between the supremacy of the Pope and the supremacy of the king. The minds of the best of men, as is the case with some even in these days, were so warped by the influence of ancient ecclesiastical precedents, that none dreamed of an ultimate appeal to Holy Scripture. St. Paul, if he were consulted, was to be interpreted by Augustine, St. John by Jerome, and St. Peter by the Popes; and to the interpreters, as a matter of course, was given the principal authority. A Church of Christ, independent, as such, of human control, and existing apart from State-craft, was an idea almost impossible to that age. If entertained at all, it could only have been by men as humble in life as in spirit, such as afterwards rose to assert the spiritual character of the kingdom of Christ upon earth." — Skeats's *Hist. Free Ch's of Eng.*, 3.

"The king himself undertook to settle what the people should believe, and with this view, drew up a set of articles of religion. . . . The new articles might have secured a much wider acceptance than it befell them to receive, but for a step altogether fatal to many of their doctrines, and almost equally fatal to the doctrine of the royal supremacy. The king not only authorized a translation of the Bible into English, but ordered a copy of it to be set up in each of the churches. This act, however, was soon felt to be, what it undoubtedly was, a political blunder, and, after seven years, was substantially recalled. Before furnishing his subjects with such a weapon of almighty power against the system which he had determined to establish, the king issued the "Injunctions." He, who was the slave of his own lusts, enjoined the clergy to exhort the people to 'keep God's commandments,' and to give themselves to 'the study of the Scriptures, and a good life.' In the 'Institution of a Christian Man,' the bishops laid down, at greater length, the creed of the Reformed Church, which was further vindicated in the 'Necessary Doctrine.' Having thus explained and appar-

ently demonstrated the absolute truth of the new theological system, it only remained to enforce it. Some denied the corporal presence, and were accordingly sent to Smithfield. In order to strengthen his power, the king allowed his Parliament to assume the functions of a Convocation, and debate for eleven days the doctrines of the Christian religion. This debate issued in the adoption of the law of the 'Six Articles,' which set forth, in the strongest language, the presence of the natural body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, sanctioned Communion in one kind only, denied the right of marriage to the priesthood, enforced vows of chastity, allowed private masses, and declared auricular confession to be both expedient and necessary. The most fearful penalties were attached to any opposition to these doctrines. The least was the loss of goods; the greatest, burning at the stake—which was the punishment for denying the first of the Articles. The law was now let loose against both Protestants and Catholics, but with peculiar vengeance against the former. . . . And so the new Church was founded. The work begun by one royal profligate was, a hundred and thirty years later, fittingly finished by another. Henry the VIIIth's natural successor in ecclesiastical politics is Charles the II^d." — *Ibid*, 5.

Rise of Puritanism, etc.

John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was the first father of Puritan Non-conformity. "History, while it has done justice to the character and the abilities of this eminent man, has not done similar justice to his opinions. He appears on its pages as a conscientious opponent of all ecclesiastical ceremonies and habits that are not expressly warranted by Scripture, as a sufferer for his opinions on this subject, and as a martyr for the Protestant religion; but he was more than this. All Protestants and Puritans have been accustomed to hold his name in reverence, but it belongs in a more especial manner to the English Non-conformists of the nineteenth century. It was his voice which first publicly proclaimed the principles of religious freedom. He stood alone amongst the English Protestants of his age in denying the right of the State to interfere with religion." — *Ibid*, 8.

"Touching the superior powers of the earth, it is not unknown to all them that hath read and marked the Scripture, that it appertaineth nothing unto their office to make any law to govern the conscience of their subjects in religion. Christ's kingdom is a spiritual one. In this, neither Pope nor king may govern. Christ alone is the governor of His Church, and the only law-giver." — Hooper's *Declaration of X. Com's.*, 280.

"He told the people, in words proclaimed to thousands at Paul's Cross, and throughout various parts of the kingdom, that their consciences were bound only by the Word of God, and that they might with it, judge 'Bishop, Doctor, preacher and curate.'" — Skeats *ut sup*, 9.

"Mr. Foxe [Acta et Mon, 1587,] recordeth how yt besides those worthy martires & confessors which were burned in queene Mary's days & otherwise tormented, *Many (both studients and others) fled out of ye land, to ye number of 800. And became severall congregations. At Wesell, Frankford, Bassill, Emden, Mark-purge, Strausborough, & Geneva, &c.* Amongst whom (but especially those at Frankford) begane yt bitter warr of contention & persecuti^on aboute ye ceremonies and servise booke, and other popish and anti-christian stuffe, the plague of

England to this day, which are like ye high-places in Israell, wch the prophets cried out against, & were their ruine ; which ye better parte sought, according to ye puritie of ye gospell, to roote out and utterly to abandon. And the other parte (under veiled pretences) for their owne ends & advancements, sought as stifly to continue, maintaine & defend. . . . The one side laboured to have ye right worship of God & discipline of Christ established in ye church, according to ye simplicity of ye gospell, without the mixture of mens inventions, and to have & to be ruled by ye laws of Gods Word, dispensed in those offices, & by those officers of Pastors, Teachers, & Elders, &c. according to ye Scripturs. The other partie, though under many colours & pretences, endeavored to have ye episcopall dignitie, (after ye popish maner) with their large power & jurisdiction still retained ; with all those courts, canons & ceremonies, togeather with all such livings, revenues & subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their anti-christian greatnes, and enabled them with lordly & tyranous power to persecute ye poore servants of God." —Gov. Bradford's *Hist. Plim. Plant.*, 3.

[For a very interesting, minute and authentic history of this establishment (per force,) of separate churches on Continental soil, and the difficulties which beset them, some light from which directed later Separatists to a wiser path, see *A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frankeford in Germany, An. Dom. 1554, About The Booke of Common Prayee and Ceremonies, and continued by the English men there, to the end of Q. Maries Raign, etc. etc.* 4to, pp. 184, published in 1575, and reprinted in London in 1642.]

The Puritan Struggle.

"During the forty-four years of the reign of Elizabeth, the whole power of the crown was exercised, in regard to ecclesiastical matters, with two distinct purposes. The first was to subject the Church to its 'governor,' the second to suppress all opinions differing from those which had received a special patent of protection. The first wholly succeeded ; the second wholly failed. The Prayer-book and Articles of Elizabeth do not materially differ from those of Edward. The only difference of any importance relates to the vestments, which were ordered to be the same as those in use in the second year of Edward. This change was against a further reformation, and it was confirmed by a third Act of Uniformity. The Queen soon let it be known that this Act was not to be a dead letter. She heard of some who did not wear the habits, and who even preached against them, and Parker was at once ordered to enforce the law. Then the exiles who had returned from the Continent, flushed with hope, and ardent in the cause of the Gospel, found the paw of the lion's cub as heavy as that of the royal beast himself. . . . So zealously did he [Parker — the Primate,] set about his work that he shocked the statesmen of his age, and at last shocked even Elizabeth herself. Not being an ecclesiastic, there was a limit to the queen's capacity of creating and afterwards enjoying the sight of human suffering. There was no such limit in Parker. The jackall's appetite was, for once, stronger even than that of the lioness. The attempt to enforce the Act of Uniformity excited instant resistance, and the Church was turned into a great shambles." — Skeats *ut*

"There must be a reason, apart from the character of the governing power, why Puritans within the Church have never succeeded. The reason is probably to be found in the fact that they never essentially differed from the dominant party. Both were almost equally intolerant. Parker and Whitgift persecuted the Puritans; but if Cartwright had been in Whitgift's place, he would have dealt out equal persecution to Baptists and Independents. They, who had suffered imprisonment on account of their opinions, actually remonstrated with statesmen for releasing Roman Catholics from confinement. They held a purer doctrine than their opponents held, but none the less did they require it to be enforced by the 'authority of the magistrates.' It seems strange that men who devoted so much time to the study of the Scriptures, and whose knowledge of them was as extensive as it was profound, should have missed the one study, which to a Christian, would seem to be the most obvious, the life and character of the Founder of their religion and the nature of His mission. But, habits of thought are more tyrannical than habits of action; and the habit of theological thought was then, as for generations afterwards, essentially dogmatical. The best of the Puritans looked to the Scriptures for rules rather than for principles, for propositions rather than for examples. Christianity was, with them, merely an historical development of Judaism; and therefore, while they believed in the sacrifice of Christ, they equally believed in the laws of Moses. The Sacred Writings were rough materials, out of which they might hew their own systems. The stones were taken in equal parts out of the books of the Old Testament and the New, the latter being dug for doctrine and the former for precept. Amongst all the works of the early Puritans, there is not one on the character or life of Christ, nor one which gives any indication that they had even an imagination of the wholly spiritual nature of His kingdom. Whatever that kingdom might be in the place Heaven, on the place Earth it was to be fenced and extended by pains and penalties, threatenings and slaughter. They denied the supremacy of the civil magistrate in religion, but it was only in order to assert their own supremacy. They pleaded with tears for liberty of conscience, and would have denied it to the first 'Anabaptist' whom they met. It was no wonder they did not gain their end, and no wonder that they scarcely hoped to gain it. It would seem that the English race required to be transplanted before it could bear a more perfect flower and fruit than any of which Puritanism only was capable. That service was effected by Elizabeth." — *Ibid*, 20.

The Evolution of Independency.

"There were certainly Baptist churches in England as early as the year 1589, and there could scarcely have been several organized communities without the corresponding opinions having been held by individuals, and some churches established for years previous to this date. With respect to the Independents, certain 'congregations' are spoken of by Foxe [Vol. iii: 114,] as established in London in A. D. 1555, and it is possible that they were Independent, but more probable that they were Puritan. It is now clearly established that an Independent church, of which Richard Fitz was pastor, existed in A. D. 1568 [*Congregational Martyrs*, Art. R. Fitz.] In A. D. 1580, Sir Walter Raleigh spoke of the Brownists as existing 'by thousands.' . . . But although Richard Fitz was the first pastor of the first Independent church in England, to Robert Browne belongs the honor of founding the denomination. This man's character

has been assailed with almost equal virulence by Church and Non-conformist writers; but, although he is proved to have been naturally of a passionate, dogmatic and weak nature, no charge against his piety has been successfully established. [See Fletcher's *Hist. Independ.*, ii: chap. 3.] His moral courage and his willingness to bear suffering in testimony of his sincerity, were amply shown by his life. If, like Cartwright, he eventually returned to the Church, he did what ought not to excite surprise. The wonder is, not that human nature was so weak in him, but that it was so strong in others." — *Ibid.*, 22.

"The principles which Browne advocated were substantially the same as those which are now held by the majority of English dissenters. He maintained that the Christian Church is a voluntary association of believing men, that it is competent to the management of its own affairs, and is capable of existing under every form of civil government which human society can assume. He consequently repudiated its subjection to the State, and denied the possibility of its sustaining a national character. It necessarily followed from these principles, that he should denounce the hierarchy as an unscriptural institution, adapted rather to advance the designs of its political supporters, than to promote the religious welfare of mankind. He attacked the whole system of the Established Church, denying the validity of its orders, the purity of its rites, the rectitude of its worship, and the soundness of its constitution. He declaimed against it as a spiritual Babylon, loaded with many of the abominations of the popedom, equally haughty in its spirit, though less powerful to accomplish its intolerant designs." — Price's *Hist. Prot. Non-conf.*, i: 315.

The essential features of Browne's teaching were these:

1. The New Testament the source of all light on Church Government.
2. A Church a body self-associated by a "willing covenant."
3. Church Government the Lordship of Christ, whereby His people "obey to His will."
4. Separation from open and willful offenders, a duty.
5. Church officers are pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, etc., "tried to be meet, and thereto duly chosen by the church which calleth them."
6. Ordination is a pronouncing with prayer and thanksgiving, and laying on of hands "by some of the forwardest and wisest," that those receiving it "are called and authorized of God."
7. Church action is by "general inquiry and consent." — Browne's *Life and Manner of all True Christians*. A. D. 1582. 4to. pp. 112.

What this Brownism really was, as refined from the crudities and sharpnesses of Browne himself, may be excellently seen in the *Confession of Faith of Certain English People, living in the Low Countreys, exiled*, which was put forth in 1596, by the Church in Amsterdam, of which Henry Ainsworth was Teacher. Two or three of its articles follow:

"This Ministerie is alike given to every Christian congregation, with like and equall power and commission to have and enjoy the same, as God offereth fit men and meanes, the same rules given to all for the election and execution thereof in all places." — *Art. xxii.*

"As every Christian congregation hath power and commandment to elect and ordeine their own Ministerie according to the rules in God's word prescribed, and whilst they shall faithfully execute their office, to have them in superabundant love for their worke. sake, to provide for them, to honour them and reverence

them according to the dignitie of the office they execute : so have they also power and commandment, when anie such default, eyther in their lyfe, doctrine or administration breaketh out, as by the rule of the word debarreth them from, or depriveth them of their Ministerie, by due order to depose them from the Ministerie they exercised ; yea, if the case so require, and they remayne obstinate and impenitent, orderly to cut them of by excommunication." — *Art. xxiii.*

"Christ hath given this power to receive in, or to cut of, any member, to the whole body together of every Christian congregation, and not to any one member apart, or to more members sequestred from the whole, or to any other Congregation to do it for them : yet so, as ech Congregation ought to vse the best help they can heerunto, and the most meet member they have to pronounce the same in their public assembly." — *Art. xxiiii.*

"Such as yet see not the truth, may notwithstanding heare the publik doctrine and prayers of the church, and with al meeknes are to bee sought by al meanes : yet none who are growne in yeares may bee received into their communion as members, but such as do make confession of their faith, publickly desiring to be received as members, and promising to walke in the obedience of Christ. Neyther any infants, but such as are the seed of the faithfull by one of the parents, or under their education and government. And further not any from one congregation to be received members in another, without bringing certificate of their former estate and present purpose." — *Art. xxxvii.*

That these were Congregationalists, if they were Brownists, will appear from the following :

"And although the particular Congregations be thus distinct and severall bodies, every one as a compact and knit citie in it self, yet are they all to walke by one and the same rule, and by all meanes convenient to have the counsel and help one of another in all needfull affaires of the Church, as members of one body in the common faith, under Christ their onely head." — *Art. xxxviii.*

Rise and Progress of the Mayflower Church.

"Established here [as postmaster at Scrooby, near Bawtry in England] Brewster, now in the vigor of young manhood, soon took a deep interest in those religious questions which were then agitating the realm. With a mind enlarged by study and travel, he made the acquaintance of Smith, Clyfton, Robinson, and other godly ministers in that [Nottinghamshire] and the neighboring counties, who were conscientiously opposed to the Established Church ; and when the policy of deprivation, confiscation, fine and imprisonment was fully entered upon by government to enforce conformity, he cast in his lot with them, and welcomed them to his house [a spacious manor-house of the Archbishop of York, leased to Brewster by Samuel Sandys, eldest son of the then Archbishop] as well as his heart, and in its ample spaces offered them that Sabbath liberty of prophesying which the churches no longer afforded. Gathering together the elect and precious few from the country round about who thought as they thought, and believed what they believed, and were willing to dare what they dared to do ; he, with Clyfton and Robinson and those others, some time during 1606, formally — to use Bradford's own words — 'joyned themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in ye fellowship of ye gospell, to walke in all His wayes, made known, or

to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them.” — *Sabbath at Home*, March, 1867.

“But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted & persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bittings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken & clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett & watcht night and day, & hardly escaped their hands; and ye most were faine to flie & leave their howses & habitations, and the means of their livelehood. Yet these & many other sharper things which afterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therefore were ye better prepared to bear them by ye assistance of Gods grace & spirite. Yet seeing them selves thus molested, and that ther was no hope of their continuance ther, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into ye Low-Countries, wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men; as also how sundrie from London, & other parts of ye land, had been exiled and persecuted for ye same cause, & were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, & in other places of ye land. So after they had continued together aboute a year, and kept their meetings every Saboth in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst them selves, notwithstanding all ye dilligence & malice of their adverssaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in yt condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could.” — Gov. Bradford’s *Hist. Plimi. Plant.*, 10.

Emigration to Holland.

“Being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands & livings, and all their freinds and famillier acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvelous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), wher they must learne a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, & subjecte to ye miseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, & a misserie worse than death. Espetially seeing they were not acquainted with trades nor traffique, (by which yt countrie doth subsiste) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, & ye inocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on ye ways of God, & to injoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence & knew whom they had beleevd. Yet this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were yey not suffered to goe, but ye ports & havens were shut against them, so as they were faine to seeke secrete means of conveyance, & to bribe & fee ye mariners, & give exterordinarie rates for their passages. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them) and both they & their goods intercepted & surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charge.” — *Ibid* 11.

“To be shorte, after they had been thus turmoyled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be ridd of them in ye end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in ye mean time they (poor soules) indured miserie enough; and thus in ye end necessitie forste a way for them. . . . I may not omitte ye fruite that came hearby, for by these so publick troubls, in so many eminent places, their cause became famouss & occasioned many to looke into ye same; and their godly car-

iage & Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts & sharp beginnings, (as it was no marvell,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, & greatly animated others. And in ye end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposition, they all gatt over at length, some at one time & some at an other, and some in one place & some in an other, and mette togeather againe according to their desires, with no small rejoycing." — *Ibid*, 15.

"These Provinces [the Low Countries] were of opinion not only that all religions ought to be tolerated, but that all restraint in matters of religion was as detestable as the Inquisition itself; and accordingly they maintained that nobody erred willfully, or could believe against his conscience, that none but God could inspire right notions into the minds of men; that no religion was agreeable to God, but such as proceeded from a willing heart: experience had also taught them that heterodox opinions could not so effectually be rooted out by human power or violence, as by length of time." — Brandt's *Hist. Ref. in Low Count.*, i: 308.

"Calvinism being thus the established religion of Holland, it will still be seen that entire liberty in belief and practice prevailed there; the only difference being that the followers of any peculiar faith, while they would have the most perfect freedom of worship in their own private houses, or buildings provided by themselves, would not be provided with church edifices at the public expense." — *Sabbath at Home*, March, 1867.

"Twelve or fifteen years before the Scrooby men arrived in Amsterdam, a London company had gone over, who had Francis Johnson for their pastor and Henry Ainsworth for their teacher; and also, as early as 1596, had published their 'Confession of Faith.' Four years before them (in 1604) Smyth of Gainsborough, and his company, — with whom it is not improbable that the Scrooby men were loosely affiliated before they had strength enough to form themselves into a separate church nearer home — had made good their retreat over the North Sea, and were also maintaining themselves on the Amstel. It must in sorrow be added, that these two congregations, of Johnson and Ainsworth, and of Smyth, had not found themselves able to live in that perfect peace which should have adorned their profession of the new faith which they had gathered out of the Word. No means which Robinson or Brewster could apply sufficed to heal the breach. Indeed it soon became evident that — would they, or would they not — the mere living in Amsterdam must involve the new comers in the ill-feeling, and the cross speech. So they prudently resolved to remove thence, before a bad matter was made worse. It is on record in Leyden that John Robinson [*Jan Robarths*] and 'some of the members of the Christian Reformed Religion born in the kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons, or thereabouts, men and women,' petitioned the magistrates of Leyden for leave to come to Leyden 'by the 1st May next,' to have freedom of the city 'in carrying on their trades without being burdensome to any one.' As this petition — itself without date — is indorsed in the margin under date of 12 Feb. 1609, it seems probable that it had been presented but a few days before that time. The magistrates say in this indorsement, 'they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances; and therefore the coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome.' It was beyond a doubt in connection with this cordial response to their application, that the Scrooby church, now, in

itself and all its appurtenance, 'to the number of one hundred, or thereabouts,' removed, about 1 May 1609, to Leyden." — *Ibid.*

The Character of these Men in Leyden.

"I know not but it may be spoken to ye honour of God, & without prejudice to any, that such was ye true pietie, ye humble zeale, & fervent love, of this people (whilst they thus lived together) towards God and his waies, and yr single harted-nes & sinceir affection one towards another, that they came as near ye primitive patterne of ye first churches, as any other church of these later times have done, according to their ranke & qualitie. . . . Because some of their adversaries did, upon ye rumore of their remoovall, cast out slanders against them, as if that State had been wearie of them, & had rather driven them out (as ye heathen historians did faine of Moyses & ye Isralits when they went out of Egipte) then yt it was their oune free choyse & motion, I will therefore mention a particuler or too to shew ye contrary, and ye good acceptation they had in ye place wher they lived. And first, though many of them weer poore, yet there was none so poore, but if they were known to be of ys congregation, the Dutch (either bakers or others) would trust them in any reasonable matter when yey wanted money. Because they had found by experience how carfull they were to keep their word, and saw them so painfull and diligente in their callings; yea, they would strive to gett their custome, and to imploy them above others, in their worke, for their honestie & diligence. Againe; ye magistrats of ye citie, aboute ye time of their coming away, or a litle before, in ye publick place of justice, gave this comendable testimonie of them, in ye reproof of the Wallons, who were of ye French Church in yt citie. These English, said they, have lived amongst us now this 12. years, and yet we never had any sute or accusation came against any of them; but your strifs and quarels are continuall, &c. . . . Yea when there was speech of their [the Plymouth men's] remoovall into these parts [this was written in New England] sundrie of note & eminencie of yt nation [the Dutch] would have had them come under them, and for yt end made them large offers." — Bradford *ut sup.*, 19.

"I perswade my selfe, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly then wee the church at Leyden did." — Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 88.

"And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love; and so they continued until with mutuall consent they removed into New England." — Gov. Bradford's *Dialogue*.

Why they left Leyden.

"Our Reverend pastor Mr. John Robinson of late memory, and our grave Elder Mr. William Brewster, considering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for England; how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England; how like wee were to lose our language, and

our name of English; how little good wee did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as wee ourselves had received, &c. They, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them conceived, if God would bee pleased to discover some place unto us (though in America) and give us so much favour with the King and State of England, as to have their protection there, where wee might enjoy the like liberty, and where the Lord favouring our endeavours by his blessing, wee might exemplarily shew our tender Country-men by our example (no lesse burthened than our selves) where they might live, and comfortably subsist and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from Anti-christian bondage, keep their names and Nation, and not onely bee a meanes to enlarge the Dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the natives whither hee should bring us, &c. Hereby in their grave Wisdomes they thought wee might more glorifie God, doe more good to our Countrey, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours, than ever wee could doe in Holland where we were.

Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the Brethren of the Congregation, which after much private discussion came to publike agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the Congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the worke, wee sent some of good abilities over into England to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might finde with the King."—Ed. Winslow, *ut sup.*, 88.

"After they had lived in this citie about some 11. or 12. years (which is ye more observable being ye whole time of yt famose truce between that state and ye Spaniards) and sundrie of them were taken away by death, & many others begane to be well stricken in years, the grave mistris Experience having taught them many things, those pudent governours [Robinson and Brewster] with sundrie of ye sagest members begane both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, & wisely to foresee ye future, & thinke of timely remedy. In ye agitation of their thoughts, and much discours of things hear aboute, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of remoovall to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness, or such like giddie humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt & danger, but for sundrie weightie & solid reasons; some of ye cheefe of which I will hear breefly touch. And first, they saw & found by experience the hardnes of ye place & countrie to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continew with them. For many yt came to them, and many more yt desired to be with them, could not endure yt great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent & were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honoured their sufferings, yet they left them as it weer weeping, as Orpah did her mother in law Naomie, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused & borne with, though they could not all be Catoes. For many, though they desired to injoye ye ordinances of God in their puritie, and ye libertie of the gospell with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather then to indure these hardships; yea, some preferred & chose ye prisons in England, rather then this libertie in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many & take away these discouragments. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those wo both wrate & preached

now against them, if they were in a place wher they might have libertie and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.

"2ly. They saw that though ye people generally bore all these difficulties very cherfully, & with a resolute courage, being in ye best & strength of their years, yet old age began to steale on many of them, (and their great & continuall labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before ye time,) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sinke under their burdens, or both. And therefore according to ye devine proverb, yt a wise man seeth ye plague when it cometh, & hideth him selfe, [Prov. xxii : 3], so they like skillfull & beaten souldiers were fearfull either to be intrapped or surrounded by their eninies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flie ; and therfor thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage & less danger, if any such could be found.

"Thirdly ; as necessitie was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sorte, to their dearest children ; the which as it did not a little wound ye tender harts of many a loving father & mother, so it produced likewise sundrie sad & sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, haveing lernde to bear ye yoake in their youth, and willing to bear parte of their parents burden, were, often times, so oppressed with their hevie labours, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under ye weight of ye same, and became decreped in their early youth ; the vigor of nature being consumed in ye very budd, as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorowes most heavie to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and ye great licentiousnes of youth in ye countrie, and ye manifold temptations of the place, were drawne away by evill examples into extravagante & dangerous courses, getting ye raines off their neks, & departing from their parents. Some became souldiers, others tooke upon them farr vioages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissolutenes & the danger of their soules, to ye great greefe of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate & be corrupted.

"Lastly, (and which was not least) a great hope & inward zeall they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way therunto, for ye propagating & advancing ye gospell of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world ; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work.

"These, & some other like reasons, moved them to undertake this resolution of their removall ; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties." —

Bradford, *ut sup.*, 22.

How it Looked to Them.

"The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast & unpeopled countries of America, which are frutfull & fitt for habitation, being devoyd of all civill inhabitants, wher ther are only salvage & brutish men, which range up and downe, litle otherwise than ye wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made publike and coming to ye scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and cauzed many fears & doubts amongst them selves. Some, from their reasons & hops conceived, laboured to stirr up & incourage the rest to

undertake & prosecute ye same; others, againe, out of their fears, objected against it, & sought to divert from it, alleding many things, and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable; as that it was a great designe, and subjecte to many unconceivable perills & dangers; as, besides the casualties of ye seas (which none can be freed from) the length of ye vioage was such, as ye weake bodys of women and other persons worne out with age & traville (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of ye land which they should be exposed unto, would be to hard to be borne; and lickly, some or all of them together, to consume & utterly to ruinate them. For ther they should be liable to famine, and nakednes, & ye wante, in a maner, of all things. The chang of aire, diate, & drinking of water would infect their bodies with sore sicknesses, and greevous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yett be in a continuall danger of ye salvage people, who are cruell, barbarous, & most trecherous, being most furious in their rage and merciles wher they overcome; not being contente only to kill & take away life, but delight to tormente men in ye most bloodie maner that may be; fleaing some alive with ye shells of fishes, cutting of ye members & joynts of others by peesmeale, and broiling on ye coles, eate ye collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but ye very hearing of these things could not but move ye very bowels of men to grate within them, and make ye weake to quake & tremble. It was furder objected, that it would require greater summes of money to furnish such a vioage, and to fitt them with necessaries, than their consumed estats would amounte too; and yett they must as well looke to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also many presidents [precedents] of ill success, & lamentable miseries befalne others in the like designes, were easie to be found, and not forgotten to be alledged; besides their owne experience, in their former troubles & hardships in their remoovall into Holand, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbour countrie, & a civill and rich comone wealth.

It was answered, that all great & honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted ye dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likly, yet they were not cartaine; it might be sundrie of ye things feared might never befall; others by providente care & ye use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through ye help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome. True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground & reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiositie or hope of gaine, &c. But their condition was not ordinarie; their ends were good & honourable; their calling lawfull & urgente; and therefore they might expect ye blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should loose their lives in this action, yet mighte they have comforte in the same, and their endeavors would be honourable. They lived hear [in Leyden] but as men in exile, & in a poore condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for ye 12. years of truce were now out, & ther was nothing but beating of drumes, and preparing for warr, the events wherof are allway uncertaine. Ye Spaniard might prove as cruell as the salvages of America, and ye famine and pestelence as sore hear as ther, & their libertie less to looke out for remedie.

After many other perticuler things answered & alledged on both sids, it was

fully concluded by ye major parte, to put this designe in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could." — *Ibid*, 24.

"My brethren have not the faith of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ in respect of persons. But now, if it so come to passe, (which God forbid) that the most being eyther forestalled by prejudice, or by prosperitie made secure, there be few found (especially men of learning, who will so far stoop as to look upon so despised creatures, and their cause); this alone remaineth, that we turn our faces & mouths unto thee (o most powerfull Lord, & gracious father) humbly imploreing help from God towards those, who are by men left desolate. There is with thee no respect of persons, neither are men lesse regarders of thee, if regarders of thee, for the worlds disregarding them. They who truly fear thee, and work righteousnes, although constreyned to live by leav in a forrain land, exiled from countrie, spoyled of goods, destitute of freinds, few in number, and mean in condition, are for all that unto thee (O gracious God) nothing the less acceptable: Thou numbrest all their wandrings, and putttest their tears into thy bottels: Are they not written in thy book? Towards thee, O Lord, are our eyes; confirm our hearts, & bend thine ear, and suffer not our feet to slip, or our faces to be ashamed, O thou both just and mercifull God." — John Robinson's *Just and Necessarie Apologie*, 72.

How it was at Last Arranged.

"They found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sands [Sandys] a religious Gentleman then living, to stirre in it, who procured Sir Robert Nawnton then principall Secretary of State to King James of famous memory, to move his Majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the Government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of Conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majestie's Dominions, and the enlargement of the Gospell by all due meanes. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part [*ie.* part of the country] wee intended (for our eye was on the most northern parts of Virginia) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which hee replied with his ordinary asseveration, *So, God have my Soule, 'tis an honest Trade, 'twas the Apostles owne calling, &c.* But afterwards he told Sir Robert Nawnton (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of Canterbury and London, &c. Wherupon wee were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them, which caused our agents to repair to the Virginia Company, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 300*l.* gratis for three yeares, which was repaid." — Winslow, *ut sup.*, 89.

Bradford goes more into particulars, showing how one disappointment after another delayed, embarrassed and vexed them: especially how uncertain they were made by the course the king pursued in promising "that he would connive at them, & not molest them, provided they carried them selves peaceably." He says: "This made a dampe in ye business, and caused some distraction, for many were afraid that if they should unsettle them selves, & put of their estates, and goe upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and prove but a sandie foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hear upon without

making any suite at all, then, having made it, to be thus rejected. But some of ye cheefest thought other wise, and yt they might well proceede hereupon, & that ye kings majestie was willing enough to suffer them without molestation, though for other reasons he would not confirme it by any publicke acte. And furduremore, if ther was no securitie in this promise intimated, ther would be no great certainty in a furdur confirmation of ye same ; for if after wards ther should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seale as broad as ye house flore, it would not serve ye turne ; for ther would be means enew found to recall or reverse it. Seeing therfore the course was probable, they must rest herein on God's providence, as they hâd dône in other things." — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 29.

"But at last, after all these things, and their long attendance, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed under ye Companies seale ; but these devisi-
ons and distractions had shaken of many of ther prétended freinds, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for & proffered means. By the advise of some freinds this pattente was not taken in ye name of any of their owne, but in ye name of Mr. John Wincob (a religious gentleman then belonging to ye Countess of Lincoline) who intended to goe with them. But God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patente, which had cost them so much labour and charge. . . . A right emblime, it maybe, of ye^e uncertaine things of this world ; yt when men have toyl'd them selves for them, they vanish into smoke." — *Ibid.*, 40.

The Hard Terms which were the Best They could Get.

The hardship of the terms to which they were reduced, shows at once the slenderness of their means, and the constancy of their purpose. It was agreed to create a joint stock company on the following plan and conditions.

1. Colonists 16 yrs. old and upwards, and persons contributing £10. each, to be owners of one share.
2. Colonists contributing £10. in money or provisions, to be owners of two shares.
3. The partnership to continue 7 years, to the end of which time all profits and benefits gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, to remain as common stock.
4. The settlers, having landed, to be divided into parties to be employed in boat-building, fishing, carpentry, cultivation, and manufactures for the use of the colony.
5. At the end of 7 years the capital and profits to be divided among the stockholders in proportion to their respective shares in the investment.
6. Stockholders investing at a later period to have shares in the division proportioned to the duration of their interest.
7. Colonists to be allowed one share for each domestic dependant accompanying them (wife, child or servant) more than 16 yrs. of age ; two shares for every such person, if supplied at their expense ; and half a share for every dependant between 10 yrs. and 16 yrs.
8. Each child going under 10 yrs., to have at the division 50 acres of unmanured land.
9. To the estates of persons dying before the expiration of the 7 years, allowances to be made at the division proportioned to the length of their lives in the colony.

10. Till the division all colonists to be provided with food, clothing, and other necessities, from the common stock.

Two stipulations supposed by the colonists to have been settled, to the effect that they should have two days in each week for their private use, and that at the division, they should be proprietors of their houses and of the cultivated land appertaining thereto, were ultimately disallowed by the *Merchant Adventurers* [*i. e.*, the London merchants who aided them to the money they required for the expedition] to the great disappointment and discontent of the other party. Cushman, who was much blamed for his facility in yielding these points, insisted that, if he had acted differently, the whole undertaking would have fallen to the ground. — Condensed from Palfrey's *Hist. New Eng.*, i: 153.

The Final Decision.

“Our agents returning, wee further sought the Lord by a publike and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon wee came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to goe at first, and the other to stay, *viz.* the youngest and strongest part to goe. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the Pastor to goe with them; if not, the Elder onely. Fourthly, if the Lord should frowne upon our proceedings, then those that went to returne, and the Brethren that remained still there, to assist and bee helpfull to them, but if God should bee pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to helpe over such as were poore and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the Pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a very few, who had rather wee would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. Brewster their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great).” — Ed. Winslow, *ut sup.*, 90.

The Start.

“At length, after much travell and these debats, all things were got ready and provided. A smale ship [the *Speedwell*, of 60 tons] was bought & fitted in Holand, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in ye cuntrie and atend upon fishing and shuch other affairs as might be for ye good & benefite of ye colonie when they cam ther. Another was hired at London, [the *Mayflower*] of burden about 9. score; [*i.e.* about 180 tons] and all other things gott in readines. So being ready to departe, they hed a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor [John Robinson] taking his texte from *Ezra viii: 21*. *And ther at ye river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spent a good parte of ye day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion. The rest of the time was spent in powering out prairs to ye Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And ye time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of ye citie, unto a town sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven, wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte yt goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years; but *they knew they were PILGRIMES* [whence the

genesis of this name as applied to them] & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits. When they came to ye place they found ye ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with litle sleepe by ye most, but with freindly entertainmente & christian discourse and other reall expressions of true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they went aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was ye sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praises did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of ye Dutch strangers yt stood on ye key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But ye tide (which stays for no man) caling them away yt were thus loath to departe, their Reverd pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him) with watrie cheeks comended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be ye last leave to many of them." — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 58.

"And when the Ship was ready to carry us away, the Brethren that stayed having againe solemnly sought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging our selves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to goe at our Pastors house being large [being, in fact, their usual place of Sabbath assembling] where wee refreshed our selves after our teares, with singing of Psalmes, making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine eares heard. After this they accompanied us to Delphs Haven, where wee were to imbarque, and there feasted us againe, and after prayer performed by our Pastor, where a flood of teares was poured out, they accompanied us to the Ship, but were not able to speake one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part: but wee onely going aboard (the Ship lying to the Key and ready to set sayle, the winde being faire), wee gave them a volley of small shot, and three peeces of Ordinance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits hee carryed us thorow. And if any doubt this relation, the Dutch, as I heare, at Delphs Haven preserve the memory of it to this day, [1646] and will inform them." — Ed. Winslow, *ut sup.*, 90.

The Spirit in which They Started.

"At their parting Mr Robinson wrote a letter to ye whole company. . . . as also a breefe leter writ at ye same time to Mr Carver, in which ye tender love & godly care of a true pastor appears."

In this letter Robinson laments that he is constrained for a while to be bodily absent from them, "by strong necessitie held backe for ye present," and exhorts them to special repentance in view of the circumstances of difficulty and danger surrounding them, and to provide carefully for peace with all men, and neither to give nor take offence. He suggests that, as many of them are strangers to each

other, and to each other's infirmities, there will be special need of watchfulness in the matter of both giving and taking offence; and that their "intended course of ciuill communitie wil minister continuall occasion of offence and will be as fuell for that fire," except they diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. This allusion he further explains, as follows: "Whereas you are to become a body politick, vsing amongst your selues ciuill gouernment, and are not furnished with any persons of speciall eminencie aboue the rest, to be chosen by you into office of gouernment; Let your wisdome and godlinesse appeare, not onely in chusing such persons as do entirely loue, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yeelding vnto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull administrations; not beholding in them the ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your good; nor being like vnto the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the Magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how meane persons soeuer. And this dutie you both may the more willingly, and oughte the more conscionably to performe, because you are at least for the present to haue onely them for your ordinary gouernours, which your selues shall make choise of for that worke," — *Mourt's Relation*, viii-xi.

"In the next place, for the wholesome counsell Mr. Robinson gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in New England, amongst other wholesome Instructions and Exhortations, hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose [this, by the way, is the first and only authentic version of this famous address]: We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again; but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the instruments of their Reformation: As for example, the Lutherans they could not be drawne to goe beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of Gods will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will die rather then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them: A misery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Anti-christian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist*, being a meer nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the professors of it to the Christian world; and to that

end, said hee, I should be glad if some godly minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my comming ; For, said hee, there will be no difference between the unconformable [Non-conformist] Ministers and you, when they come to the practise of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome : And so advised us by all meanes to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdome of England, and rather to study union then division ; *viz.* how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them." — Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 97.

The Voyage.

"The Speedwell brought her passengers prosperously to Southampton, where they found the Mayflower, which vessel had come round from London with Cushman and others a week before. . . . The vessels put to sea with about a hundred and twenty passengers. . . . Before they had proceeded far on the voyage, the Speedwell proved so leaky that it was thought prudent to return, and both vessels put in at Dartmouth. Repairs having been made, they sailed a second time. But again, when they were a hundred leagues from land, the master of the smaller vessel represented her as incapable of making the voyage, and they put back to Plymouth. This was afterwards believed to be a pretence of the master, who had been engaged to remain a year with the emigrants, and who had repented of his contract. The next resource was to divide the company, and leave a portion behind, while the rest should pursue their voyage in the larger ship. This arrangement was presently made." — Palfrey's *Hist. New Eng.*, i: 158.

"Those that went bak were for the most parte such as were willing so to doe, either out of some discontente, or feare they conceived of ye ill success of ye vioage, seeing so many croses befale, & the year time so farr spente ; but others in regarde of their owne weaknes, and charge of many yonge children, were thought least usefull, and most unfite to bear ye brunte of this hard adventure ; unto which worke of God, and judgmente of their brethern, they were contented to submite. And thus, like Gedions [Gideon's] armie, this small number was devided, as if ye Lord by this worke of his providence thought these few to many for ye great worke he had to doe." — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 69.

"Little is recorded of the incidents of the voyage. The first part was favorably made. As the wanderers approached the American continent, they encountered storms which their overburdened vessel was scarcely able to sustain. Their destination was to a point near Hudson's River, yet within the territory of the London Company, by which their patent had been granted. This description corresponds to no other country than the sea-coast of the State of New Jersey. At early dawn of the sixty-fourth day of their voyage, they came in sight of the white sand banks of Cape Cod. In pursuance of their original purpose, they veered to the south, but, by the middle of the day, they found themselves 'among perilous shoals and breakers' which caused them to retrace their course. An opinion afterwards prevailed, on questionable grounds, that they had been purposely led astray by the master of the vessel, induced by a bribe from the Dutch, who were averse to having them near the mouth of the Hudson, which Dutch vessels had begun to visit for trade." — Palfrey, *ut sup.*, 162.

"They put to sea again with a prosperus winde, which continued diuerce days together, which was some encouragement unto them ; yet according to ye usuall maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omite hear a spetiall worke of God's providence. Ther was a proud & very profane yonge man, one of ye sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more hauty ; he would allway be contemning ye poore people in their sicknes, & cursing them dayly with greevous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their jurneys end, and to make mery with what they had ; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came halfe seas over, to smite this yong man with a greievous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe ye first yt was throwne overbord. Thus his curses light on his owne head ; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be ye just hand of God upon him.

After they had injoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were incountred many times with crosse winds, and mette with many feirce stormes, with which ye shipe was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie ; and one of the maine beames in ye midd ships was bowed & craked, which put them in some fear that ye shipe could not be able to performe ye vicaige. So some of ye cheefe of ye company, perceiueing ye mariners to fear ye suffisience of ye shipe, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with ye mr̄ & other officers of ye ship, to consider in time of ye danger ; and rather to returne then to cast them selves into a desperate & inevitable perill. And truly ther was great distraction & differance of opinion amongst ye mariners them selves ; faine would they doe what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over), and on ye other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperatly. But in examening of all opinions, the mr̄ & others affirmed they knew ye ship to be stronge & firme under water ; and for the buckling of ye maine beame, ther was a great iron scrue ye passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise ye beame into his place ; ye which being done, the carpenter & mr̄ affirmed that with a post put under it, set firme in ye lower deck, & otherways bounde, he would make it suffieiente. And as for ye decks & uper workes they would calke them as well as they could, and though with ye workeing of ye ship they would not longe keepe stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they comited them selves to ye will of God, & resolved to proseeede. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, & ye seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull, [to float or drive on the water, like the hull of a ship without sails. — *Webster*] for diuerce days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above ye grattings [a lattice cover for the hatches of a ship. — *Webster*], was, with a seele [lurch] of ye shipe throwne into ye sea ; but it pleased God yt he caught hould of ye tope-saile halliards which hunge over board, & rane out at length ; yet he held his hould (though he was sundry fadomes under water,) till he was hald up by ye same rope to ye brime of ye water, and then with a boat hooke & other means got into ye shipe againe & his life saved ; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church & comone wealthe. In all this viage ther died but one of ye passengers, which was William Batten, a youth, servant to Samuell Fuller, when they drew near ye coast. But to omite other things (that I may be breefe) after longe beating at sea they fell with that

land which is called Cape Cod ; the which being made, & certainly knowne to be it, they were not a litle joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst them selves & with ye m^r of ye ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stand for ye southward (ye wind & weather being faire) to finde some place about Hudsons river for their habitation. But after they had sailed yt course aboute halfe yt day, they fell among deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger ; and ye wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for ye Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods Providence they did. And ye next day they gott into ye Cape-harbor, wher they ridd in safitie." — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 74.

The Outlook from Cape Cod Harbor.

"But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition ; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as maybe remembred by yt which wente before) they had now no freinds to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weather-beaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, [no settlement of any kind within 500 miles] to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts and wildd men ? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this wilddernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops ; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have litle solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stard upon them with a wether-beaten face ; and ye whole cuntrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seporate them from all ye civill parts of ye world. If it be said they had a ship to sucour them, it is trew ; but what heard they daly from ye m^r & company ? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance ; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger ; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was mutered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them.

Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under ; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them,

but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilddernes; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie. Let them therefore praise ye Lord, because he is good & his mercies endure for ever, etc.* — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 78.

Their Social Compact, and its Relation to Modern Republicanism.

"The day before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and chose." — *Mourt's Relation*, 2.

"I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in ye ship — That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comand them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that schuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure. The forme was as followeth.

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland, king, defender of ye faith, &c. haveing undertaken for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant. & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservvacion & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye colonie, unto which we promise all due submision and obedience.

In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne Lord, King James, of England, Franc, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. An^o Dom. 1620. [Signed by 41 males, as first declared in Morton's *New England Memorial*, 1669.] — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 89.

Thrown thus suddenly, by their failure to reach their chartered territory, upon their own resources, and warned by symptoms of insubordination on board ship on the part of some who had joined them in England who were not of them in spirit, of dangers which might increase upon them after they went on shore; the leading spirits of the enterprise seem to have determined at once to test the experiment whether that primitive and Divinely revealed yet self-constituted and essentially democratic government which they had found to work so well in the church, might not work equally well in the state. "Many philosophers have since appeared, who have in labored treatises, endeavored to prove the doctrine,

that the rights of man are unalienable, and nations have bled to defend and enforce them ; yet in this dark age, the age of despotism and superstition, when no tongue dared to assert, and no pen to write this bold and novel doctrine — which was then as much at defiance with common opinion as with actual power (of which the monarch was then held to be the sole fountain, and the theory was universal, that all popular rights were granted by the crown) — in this remote wilderness, amongst a small and unknown band of wandering outcasts, the principle that *the will of the majority of the people shall govern* was first conceived, and was first practically exemplified. The Pilgrims, from their notions of primitive Christianity, the force of circumstances, and that pure moral feeling which is the offspring of true religion, discovered a truth in the science of government which had been concealed for ages. On the bleak shore of a barren wilderness, in the midst of desolation, with the blasts of winter howling around them, and surrounded with dangers in their most awful and appalling forms, the Pilgrims of Leyden laid the foundations of American liberty.”— Baylies’ *Hist. New Plym. Col.* i : 29.

“These were the men who produced a greater revolution in the world than Columbus. He in seeking for India discovered America. They, in pursuit of religious freedom established civil liberty, and meaning only to found a church, gave birth to a nation, and in settling a town commenced an empire.”—*Ibid.* i : 4.

“This was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. . . . In the cabin of the Mayflower humanity renewed its rights, and instituted government on the basis of ‘equal laws’ for ‘the general government.’”—Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.* i : 310.

A Glance at the Sorrows of the New Colony.

“In these hard & difficult beginnings they found some discontents & murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches & carriages in other ; but they were soone quelled & overcome by ye wisdom, patience & just & equall carriage of things by ye Govr and better part, wch clave faithfully together in ye maine. But that which was most sadd & lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetially in Jan : & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts ; being infected with ye scurvie & other diseases, which this long vioage & their-inaccomodate condition had brought upon them ; so as ther dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in ye foresaid time ; that of 100. & odd persons, [there were exactly 102 persons in the Mayflower company] scarce 50. remained. And of these in ye time of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their oune health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed & uncloathed them ; in a word, did all ye homly & necessarie offices for them wch dainty & quesie stomaks cannot endure to hear named ; and all this willingly and cherfully, without any grudging in ye least, shewing herein their true love unto their freinds & bretheren. A rare example & worthy to be remembred. Tow of these 7. were Mr William Brewster, ther reverend elder, & Myles Standish, ther Captein & military comander, unto whom my selfe, & many others were much beholden in our low & sicke condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this generall calamity they were not at all infected either with sicknes, or lamnes. And what I have said

of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall vissitation, & others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doute not but their recompence is with ye Lord." — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 90.

"By that time ther corne was planted, all their victals were spent, and they were only to rest on Gods providence; at night not many times knowing wher to have a bitt of any thing ye next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their dayly brade, above all people in ye world. Yet they bore these wants with great patience & allacritie of spirite, and that for so long a time as for ye most parte of 2. years. . . . They having but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were devided into severall companies, 6. or 7. to a gangg or company, and so wente out with a nett they had bought, to take bass & such like fish, by course, every company knowing their turne. No sooner was ye boate discharged of what she brought, but ye next company tooke her and wente out with her. Neither did they returne till they had caught something, though it were 5. or 6. days before, for they knew ther was nothing at home, and to goe home emptie would be a great discouragemente to ye rest. Yea, they strive who should doe best. If she stayed longe or got litle, then all went to seeking of shel-fish, which at low-water they digged out of ye sands. And this was their living in ye somer time, till God sente y^m beter; & in winter they were helped with ground-nuts and foule. Also in ye somer they gott now & then a deer; for one or 2. of ye fittest was apoynted to range ye woods for yt end, & what was gott that way was devided amongst them." — Bradford, *ut sup.*, 136.

When the *Anne* arrived, "the best dish they [the colonists] could presente their freinds with was a lobster, or a peece of fish, without bread or anything els but a cupp of fair spring water." — *Ibid*, 146.

Their merchant friends in London "went back on them," and their "loving freind" Thomas Weston, failed them, and each new company arriving but became largely new pensioners upon them — coming so ill supplied. As Bradford says: "As they were now fayled of suply by him [Weston] and others in their greatest neede and wants, which was caused by him and ye rest, who put so great a company of men upon them, as ye former company were, without any food, and came at shuch a time as they must live almost a whole year before any could be raised, excepte they had sente some; so upon yt pointe they never had any supply of vitales more afterwards (but what the Lord gave them otherwise), for all ye company sent at any time was allways too short for those people yt came with it." — *Ibid*, 116.

"But these troubls prodused a quite contrary effecte then their adversaries hoped for. Which was looked at as a great worke of God, to draw on men by unlickly means." — *Ibid*, 189.

"Brewster, the ruling Elder, lived for many months together without bread, and frequently on fish alone. With nothing but oysters and clams before him, he, with his family, would give thanks that they could 'suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands.' Whenever a deer was taken, it was divided amongst the whole company. It is said that they were once reduced to a pint of corn, which being equally divided, gave to each a proportion of five kernels, which was parched and eaten." — Baylies's *Hist. New Plym.*, i: 121.

Reason why They Succeeded where Others had Failed.

"No trading adventurers were so capable and resolute as to be able to plant that soil. . . . A religious impulse accomplished what commercial enterprise, commanding money and court favor, had attempted without success. Civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism." — Palfrey, *ut sup.*, i: 101.

"Several attempts were made to plant New England from worldly motives, but they all proved abortive." — Backus's *Hist. New Eng.*, i: 33.

"And now compare this company with that of Sagadahock [Popham's colony, which landed on the Kennebec, 8 Aug., 1607.] That company, who came upon worldly designs, had an hundred men; this religious society consisted of but one hundred and one souls, men, women and children; the one arrived at the place designed for settlement in August, the other not till winter had set in. The worldly company only buried their President [Popham], and all returned the next year to their native country again; whereas this religious people, in about five months' time, buried their Governor and full half their number, and yet with fortitude and patience they kept their station; yea, though they were afterwards deserted and abused by some who had engaged to help them. We cannot now form an idea of what those pious planters endured to prepare the way for what we at this day enjoy." — *Ibid* i: 40.

"Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America at this day, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful." — Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.*, i: 3.

"The question may very naturally be asked, how it happened that a population of adventurers without military force, and with little wealth, which is unquestionably a formidable element of power, and by which men often make their will acceptable; and with an equality as general as was possible in any country which had a government, could without the sanction of a royal charter, and without the interference of the metropolis, which in infant colonies is generally imperative and absolute, sustain themselves so long without tumults and commotions, and do everything essential to the well-being of the community? This question finds its solution in the religious character of the people. Worldly objects were with them secondary, and that curse of all small and independent communities, political ambition, found no place amongst them. The higher offices were not sought, but the services of such as were fit to sustain them were demanded as the right of the people, and they were accepted not for the sake of distinction, emolument or pleasure, but from a sense of duty; fearful of the loss of reputation, men underwent the severe and painful duties which such offices required." — Baylies's *Hist. New Plym.*, iv: 146.

Recognition of their Sufferings and Heroism at the Time.

"If ye land afford you bread, and ye sea yeeld you fish, rest you a while contented, God will one day afford you better fare. And all men shall know you are neither fugitives nor discontents. But can, if God so order it, take ye worst to your selves, with content, & leave ye best to your neighbors, with cherfullnes. Let it not be greevous unto you yt you have been instruments to brake ye ise for others who come after with less dificulty, the honour shall be yours to ye worlds

end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are ye hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your saftie as their owne, as we our selves both doe & ever shall, that ye same God which hath so marvelously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honourable amongst men, and glorious in blise at ye last day." — Letter from some of the English adventurers, 1623, copied by Bradford, *ut sup.*, 144.

The following extract from a letter of Gov. Bradford to his wife's sister, Mary Carpenter, still in England, of date $\frac{19}{29}$ Aug. 1646, will show the feeling on this subject which prevailed, when the Colony had more than attained its majority :

"We understand, by your letter, that God hath taken to himself our aged mother, out of the troubles of this tumultuous world, and that you are in a solitary condition, as we easily apprehend. We thought good, therefore, to write these few lines unto you, that if you think good to come over to us, you shall be wellcome, and we shall be as helpfull unto you as we may, though we are growne old, and the countrie here more unsettled, than ever, by reason of the great changes that have been in these late times, and what will further be, the Lord only knows, which makes many thinke of removing their habitations, and sundrie of our ministers (hearing of the peace and liberty now in England and Ireland) begin to leave us, and it is feared many more will follow. We do not write these things to discourage you, (for we shall be glad to see you, if God so dispose) but if you find not all things here according to your expectation, when God shall bring you hither, that you may not thinke we dealt not plainly with you."

The Superior Tolerance of the Plymouth Men.

"The spirit of Robinson appeared to watch over his feeble flock on the coast of New England, long after his body was moldering beneath the Cathedral church at Leyden. Again, their twelve years' residence in Holland had brought the Pilgrims in contact with other sects of Christians, and given them a more catholic spirit than pertained to those whose stay in England had been embittered by the strife of contending factions in the Established Church. Whether these reasons fully account for the superior liberality of the Plymouth Colonists, or not, the records show, that as they were distinct from the Puritans in England, and had been long separated from them in Holland, so did they preserve that distinction in some measure in America. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were more liberal in feeling, and more tolerant in practice, than the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. The simple forms of democratic government [*i.e.*, in its absolute form, precisely as practiced in the Congregational churches] were maintained in Plymouth for eighteen years, until the growth of the Colony compelled the introduction of the representative system." — Arnold's *Hist. Rhode Island*, i : 13.

"The Plymouth Colony was more liberal in its feeling than that of the Bay, permitting a greater latitude of individual opinion." — *Ibid*, 166.

"I have shown that the Pilgrim Fathers, and their precursors, in England, Holland, and at Plymouth, were *Separatists*, and had no connection with the *Puritans*, who subsequently settled in New England, at Salem and Boston, in Massachusetts ; that the principles and practices of the two parties, confounded by some careless writers, differed essentially ; the Separatists ever contending

for freedom of conscience and separation from the powers of the State, while the Puritans remained in connection and communion with the State Church, and held, both in England and New England, that the State should be authoritative in matters of religion. Hence the anti-christian and intolerant acts of the Puritan colony [Mass.] to the Separatists — Ralph Smyth, Roger Williams, Isaac Robinson, John Cudworth and Timothy Hatherley. Hence, also, on the arrival of the Friends, the cruel laws for whipping, banishing and executing, for matters of religious faith and practice. I have shown that the Separatist colony of Plymouth had no share in this intolerant conduct during the lives of the Pilgrim Fathers, and, moreover, that they acted kindly, and received into their church both Smyth and Roger Williams when forbidden to worship freely elsewhere ; and that after the death of the Pilgrim Fathers, some of their sons and successors, acting up to their principles, shielded the Friends, and refused to be parties to the persecuting laws then enacted.

It may interest you to know that two eminent historians recently deceased virtually admitted the truth of that which I have thus affirmed. I refer to Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), who as Commissioners for decorating, historically, the House of Lords, were appealed to respecting an erroneous inscription placed under Mr. Cope's painting of "The Pilgrim Fathers Landing in New England." The inscription stood : "Landing of a *Puritan* Family in New England," but after listening to the proofs submitted, and hearing Mr. Cope, who stated that he had taken his ideas from Bradford's Journal, the Commissioners ordered the terms "Puritan Family" to be removed, as unjust to the memory of the parties concerned, and substituted the words : 'PILGRIM FATHERS.'"—Mr. Chamberlain Benj. Scott's *The Pilgrim Fathers Neither Puritans Nor Persecutors*, 36.

"Here we may observe the great difference between our Plymouth fathers, and the Massachusetts. With all these stimulations to severity, the Court of Plymouth only charged them [the Seekonk Baptists], to desist from their practice, which others had taken such offence at, and one of them yielding thereto, the others were not so much as bound to their good behaviour, nor any other sureties required."—Backus's *Hist. New Eng.*, i : 214.

"Rigidity is a word that both Episcopalians and Presbyterians have often cast upon our Plymouth fathers. Yet the Massachusetts now discovered so much more of that temper than they, that Mr. Dunstar, in October 24, 1654, resigned his office among them and removed and spent his remaining days at Scituate in Plymouth Colony."—*Ibid.*, 284.

"The Plymouth colonists of humbler rank and less excited from having been so long removed from the scene of controversy in England, were more tolerant and mild, and although much swayed by the influence of their domineering neighbors, to whom, on all great occasions, they seemed to defer, were never led into those horrible excesses of fanaticism which disgrace the early annals of Massachusetts."—Baylies's *Hist. New Plym.*, i : 203.

"More fortunate than Massachusetts, they had been undisturbed with sectarian disputes, and wiser, they exercised a liberal toleration, which increased their numbers, while the sterner temper of their neighbors could only be soothed by the banishment of their antagonists."—*Ibid.*, i : 321.

"Sectarians, it is true, disturbed the tranquility of the inhabitants of this little Commonwealth ; but persecution with them assumed its mildest form, and

their annals have escaped that deep and indelible stain of blood, which pollutes the pages of the early history of their sterner and more intolerant brethren of Massachusetts." — *Ibid*, i : 5.

"Here may be observed to the honor of this Colony, that though the provocations of the Quakers were equally great here as elsewhere, yet they never made any sanguinary or capital laws against that sect, as some of the Colonies did." — *Appendix to Mr. Robbins' Sermon at Plymouth*, (A. D. 1760), p. 15.

Relation of the Plymouth Colony to this Republic.

"The Pilgrims brought with them to the new World a form of Christianity, which I cannot better describe than by styling it a democratic and republican religion. This contributed powerfully to the establishment of a republic and a democracy in public affairs." — *De Tocqueville*, i : 384.

"The system of town governments does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the Southern States, and although the system of internal government in the Middle States bears a partial resemblance to that of New England, it is in many respects dissimilar. Those who are strangers to our customs are surprised to find the whole of New England divided into a vast number of little democratic republics, which have full power to do all those things which most essentially concern the comforts, happiness, and morals of the people. . . . Under the government of these little republics, society is trained in habits of order, and the whole people acquire a practical knowledge of legislation within their own sphere. To this mode of government may be attributed that sober and reflecting character, almost peculiar to the people of New England, and their general knowledge of politics and legislation.

. . . . Now, to the Independent churches we may trace the original notion of independent communities, which afterwards assumed the name of towns, and which after having passed through an ecclesiastical state, and after the proprietaries became extinct from the special appropriation of all the lands within the bounds of their charter, assumed the shape of political corporations with municipal, and in fact legislative powers within their own limits." — *Baylies's Hist. New Plym.*, i : 240.

"The purely democratic form of government in the church at Leyden, already entrenched in the warm affections of the Pilgrims, led to the adoption of a corresponding form of civil government on board the Mayflower for the Colony at Plymouth. It has been said, and it is true, that it was a Congregational church-meeting that first suggested the idea of a New England town-meeting; and a New England town-meeting embodies all the germinal principles of our State and national government." — *Wellman's Ch. Pol. of the Pilgrims*, 68.

"The late Dr. Fishback, of Lexington, Ky., a few years since, made the following statement, which he received from the late Rev. Andrew Tribble, who died at the age of about 93 years. Mr. Tribble was pastor of a small Baptist church near Mr. Jefferson's residence, in the State of Virginia, eight or ten years before the American Revolution. Mr. Jefferson attended the meetings of the church for several months in succession, and after one of them, asked the worthy pastor to go home and dine with him, with which request he complied. Mr. Tribble asked Mr. Jefferson how he was pleased with their [purely democratic, or Congregational] church government? Mr. Jefferson replied, that its pro-

priety had struck him with great force, and had greatly interested him ; adding that he considered it the only form of pure democracy which then existed in the world, and had concluded that it would be the best plan of government for the American Colonies."—Belcher's *Relig. Denominations in U. S.*, 184.

"Congregationalism was, historically, the mother of our civil liberties. It was so first at Plymouth, and in the Massachusetts Colony. It was so, later, in the days of the Revolution. And it would seem a natural inference that the same polity which gave us a Republic, would be most favorable, in all its workings, to the permanent welfare of the State."—Dexter's *Congregationalism, etc.*, 290.

"The Plymouth Colony has furnished her full proportion of talent, genius, learning and enterprise in almost every department of life; and, in other lands, the merits of the posterity of the Pilgrims have been acknowledged. . . . In one respect they present a remarkable exception to the rest of America. They are the purest English race in the world ; there is scarcely any intermixture even with the Scotch or Irish, and none with the aborigines. Almost all the present population are descended from the original English settlers. . . . The fishermen and navigators of Maine, the children of Plymouth, still continue the industrious and bold pursuits of their forefathers. In that fine country, beginning at Utica (N. Y.) and stretching to Lake Erie, this race may be found on every hill and in every valley ; on the rivers and on the lakes. . . . And in all the Southern and South-western States, the natives of the ' Old Colony,' like the Armenians of Asia, may be found in every place where commerce and traffic offer any lure to enterprise ; and in the heart of the gigantic [West], like their ancestors, they have commenced the cultivation of the wilderness, like them, surrounded with savage beasts and savage men, and like them, patient in suffering, despising danger, and animated with hope."—Baylies's *Hist. New Plym.*, iv : 148.

The May-flower on New England's coast has furled her tattered sail,
And through her chafed and moaning shrouds December's breezes wait;
Yet on that icy deck, behold a meek but dauntless band,
Who, for the right to worship God, have left their native land;
And to this dreary wilderness this glorious boon they bring—

A Church without a Bishop, and a State without a King !

Those daring men, those gentle wives, say, wherefore do they come?
Why rend they all the tender ties of kindred and of home?
'Tis Heaven assigns their noble work, man's spirit to unbind;
They come not for themselves alone—they come for all mankind;
And to the empire of the West this glorious boon they bring—

A Church without a Bishop, and a State without a King !

Then Prince and Prelate, hope no more to bend them to your sway—
Devotion's fire inflames their breasts, while freedom points their way;
And in their brave heart's estimate, 't were better not to be,
Than quail beneath a despot, where the soul cannot be free;
And therefore o'er a wintry wave, those exiles come to bring

A Church without a Bishop, and a State without a King !

And still their spirit, in their sons, with freedom walks abroad;
The BIBLE is our only creed, our only sovereign, GOD !
The hand is raised, the word is spoke, the joyful pledge is given—
And boldly on our banner floats, in the free air of Heaven,
The motto of our sainted sires; and loud we'll make it ring—

A CHURCH WITHOUT A BISHOP, AND A STATE WITHOUT A KING !

—Rev. Charles Hall, D.D.

O little fleet! that on thy quest divine
 Sailedst from Palos one bright autumn morn,
 Say, has old Ocean's bosom ever borne
 A freight of Faith and Hope, to match with thine?

Say, too, has Heaven's high favor given again
 Such consummation of desire, as shone
 About Columbus, when he rested on
 The new-found world, and married it to Spain?

Answer—Thou refuge of the Freeman's need,
 THOU for whose destinies no Kings looked out,
 Nor Sages to resolve some mighty doubt,
 Thou simple MAYFLOWER of the salt-sea mead!

When THOU wert wafted to that distant shore,—
 Gay flowers, bright birds, rich odors, met thee not,
 Stern nature hailed thee to a sterner lot,—
 God gave free earth and air, and gave no more.

Thus to men cast in that heroic mold
 Came Empire, such as Spaniard never knew—
 Such Empire, as beseems the just and true;
 And, at the last, almost unsought, came Gold.

But HE, who rules both calm and stormy days,
 Can guard that people's heart, that nation's health
 Safe on the perilous highs of power and wealth,
 As in the straitness of the ancient ways.

—Richard Monckton Milnes, (*Lord Houghton*.)

Tantæ Molis Grati Nov-
 Anglæ Condere
 Gentem!

A MEMORIAL

OF

EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D.

BY JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Dedham, Mass., December 9th and 11th, 1870.

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DEDHAM, December 15, 1870.

REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS:

Dear Sir—We beg leave to thank you for the very pertinent and appropriate discourse delivered last Sabbath, on the Life and Character of the late Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D.; and in behalf of the Allin Evangelical Society, respectfully request a copy of the same, together with the excellent Address at the funeral service, for publication, at your convenience.

Yours truly,

JOHN W. THOMAS,	}	Assessors of said
D. A. BAKER,		Allin
T. L. BROWNE,		Evangelical Society.

To Messrs. JOHN W. THOMAS, D. A. BAKER, T. L. BROWNE:

Gentlemen—I send you herewith the slight tribute to the memory of our venerable friend, the late Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D., to which you kindly refer in your note of the 15th ult., requesting, in behalf of the Society, its publication.

Wishing it were more worthy of its subject, and with thanks for your courtesy,

I remain, very truly, your friend and Pastor,

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

DEDHAM, January, 1871.

FUNERAL ADDRESS.

WHEN his family, the Church, the town of his fifty years' abode, and his friends without number in all parts of the world, bid Dr. Burgess an earthly farewell,—all feel the weight of a more than common loss. We look up and say, "Even so, for so it seemeth good in Thy sight." We greatly mourn that we are deprived of such precious prayers—of such a noble and gracious presence—of such a high example.

But we say to one another, What a heaven he has entered! and we are glad. We read the record of that world, where he that overcometh doth inherit all things. We remember that the saved walk in that light. We believe that our friend is there; and we are grateful. With a new emphasis, we exclaim, "Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift."

As an opportunity will occur on the coming Lord's day of speaking more at length, it is proposed now to refer chiefly to a few of the incidents of his life.

Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, D.D., was born in Wareham, Mass., April 1st, 1790, of parents descended from the ancient Puritan stock. His first ancestor in this country, Thomas Burgess, came to Salem not far from 1630, from England, and was one of the first settlers of the town of Sandwich.

The slab erected to his memory, imported from England, was the only monument set up for any pilgrim of the first generation. And it is remarkable that this slab, whose fragments had been gathered up and reunited with pious

care, was in the possession of Dr. Burgess, among the interesting mementos that adorned his house. Our friend was the eleventh of thirteen children, and the patriarchal estate upon which he first saw the light has never been alienated from the family. His father lived to be eighty-four, and his mother eighty-eight years of age.

Dr. Burgess graduated at Brown University, Providence, R. I., in 1809, with distinguished rank as a scholar. He was a teacher in the common school at the age of sixteen, and was invited to the charge of a church at the age of twenty-one. After graduating at Brown he became a tutor in that college, and subsequently a professor in the Vermont University. In connection with Samuel J. Mills, who was one of the most benevolent and earnest Christian men of his generation, he sailed on November 16th, 1817, for Africa, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society; became one of the founders of the Colony at Liberia, and was invited to become its Superintendent.

On the passage out, the ship in which they embarked was almost wrecked, and every life on board in imminent peril. When all hope of escape had been abandoned, and the ship was driving directly towards the rocks, and death was believed to be but a few moments removed, Mr. Burgess went upon deck to compose the minds of his shipmates, who crowded about him to be commended to the mercy of God. At the same time a few fellow-passengers were kneeling in fervent prayer in the cabin. When they were saved, all exclaimed, "It is the work of God!"

He visited England, both going and returning: was presented to Zachary Macaulay, father of the eminent statesman and historian, and was cordially received by Wilberforce, Lord Bathurst (Secretary of State for the Colonies), Lord Gambier (who expressed a deep interest in the African enterprise), his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, and others.

On the homeward voyage he buried at sea the body of his companion—the heavenly-minded Mills—and arrived alone in his native land, October 22, 1818.

He pursued theological studies at the Andover Seminary, and 'with the well-known Dr. Griffin, at Newark, N. J.; also at Princeton, and with Rev. Dr. Emmons of Franklin. After his settlement in Dedham, Dr. Burgess was invited to take the Presidency of Middlebury College, Vermont, but declined. On the 30th of July, 1820, he preached for the first time in Dedham. March 13th, 1821, he was ordained Pastor of the Church, with which he remained for fifty years. His decease, which occurred Monday night, December 5th, 1870, about eleven o'clock, could not have been unanticipated, either by himself or his friends, although it seemed sudden at the last. In 1861, at the close of a forty years' ministry, he retired from the active labors of the pastor's office, in unimpaired health and singular vigor of both body and mind, at the age of three-score years and ten. Last March he met with a severe and painful accident, which has crippled and confined him; and which, after gradually exhausting his extraordinary physical energies, has now terminated his so valuable life on earth.

In 1823, he was married by Rev. B. B. Wisner, D. D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, to Abigail Bromfield Phillips, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips. Seven children were born to them, of whom four still survive.

In 1840 he edited a volume of sermons of all the early Pastors of the First Church, entitled, "Dedham Pulpit"; wrote a Reminiscence of Samuel J. Mills, in Sprague's Annals, in 1849; and published a volume of the "Burgess Genealogy," in 1865.

He was deeply interested in all efforts for the good of men, and followed to his last days, with surprising dili-

gence and accuracy, the reports of the Church's progress. For several years he was a trustee of the Andover Seminary. The Dedham Savings Bank was always an object of his fostering care, and he was its first and only President until now.

Dr. Burgess was one of the most marked men of his time. Coming to Dedham at a period of great excitement and strong diversity of feeling upon religious questions—a man of very decided opinions—he has lived in the respect and dies attended by the affection of the whole community. His sincerity, his conscientiousness, his firmness, have been unquestionable; but only those most familiar with him have known the depth of tenderness in his somewhat reticent nature, or the ardor of his pious interest, and the fervor of his prayers for the good of the whole people among whom his life has been passed.

Holding in filial homage the ecclesiastical and domestic ancestry from which he came, as he has been styled "the last of the Puritans," he nurtured a wide Christian charity. With a peculiar stateliness, he joined a peculiar courtesy of manner—emphatically a gentleman of the old school.

Of distinguished appearance, no man could be more missed among us. High-minded, honorable, strictly just in his dealings; an example of liberality and benevolence, and every fire-side virtue; a humble disciple of Christ—a whole community dismisses him to Heaven with its benediction.

The day before our last Thanksgiving, he drove to a neighboring town, to procure a supply for the table of numerous families, whom he would help to be thankful. His aim was to assist on that day of gratitude one hundred families.

He ordered the "Congregational Quarterly" for several home missionaries. The last letter he received was an acknowledgment of kindness he had rendered to a colored

preacher in Liberia. The last chapter read by him at morning worship was 2d Samuel—7 ; the last two verses of which are : “And now, O Lord God ! thou art that God, and thy words be true, and thou hast promised this goodness unto thy servant. Therefore, now let it please thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may continue forever before thee ; for thou, O Lord God ! hast spoken it ; and with thy blessing let the house of thy servant be blessed forever.”

This will now abide as his parting blessing upon her, honored and beloved by so many, now added to the company of the widows that God takes under his especial care, whom he brought hither as his bride forty-seven years ago ; and upon their children and children’s children forever.

Dr. Burgess was a signal example of the power of the *family life*. The simplicity, and the piety, and the affection of his childhood’s home exerted a life-long command over him ; and he reproduced these qualities in his own beloved house.

I quote a few of his words found in the last volume he gave to the press, in his seventy-fifth year, being a genealogy of his own family. After describing the homestead in which his grandmother and her mother were cared for by his father with the utmost tenderness, he proceeds :

“As was common in the patriarchal families of New England, all the members of the household were called together morning and evening, for the worship of God. The Bible was read, prayer offered, and blessings implored. When the table was spread, thrice in the day, a petition was offered and thanks returned.”

Then follow some lines, which had evidently impressed themselves on his heart, as recalling his early days, of which the first stanza runs thus :

“THE FAMILY BIBLE.

How painfully pleasing the fond recollection
Of youthful connections and innocent joy,
When blest with parental advice and affection;
Surrounded with mercies—with peace from on high.
I still view the chair of my sire and my mother,
The seats of their offspring, as ranged on each hand;
And that richest of books, which excelled every other—
That family Bible that lay on the stand.
The old-fashioned Bible—the dear, blessed Bible;
The family Bible, that lay on the stand.”

Shortly before his decease, on rousing from apparently a dream, he whispered, “Dear Mamma!” This was the last picture that could be drawn of the veteran scholar, traveler, preacher. As earth is fading off from his closing eyes, he dreams. In that happy vision, he sees his first earthly friend. It is not the mother who left him thirty-one years ago, at the age of eighty-eight. No! It is the mother of his infancy; the mother who first took him in her arms. At the moment of his dreams, another, who bears exactly her name, and is repeating to his old age the maternal tenderness of his childhood, flits before him and holds his head. He sees, in one double image of love, his mother and his daughter; and then it is—almost the last utterance of his lips—he whispers, “Dear mamma”! Then, noticing his daughter, he adds, “Yes, dear mamma! first words of the infant—latest words of the old man.”

Another of his expressions was: “O! saved through infinite grace!”

Thus blending the loves of earth and the trust of heaven, this grand old man resigns this brief world for that eternal home in glory to which his Saviour summons him.

“Asleep in Jesus! O how sweet
To be for such a slumber meet!
With holy confidence to sing
That Death hath lost his venom'd sting!”

DISCOURSE.

“And I heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write—Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.”—*Revelations* xiv—13.

As we come, my friends, into our House of Worship, this morning, we are sensible of a great vacancy. We unconsciously turn our eyes to one pew by the window, and painfully miss the dignified figure, and honored countenance, and serious mien, which have so regularly greeted us and helped us. We intuitively ask, “Where is he?” We should find it impossible to believe that great soul had ceased to think and to feel: but the revelation of grace comes instantly to our aid. We have the celestial message concerning all Christ’s disciples: “Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.”

See the contrast between our earthly mourning and the voices from the heavenly world, when it respects those who “die in the Lord.” And he who answers back to this announcement, “Yea!” is one who dwelt within the gates of pearl and the wall of jasper—one who knew well the golden city.

This blessedness is what brings consolation to the widow and comfort to the sons and daughters, whose husband and whose father have been taken from them only to enter into rest and glory.

But, my friends, do not omit to observe the limitation. It is not all who die that are pronounced blessed, but those who die in the Lord. This, also, is a heaven-sent voice.

The same revelation which tells us of heaven tells us who alone can enter it, they that are "in Christ." These are blessed. These rest for ever. And their influence abides. "Their works do follow them."

Most briefly we ask, *What is it to die in the Lord?* and *Why are such blessed?*

It is to depart out of this life, having committed the soul unto Christ Jesus, as an all-sufficient Redeemer. It is to leave this life, trusting for salvation, not in ourselves, nor in our merits, but in the divine grace—the infinite love—of our accepted Saviour, with a heart that exclaims, "I know in whom I have believed"; or with a heart that, if it cannot have boldness to utter it, yet feels that trust in its secret reality; and is, consciously or unconsciously, saved by Christ.

And *why are such blessed?* Because their remaining imperfections are now removed. Because their life-long struggle is ended. Because their eternal reward, assured through grace, is begun. They are blessed in their deliverance from every ill of body or of mind; in the expansion and perfect working of every faculty; in the society of the angels and of the ransomed, which they now will share; above all, in the society, in a new and heavenly degree, of the Divine Being himself; in the incomparable pursuits and the unbroken joy of the everlasting *home*.

That our departed friend has entered into that rest that remaineth for the people of God, we do not hesitate to believe. Whatever foibles, imperfections or doubts he may have had, he gave evidence that he loved and trusted Jesus Christ; that he "believed in him who cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world." All that we call his good works, but which he would himself have styled his very imperfect acts, we look upon, not as in themselves the ground of his salvation, but rather as being the fruits of the Spirit in him, and as the evidences of his union of soul with

the Christ of his faith—Redeemer, cleanser, friend. Dying “in the Lord,” he has, through Him, everlasting life.

Thus one chief object we have in view in recalling his life, is to find in him a new manifestation of the grace and of the providence of God; and to incite in ourselves the purpose to cherish that trust, and to do those consequent works which shall glorify his and our Father in Heaven.

We begin with alluding to certain courses of divine providence with him, and responsive traits of his own character, that are not without instruction or stimulus to almost every class among us.

First, I mention him as an instance of the *value of ancestral piety*. St. Paul wrote of Timothy’s unfeigned faith, which had first dwelt in a mother and a grandmother. Our departed minister was also the son and grandson and great-grandson of godly generations. His first ancestor in America was prominent in the church of Christ, and Dr. Burgess has himself recorded that “the first six generations of his name were Congregationalists of the Puritan stamp, and a large proportion of them were baptized in infancy, and became members of the church.”

He himself was peculiarly affected with the weight of his obligation to God in the gift of pious progenitors. “How imperfect,” he says, “is our estimate of the debt to our father and mother. We are sometimes affected with one item in this debt; and when we have wiped away our tears, we begin to be impressed with another. But it must be left to our expanded souls in the future world to comprehend the stupendous thought of filial duty.” He adds another illustration of divine superintending kindness: “There is some reason to believe that the family which the first American ancestor was called to leave behind in England remained in the shackles of the Romish Church, with no Bible in the vernacular tongue; with no worldly prosperity; with no expansion of mind; with no spiritual consolations.”

tion. If this be true, what child of his will not bow down in reverential worship before the God of his fathers, and acknowledge the sovereign hand which led him into this western wilderness."

In close connection with his ancestry, it seems natural to observe next :

II. *The effect of valuable early habits*, which remained with him all his life.

I mean the homely in distinction from the showy virtues ; and those which, though hard and plain like the rocks, lie at the foundation of a well-ordered life.

Industry never forsook him, even in advanced years ; and in the days of weakness and pain, industry alike of head and of hand, and which served to keep in good condition the constitution he had received, so that he should be such a fine example of the " sound mind in a sound body." He was an instance of what moderation and temperance can do in lengthening our days, and giving the largest amount of sober and protracted enjoyment. During the years between three-score and ten and four-score years, and when he was relieved from all official responsibility, he failed not every day to continue his life-long studies and writings on the Scriptures.

Early self-denial was taught him, and was well learned. He was brought up before, or away from, the luxurious notions and habits which often now waste the energies and enervate the existence of our youth. The endurance of hardship became easy ; the rugged qualities of vigor and perseverance and overcoming of obstacles helped to make a man of him. These virtues, both inherited and cultivated, entered into the groundwork of his character, and were made of untold service in all his future life. When he came to be the minister of a widely extended parish, and his own home was at a distance from the centre, some of you well remember that no dark nights or storms kept him

from traversing his three or four or five miles to meet his Bible classes. And many of you recall the energy and the perfect punctuality with which he would encounter the rains or the snows of a two or three miles' winter ride, sometimes breaking his path before him, on his way to church.

It may be that this robust nature of his was what, at the last, brought upon him the accident that shortened his days, when, at the age of seventy-nine, he would take his wonted place in opening the snow-bound roads. But in respect to this, more may be said than, perhaps, at first occurs.

Had it not been for these very traits, he might have met with casualties much earlier and slighter, that would have overwhelmed him. Even with his wounded and painful limb, he showed more grit than some men with two whole ones; and at eighty, had more force in him than most men have at sixty. Besides, in numberless ways, the accident we could not help bewailing, may have been a great blessing. It was a kind providence that would not leave him, as with his iron constitution he might have continued, to drag on to the end of a century a body within which the light of mind should have been waning. He should rather be translated in the fulness of his strength.

And who can tell how much this serious injury was made a benefit to himself in helping him, gradually and steadily, to unclasp from him the firm bonds of earth; in softening and refining the sternness of nature and of habit; in quickening, or rather in bringing into clearer relief, the already quick sympathies; in causing to become more apparent all the tender and delicate tints of his sunset hour; and in awakening towards him a new affection and a new sympathy from those who, otherwise, would not have known how much they esteemed and loved.

I shall not soon forget the peculiar sweetness of his smile, on one of the very latest occasions of his leaving this

house, in response to the offer a dear one was making of some slight assistance. His accident set his last days in a warm and clear glow, mingling the softest and gentlest with the most patient and the most brave.

III. I may add next that the sturdy stock to which reference has been made was fruitful in a cluster of graces which may be grouped together, as *manliness, modesty, dignity* and *courtesy*.

A certain formality of manner is often the cloak within which a real diffidence hides itself. And modesty is the frequent companion of the best abilities. He had great simplicity—a child-like religious character. His peculiarities were superficial, while his excellencies were deep and radical.

One of the strongest impressions he has made upon my own mind is that of a manly, sincere, upright person—a man who never says one thing to your face and another behind your back—a man who scorns, and would never be suspected of, a low, or mean, or small act. He was the soul of honor—a man to be trusted—a man who acted no lies—one to be respected—a *man*.

It certainly is not always an easy thing for any man to retire from official work he loves, and for which he is fitted, and to see another installed in his place with entire equanimity. But when he superadds, as Dr. Burgess did, to the utter absence of all coolness, the unvarying cordiality and sympathy of a large heart; when he brings thoughtfulness, and kindness, and influence to his successor, and teaches others so; and this without intermission or a single break to the end of his days,—I shall always see carved ineffaceably upon his monument a name of honor and nobility. The silent influence, too, of his courtesy and dignity of bearing upon three generations of this community will hardly be over-estimated. He resembled an oak, which to some at times may seem unyielding and knotty, but which

has in its strong trunk and goodly foliage a lasting beauty. It long stands firm in its place, and from it drop the acorns which grow up in its shadow, to be themselves both its survivors and its offspring.

In bodily vigor, in mental steadiness and work, in the keeping usefully active to the last the powers of his mind by continuous employment—he was an example to all of us. And in the purity and warmth of his affections, increasing to the end, and widening rather than narrowing as he grew older, he showed the presence of heavenly grace.

IV. For no correct estimate can be made of him which shall not embrace some allusion, in the next place, to his *continued and far-reaching benevolence*. He was a perpetual rebuke of the idea, so erroneously indulged, that those most interested in beneficence abroad are indifferent to necessities nearer home. Foreign missionaries and home missionaries, alike, shared his interest and his purse. His charities reached the bounds of Asia; gladdened the isles of the distant sea; and watered the arid wastes of Africa; but when you wanted a lift here in our own congregation, whose generosity was equal to his? and that in this last year of his retirement!

In the earlier and more active period of his life he was a great public benefactor through all this region: and, all his life, through the regions beyond, even to the ends of the earth. He was a clear evidence of the truth, that decided doctrine and the largest liberality go well together. One need not be lax in belief to be full of good works.

No brief summary would contain the record of his helpfulness to individual ministers and christians; but it would be well if some record could be made of the extended influence exerted in this immediate region by his benefactions and efforts in behalf of new and needy churches. At Dover, at Needham, at Walpole, and at other places, his assistance has been a great treasure in their day of small things.

The church at West Roxbury furnishes a good illustration, and with the advantage of having its early story told by the pen of one (Rev. Dr. Laurie) who was its highly valued pastor, from whose account I copy.

A young woman from West Roxbury lived in the family of Dr. Burgess, at Dedham, and a little girl of her acquaintance used to go from West Roxbury to visit her on the Sabbath. The visitor was induced to go to meeting, and became interested in what she heard. Not content with going herself, she tried to persuade her friends at home to go too. But in this she was at first doomed to disappointment, for her father harshly forbade her visits to Dedham, and threatened to punish her if she persisted.

She was in great distress for a time, but the providence of God opened her way in a manner she could not anticipate. The death of her father caused such changes that she could not only go to meeting herself, but succeeded in inducing all the family to go with her. The result was that four of them joined the church in Dedham—three generations entering the fold at once. Their house was opened for preaching, and then a hall was secured.

Eventually Dr. Burgess gave them his services on Sunday evenings for a year. With his usual good judgment, he charged them something to keep them interested; and then, with his usual liberality, gave them several times as much—his charges being sixty-eight dollars, and his gifts about fifteen hundred dollars!

When pressed for an account of his labors, he replied, with his customary modesty, "I think that a curtain had better rest over the pecuniary part of the whole work; the faith and prayer are of more value."

It is learned from other sources, however, that his plan was to give yearly assistance in decreasing amounts as the congregation grew more able.

His benevolence indeed was one of his most distinctive

features for imitation. He had been enabled to overcome that temptation of avarice which holds the purse-strings the tighter the fuller it becomes. And we all feel that in few things shall we miss him more than in the stream of benevolence, public and private, which his love to God and to man kept constantly flowing. When the godly ceaseth, his place must be supplied by others. Let each one in our congregation remember to make good, by a larger and more universal charity of giving, this great loss we have sustained.

V. I must not fail to advert to his *remarkable love for the study of the Bible, and for the ordinances of God's house.*

When, at the age of seventy-nine, he was desired to leave the Bible class of ladies he had taught so long and so well, in order to take a class of young men whom he had previously instructed, and who desired to receive his services again, he told those ladies they had been the occasion of great happiness to him. He said he had never studied the Bible with more pleasure.

He might have added, he had seldom studied it with more diligence; for he who had given his life-time to the Bible, now, at almost four-score, used to devote some part of nearly every day to careful study for his Sabbath class.

Some of you are also aware that it has been, ever since he ceased preaching, alike his employment and his entertainment, to prepare every day a written paper upon some passage of the Word. These papers, too, if I may judge from the few it has been my privilege to see, are luminous with Scriptural illustration and the results of critical thought.

How rich is this silent testimony to the fulness of the Book of God, and how such habits have been fitting his mind and his heart to enter upon and to enjoy the scenes to which that blessed volume allures!

You who have watched his weekly and punctual attend-

ance here, need not be reminded how much he loved the sanctuary. These later years of his life, when no professional duty called him hither, but when distance, and storms, and biting cold, and even pain and weakness, could not detain him, have been his perpetual witness to the blessedness of the Lord's house.

When his maimed limb had compelled him to remain some Sabbaths at home, it was his reply, full of feeling, to a question about his desire to return to this temple, "Yes, I *should* love to get out to church again."

And when this strong man, whose frame as he walked in had been so erect, came slowly up the aisle on his crutches, to gather a few times more the manna of the Word, he gave a new emphasis to the sentiment, "How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!" Ah! venerable friend! thou art gone at length "where Sabbaths never end." We miss his presence, but we remember that "blessed are they that dwell in Thy house; they *will be still praising Thee*."

This Bible and this sanctuary were the helpers of his prayers, and no service of ours but in turn was itself assisted by them. Touching indeed it is said to have been to listen to his fervent supplications for the spiritual good of this people since he has been somewhat retired from them. And while he mingled prayers and gifts for us, he was sending both from his quiet and loved home around the world. Such streams do such fountains, heaven-filled, continually feed. Has not the Christian poet well described him?

"Like a patriarch sage,
Holy, humble, courteous, mild,
He could blend the awe of age,
With the sweetness of a child.

As a cedar of the Lord,
On the height of Lebanon,
Shade and shelter doth afford,
From the tempest and the sun:—

Thus he flourished, tall and strong,
 Glorious in perennial health;
 Thus he scattered, late and long,
 All his plenitude of wealth!

Yet like noon's refulgent blaze,
 Though he shone from east to west,
 Far withdrawn from public gaze,
 Secret goodness pleased him best.

Oft his silent spirit went,
 Like an angel from the throne,
 On benign commissions bent,
 In the fear of God alone.

Then the widow's heart would sing,
 As she turned her wheel, for joy;
 Then the bliss of hope would spring,
 On the outcast orphan boy.

Deeds of mercy, deeds unknown,
 Shall Eternity record,
 Which he durst not call his own,
 For he did them to the Lord.

Full of faith at length he died;
 And, victorious in the race,
 Won the crown for which he vied—
 Not of merit, but of grace."

Yes,—“Not of merit, but of grace.” Not long before he passed away, he said, “I do not know what the good will of God may be respecting me. Whatever it is, I am resigned.” And as usual, thinking of others rather than of himself, said to his son, “Keep all in the family as cheerful as you can.”

He was a large-minded, large-hearted disciple of the perfect Master, with a soul made hospitable through divine grace to all high purposes and goodly deeds. And we believe the Christ whom he loved has taken him where every noble resolve and every lustrous act will find a congenial and a boundless sphere.

Just one week before the day of his decease, our friend wrote, in his daily scriptural reflections, these words: "The righteous commit their persons, friends, and all their interests to the care, wisdom, and benevolence of God. They have peace in believing. Conscience, too, is at rest. Not self-condemned, and not apprehensive of the divine displeasure, they are agitated by no winds or waves." The last words of his fruitful pen seem to have been written on the closing day of the autumn, on the text, "Am I my brother's keeper?" They are these: "In childhood or in old age, on the ocean or on the land, thou hast a duty to preserve thy brother. Is he poor? Provide for him. Is he hungry? Feed him. Is he naked? Clothe him. Is he in danger? Protect him. Is he in prison? Visit him. Is he sick? Nurse him. Every man is thy brother, and these are fragments of thy duty to him. His life, health and safety are thine to keep. If thou slay, injure or neglect thy brother, thou art guilty. Cain had committed the greatest crime against his brother, and" ——!

With that "and", on the last day of the final complete month of his life, the penman laid down the implement he had used so well, never to resume it again! The word is significant in that place—"And"! It signifies a continuance. No mind of ours can exactly say what was in his mind to add if he could continue writing. An unfinished thought was there. His life on earth was but an unfinished thought. It continues, unseen by us. That mind is thinking still. Those contemplations upon the ways of God go on. He laid down his pen, to take up the harp of Heaven!

One of our first reflections upon the life of this minister is, on *The number of his people whom he meets in the world of spirits*. Many of his church had gone before him. His counsels and his life had aided them on their way. The last but one, I am told, of all who were its members when he came here fifty years ago, was waiting in the town of her

residence, anxious to receive any tidings of the condition of her old Pastor, and her friends here were interesting themselves to inform her. But the day of his death proved almost the day of her own funeral. Most of the brethren upon whom in his, and their, early life he leaned, had crossed the river before him; and, with them, their consorts and companions, whom he fondly styled, "A lovely band of female companions, both aged and youthful."

How many of your fathers and mothers met him on the other side! Minister and people together on earth, together in the ministries above! It was an impressive spectacle to see the men of years, last Friday, in thinned ranks, as they attended their aged pastor to the tomb, and broke another of the links that bind them to earth! Happy if they shall rejoin him in the skies! Do but follow his Redeemer, dear friends. He will lead you on, with no faltering step, to the everlasting mansions.

To this Church, divine Providence makes to-day its tenderest appeal for a better life, for a sincerer trust, for a more zealous obedience, for a sweeter and stronger hope in Christ. And may it not be said, that to those who used to listen to this now silent voice, in the gospel which they have not yet learned to heed, an appeal is made that will hardly come again?

O! might it be that the remembrance of some familiar truth, urged at once by a sympathizing and venerated human preacher, and by the spirit of grace, may turn you, my friends, to-day, to repentance and belief in Jesus. So this honored ministry—this lengthened life of religious example—this late ascent of his servant unto God, shall yet prove your endless blessing. Thus would his own most ardent desires, and some of his latest words, be fulfilled.

I cannot close more fittingly than by retracing a part of what he wrote two weeks ago to-day, upon the Scripture:

"What is our hope or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?"

"The writer," he remarks, "is Paul, the faithful preacher. He wishes to visit them, but was not able to do so. He anticipates the time when he should meet them in the presence of the Lord Jesus: ye are our glory and our joy."

"We learn," he adds, "a part of his creed. He and they would exist together, intelligent and happy. They would fully recognize each other. They would review their earthly history. Parents and children, ministers and their converts, would rejoice in each other."

Thus may you, my friends, be at last his glory and his joy.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[5 c. Rev. Stamp.]

WORCESTER, SS.

In the office of the Register of Probate and Insolvency for said County of Worcester, this Twenty-eighth day of January, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-nine,

I, CHARLES E. STEVENS, Register of Probate and Insolvency for said County of Worcester, having, by law, the custody of the seal and all the records, books, documents and papers of, or appertaining to, the Probate Court in and for said County, hereby CERTIFY that the within and following are a copy of the Will and Codicils of ICHABOD WASHBURN, late of Worcester, in said County, deceased, as the same appear upon the records of the Court of Probate for said County.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of said Court, on the day and year last abovenamed.

[Seal.]

CHAS. E. STEVENS,

Register.

I, ICHABOD WASHBURN, of Worcester, in the County of Worcester, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do make this my last Will and Testament.

I direct and my Will is that all my just debts and funeral charges be paid as soon as may be practicable. I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Elizabeth B. Washburn, the use, income and benefit of the sum of Sixty Thousand Dollars during her natural life, with full power, on her part, to take to her own use upon her written order therefor, or to give, appoint and dispose of as she shall see fit, by gift, written declaration in her life time, or by her last Will and Testament, in such sums and for such purposes as she may choose, the sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars of said Sixty Thousand Dollars. And I give and bequeath the other remaining Thirty Thousand Dollars at her decease to the Trustees of the Home for Aged Females, hereinafter mentioned, in addition to the sum of Twenty Five-Thousand Dollars given herein to said Trustees. And I direct that so much of said Sixty Thousand Dollars as my said wife may choose to hold or manage herself, not exceeding said sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars shall be held in trust by my Executors hereinafter named, or such Trustees as the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester shall appoint in their stead, to be safely invested and the net income thereof, after defraying the taxes thereon and the charges of investing and taking care of the same, shall be paid over in semi-annual payments to my said wife personally, or to her written order, during her life, free from interference or control of any future husband, if any she shall have, both as to the said Thirty Thousand Dollars, which is to be

subject to her disposal, and the income of the remaining Thirty Thousand Dollars. And at her death to pay the said Thirty Thousand Dollars to the Trustees aforesaid of said Home for Aged Females.

In addition to the foregoing legacy, I give to my beloved wife, as hereafter expressed the use and improvement of my homestead estate, and all my household, furniture, plate, pictures, books, provisions, indoor and outdoor articles of ornament and convenience, designed and used with said estate, together with my horses, carriages, and whatever goes to make up my home establishment, for and during her natural life, unless she shall see fit to appropriate any part of the same for the purpose of the Home for Aged females hereinafter mentioned, which she is to be at liberty to do without further accounting for the same. Whatever is herein above given and devised to my said wife, is to be raised, paid and appropriated as soon after my death as the same can reasonably be done.

I give and bequeath to the Children's Friend Society, in the city of Worcester, in the County of Worcester, incorporated April 5th, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-nine, the sum of One Thousand Dollars, to be used at their discretion.

I give and bequeath to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Five Thousand Dollars, to be used by them at their discretion.

I also give and bequeath to the American Bible Society, founded in New York, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixteen, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes of said Society.

I give and bequeath to the American Tract Society, at Boston, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, which sum is to be added to the Jubilee Publication Fund of that Society.

I also give and bequeath to the American Missionary Association, New York City, to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes of said Society, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars.

I give and bequeath to the American Seamen's Friend Society, incorporated by the Legislature of New York, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-three, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes of said Society.

Whereas, it is my desire to manifest my regard for the people of my native place, the Town of Kingston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by so doing, to make provision for a worthy and deserving class of females belonging to said Town, who, though not paupers, are dependent upon the kindness or generosity of others for their support, in part or in whole, and thereby to relieve the Town from the charge of their support, by their becoming paupers, and to save them from the mortification of being obliged to apply to the Town for relief as such paupers, and designing hereby to establish a permanent public charity for the benefit of poor and deserving females belonging to said Town.

I do hereby give and devise unto the inhabitants of the Town of Kingston, the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, for the uses and purposes, and upon the terms and conditions hereinafter expressed, viz :

Said inhabitants shall in the first place, at a Town Meeting duly called for the purpose, vote to accept this devise upon the terms and conditions herein expressed, and shall enter this expression of my will, with their vote and action thereon, in the records of said Town, to be forever after binding upon said town.

First, no part of the principal or interest of this devise shall in any event ever be used and applied in defraying the ordinary expenses of the town or for the support of those who shall have become and are supported as paupers of the town or for other purposes, inconsistent with the objects for which it is intended as herein expressed.

Second, the fund hereby created shall be kept invested by Trustees, as hereinafter mentioned, in the bonds or securities of the United States, or of the Commonwealth, or of towns within the Commonwealth, if such bonds or securities can be obtained for investment, otherwise upon personal notes or bonds, secured by mortgages of real estate, of full and ample value to render the loan thereon safe and undoubted, the fund on no condition to be reduced below the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, herein devised.

Third, as soon after the vote of acceptance aforesaid by the town, as the same can be reasonably done, three suitable and discreet persons, inhabitants of said town, shall be selected and nominated as Trustees of said fund, by the Selectmen of the town for the time being, by a written certificate of such selection and appointment, which shall be entered upon the records of the town, which Trustees shall hold their office for the term of five years, if not sooner removed by death, resignation, or otherwise, and whenever a vacancy or vacancies shall thereafter exist, from any cause in said Trustees, the Selectmen of the town for the time being, shall from time to time fill the same by a new selection, nomination and certificate, as aforesaid, so that there shall always thereafter, as near as may be, be three Trustees qualified to act in relation to said fund.

Said Trustees shall, upon accepting said trust, which they shall certify to the Town Clerk, to be by him recorded, and before exercising any act or power in the premises as such, execute and deliver to the Treasurer of the town, for the time being, and his successor in office, to the acceptance of the Selectmen for the time being, a bond or bonds, in the penal sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, with sufficient and satisfactory securities, conditional to safely keep, manage, invest and account for the fund hereby created and the interest and income thereof, as hereinafter provided.

Upon filing such bond or bonds, the funds aforesaid and all moneys, securities or evidences of indebtedness belonging to the same shall be delivered to said Trustees, to be by them held, managed and accounted for, in manner following, to wit:

They shall cause the same to be invested on interest, in manner hereto provided. They shall annually in the month of March, select from the unmarried women resident in said town, whether widows or single women, of good character and reputation in the community, such as they shall judge are in need of and deserving assistance, but are not supported as paupers by the town, always giving a preference to widows when otherwise equally deserving, and shall pay over to them such sums as they shall think reasonable and proper, not exceeding the sum of sixty dollars in any one year to any one person so selected and designated, said allowance not to exceed in the aggregate at any time the net income of this fund, after defraying all costs, charges and necessary disbursements on account of the same.

And for doing the business of their trust, said Trustees are to be allowed to retain out of said income, and charge to the same, such a sum

as compensation as the Selectmen of the town for the time being shall judge and in writing certify to be just and reasonable.

And of their doings in respect to said Trustees, and of all receipts and disbursements on account of the same, the said Trustees shall annually, in the month of March, in each year, render a true and faithful account in writing under their hands to the Selectmen of the town, for the time being, substantially as provided in the thirty-first chapter and ninth section of the General Statutes of the Commonwealth, which said account when approved and allowed as correct and properly vouched by said Selectmen, shall be filed among the records of the town, and be open to inspection like the other records of the town.

And if from any cause, there shall be no one authorized to act as such Trustees, the fund with all securities, moneys, and vouchers belonging to the same, shall be deposited with the Treasurer of the town, for the time being, to be by him safely kept and held until others shall be appointed and qualified to act as such Trustees.

And I recommend for the purpose of convenience in managing said fund that the town upon accepting the foregoing devise, adopt some name as designating the fund thereby created, to be thereafter known by such name or designation.

I give and bequeath to my faithful gardener, William T. Buckley, the sum of Two Thousand Dollars.

I give and bequeath unto the Trustees of the Bangor Theological Seminary, situate in the City of Bangor, Maine, the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars on condition that a like sum is raised by the friends of that institution, within a reasonable time, and in no event to exceed two years from the time of my decease.

I direct and my will is that one-half of said sum be applied to the increase of the library, in the name of my beloved wife, Elizabeth B. Washburn, and the other half to be applied to the increase of the Washburn fund.

I give and bequeath to my nephew, George Ichabod Washburn, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to him, his heirs and assigns forever.

I give and bequeath to my beloved niece, Caroline T. Washburn, now Mrs. Rockwood, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to her heirs and assigns forever.

I give and bequeath to Pamela W. Cram, daughter of Calvin H. Cram, of Portland, Maine, the sum of One Thousand dollars, to her heirs and assigns forever.

Whereas, I have long felt that it was desirable to devise some means by which a pretty numerous class of persons in the city of Worcester, who are now living without the benefits of moral and religious instruction and restraint which grows out of an habitual attendance upon the ministrations of the gospel, should be supplied with opportunities and inducements to enjoy the same.

And, Whereas, it has seemed to me that the readiest way of accomplishing this purpose would be to open for the use of all who may be disposed to avail themselves of the same, a suitable and respectable place of worship, wherein, upon the Lord's day, and at suitable times on week days, religious services may be held and conducted by some learned, pious and devoted Christian minister, who, in addition to preaching and conducting public worship shall devote himself, by visits and

personal influence, to persuading and inducing such as may be unaccustomed to attend worship, or who neglect the Sabbath, or from any cause are destitute of the healthful restraints and moral influence of religious instruction, to attend upon the services in such place of worship.

And, whereas, I have caused such a house to be erected, in which the Rev. Henry T. Cheever is now officiating, as city missionary, I have a strong hope of aid hereafter to carry out the design I had in causing said house to be erected. Now, in order to give consistency and effect to a plan for accomplishing the purposes and views above named,

I give and devise unto the Union Society, a Parish or religious Society, in Worcester, (of which I am now a member), that real estate situate in Worcester, at the intersection of Bridge with Summer street, containing fifty-five hundred square feet of land, viz: fifty-five feet in front upon Summer street, and one hundred feet on Bridge street, with the buildings erected thereon, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging, to have and hold the same to the said Parish or religious Society, their successors and assigns forever;

In Trust nevertheless, and to and for the purposes and trusts hereinafter declared and no other.

And in order the more clearly to indicate the character and objects of these trusts,

I wish to premise that the plan I have proposed to carry out is this:

First. To have a suitable and respectable place of public worship, with convenient accommodations, for bible and Sunday school classes, and one or more tenements for the accommodation of the minister and sexton.

The minister to be employed to preach in said house, or to be let at a reasonable rent towards keeping the premises insured and in repair, and supporting the minister aforesaid.

Second. To have a minister whose religious views shall substantially harmonize with what are denominated to be Evangelical in their character, who shall be endowed with respectable powers of intellect, and be a faithful, pious and devoted labourer in the work of teaching and preaching the word of God.

Third. It is my wish and intention, by this bequest, to form an important auxiliary in the missionary enterprise of preaching and ministering to the destitute in the city, and to those who do not feel sufficient interest in sacred things to attend upon the preaching of other ministers.

The trusts, therefore, upon which said estate is to be held by said devisees and trustees, are as follows:

In the first place, that they shall suffer and permit said estate, and every part thereof, to be under the care and custody and management of two of the deacons of the Union Church, as shall be designated by said church, and two deacons of the Mission Chapel Church, recently organized, and their respective successors for the time being, or of a major part of them, and shall allow said four deacons to obtain insurance upon said buildings in the name of said trustees and the said deacons, and to cause the same to be kept constantly insured to a reasonable amount, and in case of loss or damage by fire, shall allow said deacons to recover said insurance money and to apply the same, according to their best discretion, in repairing or re-building said building, as the case may be, in

the name of said trustees, but without charge to them, and permit said deacons from such insurance or other moneys forever to keep and maintain upon said premises a house of public worship, and tenements connected therewith as large and convenient as the same now standing thereon are.

In the next place, that said Trustees shall forever suffer and permit that portion of said premises designed for the purposes of public Worship, to be occupied at all reasonable and proper times for public worship under the charge and ministration of a Minister of the Gospel who has been regularly ordained, or set apart, according to the usages of the denomination of Christians with which he may be connected, and whose religious sentiments and opinions shall substantially conform to those now generally known and understood as Evangelical.

And further, that said Trustees shall suffer and permit the parts of said building designed for the use and accommodation of the Sabbath and Bible Classes, to be occupied for that purpose at all suitable times, under the direction of such Minister and Deacons, or a major part of them.

And suffer and permit the house to be occupied free from rent or charge, by any decent and orderly person who may resort thither for the purpose of attending worship, at all times, under such reasonable regulations as may be adopted by said Deacons and said Minister, or a major part of them, for preserving order and propriety of deportment in said house.

And suffer and permit the Minister, selected as aforesaid, to occupy and improve so much of the tenement in said building designed for the use of the families, as in the judgment of the Deacons shall be reasonably sufficient for his convenience, so long as he shall be employed by them as such Minister, and upon such terms as they shall judge expedient, having proper reference to the use of such tenements as a means of support and encouragement of such Minister.

And shall permit said Deacons, in the name of said Trustees, to let such other portions of the said Estate as they may judge best, upon reasonable rents, and collect and apply the same in keeping the premises in repair, in paying the contingent expenses, in conducting and managing the same and in causing the same to be insured, and appropriate and apply the surplus, if any, towards the support of the Minister.

And further, shall suffer and permit said Deacons, in the name of said Trustees, to commence and carry on to final judgment all necessary and proper suits or actions at law or in equity, to enable them to manage and control said Estate, as herein before expressed; to collect the rents thereof, or remove the tenants thereof when the same shall be necessary, and generally to do whatever acts or things may be necessary or proper to effect and carry out the true interests and meaning of the Trusts aforesaid and accomplish the same.

And whenever the said Deacons, or a major part of them, shall, with the approbation of the Mission Chapel Church, judge it expedient to terminate the engagement of any Minister, who may have been employed to officiate in said house of public Worship, it shall be competent for them so to do, and they may thereupon proceed to select another in his stead in manner aforesaid, and if approved as aforesaid, to employ him accordingly.

And I further give, bequeath and devise unto said Trustees the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars, to be by said Trustees invested in the Bonds or Securities of the United States, or of the Commonwealth, or of Towns within the Commonwealth, if such Bonds or Securities can be obtained for investment, otherwise upon personal Notes or Bonds secured by a first mortgage of real estate, of full and ample value, not exceeding one half of its appraised value, to render the loan thereon safe and undoubted. In no case is any part of the money to be loaned on personal Notes or Bonds, if the first-named class of securities can be obtained. The fund, on no condition, to be reduced below the amount devised.

In the event of the necessity of loaning a part or the whole of said fund on real estate, the appraisal of the same shall be made by three disinterested and competent judges of such estate, of which value not more than one-half shall consist of buildings thereon. The interest thereon and income thereof shall be semi-annually collected and applied by said Trustees towards defraying the expenses of maintaining a Minister and public Worship as herein above expressed, or if it shall become necessary, may apply the principal toward rebuilding said house if destroyed. Nor are said Trustees to be held responsible for the loss of any part of said principal or interest, provided the same shall be invested and applied by said Trustees; nor are they to be subjected to any charge or cost on account of the same; nor on account of any suit or action which it may be necessary to bring to collect or recover said fund or the interest thereof.

It is my further direction and devise that there should be kept and maintained in connection with the Mission Chapel aforesaid, an *Industrial School* for children of poor parents in the city of Worcester, who in the judgment of said Trustees may be fit objects to share in the benefits thereof; said school to be taught on some day or days in the week and devoted to instruction in knitting, sewing, making garments, and such other domestic arts as in the judgment of those in charge of the school can be usefully and properly taught in such a school, as well as to the inculcation of moral duties, the cultivation of good manners, and the social, intellectual and moral elevation of its pupils.

And to enable said Trustees to provide a portion of the means for carrying on said school, and furnishing, if need be, to deserving destitute children who may regularly attend said school, some parts of their necessary clothing,

I direct that the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, in addition to what I have above given for the purpose of said Chapel, be paid, to be held and managed by the same persons as are to hold and manage the trusts in respect to said chapel.

Whereas, I have long had in contemplation the condition of aged indigent unmarried females who from loss of friends or other misfortunes are reduced from a state of comfortable and respectable competency to that of dependence upon charity, and have been led to regard them as peculiarly deserving the consideration of the benevolent,

And it has seemed to my mind that the most desirable form in which such a charity could be administered would be, by providing a respectable home, where females of this class may find the comforts and attentions suitable to their age and condition.

And, whereas, I have thought that my own dwelling house and estate,

in which I now live, would be in most respects well fitted for such an establishment, and know of no use to which I should prefer to have the same applied, when my own family shall no longer need or desire it for their own use; to the end that such a home may hereafter be provided, and be furnished with the necessary means of supporting the same if a suitable corporation can be created and authorized to hold and manage the same consistently with the above avowed purpose, and agreeably to the rules hereinafter now declared, and which I may hereafter prescribe in writing to be taken as a part of this instrument,

I give and devise unto such Trustees as shall be duly chartered and incorporated by the Legislature of this Commonwealth, for this purpose, and having in their act of incorporation such a direct reference to the terms of this devise as shall require them to execute the same, or upon failure so to do, to forfeit all right to the property devised,

All that my estate situated upon Summer Street, in Worcester, where I now live, consisting of my dwelling house and other buildings and the lot on which they stand, together with all of my household furniture, library and library cases, as also all of the portraits and pictures which may be in my house at the time of my decease, and to remain where they shall then be hanging. To have and to hold the same to said Trustees and their successors forever in trust, to and for the following uses and purposes, and none other, viz: In the first place, that they permit my beloved wife, Elizabeth B. Washburn, to occupy the premises in such manner as she shall please for the term of her natural life after my decease, if she shall so choose, and if she shall waive or surrender any part of this provision, I wish it to be understood as a voluntary gift to that extent on her part to the object of this devise, she in no event to be held accountable for rent or waste of the premises.

In the next place to fit and prepare the premises so as to furnish comfortable and convenient accommodation for such females as are hereafter described,

And to keep the same forever in a condition to accomplish the purpose of this devise as hereinafter expressed, and always kept insured at some responsible office or offices, for as large an amount as may be, and allow the same to be made use of for the purposes aforesaid, and none other, except as follows:

If hereafter, by reason of the growth of the city or other cause it may be deemed best to erect a Meeting House for public worship, and place the same upon a part of said premises now vacant, and persons shall be found willing to come forward and meet the expenses of such a work, and pay one half of the value of the land to be so occupied for such a purpose, which shall in size and style of architecture and mode of finish, be approved of by said Trustees, they may allow the same to be erected thereon, provided a church and religious society shall be organized to occupy the same, and provided public worship therein, and provided suitable and respectable accommodations shall be furnished in said house for the use of the inmates of the home aforesaid.

And provided further, and this devise is expressly upon condition that should such meeting house be erected, no church shall be organized to worship therein, nor any minister be settled over the same or usually and commonly employed to preach in said house, who shall not have been installed and ordained with the approbation of, and in the forms usually

adopted by the Association of Congregational Churches, of which either one or all the following Churches may form a part, viz: The South Church, The Central Church, The Union Church, and the Salem Street Church, in Worcester, and the Creed and form of Faith professed by said Church and Minister, shall substantially conform to what is now understood to be those of the Evangelical Congregational Churches and Ministers in New England.

The establishment to be erected and held as aforesaid shall be called the Home for Aged Females, Widows, and those who have never been married. The general Superintendence of its interior arrangements and management, the selection and appointment of its Superintendent, and the oversight of the comfort of the inmates, and regulation of its domestic concerns shall be in a body of visitors to be chosen annually by the Trustees, except the *ex-officio* members,

To consist of twenty-four persons, at least one-half of which number shall be females.

The Trustees and the Pastors of the four Churches aforesaid, and of the First Unitarian, the First Baptist Churches in Worcester, and the Minister for the time being employed in the Mission Chapel, to be members *ex-officio*.

The number of females admitted to the benefit of said home, shall not exceed what can conveniently be accommodated therein, and for whose comfortable support adequate funds shall have been provided.

They shall consist only of unmarried females of good moral character, who shall be persons of such habits of life and deportment in manners as shall not render them unpleasant or troublesome in their intercourse with the Superintendent and attendance on each other.

And while no one is to be excluded on account of their religious opinions or the Denomination of Christians with which she may have been connected, preference is to be given to those of American birth, and to those who have not been the recipients of public charity, but have respectably sustained a struggle with disease or misfortune, till such a refuge as the Home will be appreciated and enjoyed by them. The Board of Visitors may, from time to time, adopt such rules and regulations for admitting inmates to said Home, or removing them for good cause, as they may judge best, and also in relation to visitations of the Home, admitting strangers to visit the same, and the powers and duties of various persons in superintendence or attendance in the establishment, which rules and regulations shall be entered on record among the proceedings of the corporation, the details of the appointment of the Trustees and constituting them a corporation, the election of officers, and filling vacancies in the board, I leave to be provided for by the act of incorporation. I further give and devise unto said Trustees and their successors, for the purposes of maintaining said Home, and carrying out the intent and purposes thereof, the sum of Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars, to be paid to the Treasurer, as soon as they shall have been created into a corporation and be duly organized as such, and shall have chosen a Treasurer who shall have given bonds, to a reasonable amount, to be determined by the act of incorporation, for the safe keeping and disbursement of said moneys as hereinafter expressed; and the further sum of Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars at the decease of my wife, as herein before mentioned and provided. The principal of which sum

shall be kept safely invested upon good mortgage security, upon real estate not exceeding thirty-three and one-third per cent. of its appraised value, and no part of the principal thereof at any time to be expended, and the interest thereof, so far as may be necessary, to be expended in the support and maintenance of the inmates of said Home, and upon their decease in the Home, their respectable burial, and in making necessary repairs and alterations upon the premises.

And if at any time, by reason of accident, or for any cause it shall be necessary to make repairs or alterations in the premises, which shall require a larger expenditure than would be afforded from said income beyond the maintenance of the members of the Home, and if in the judgment of the Trustees, a part of the lot of land hereinabove described might be advantageously sold, if not before appropriated for a Church, I authorize the same to be done, and the proceeds of the half of the lot for the Church, to be appropriated for the purpose of making such alterations and repairs, and if any surplus shall remain from said proceeds, after making such alterations and repairs, the same shall be invested and held by said trustees for the purpose of making such future alterations and repairs as may be necessary.

And it is specially charged upon said trustees, as a duty, that the establishment be kept and maintained in a condition to be pleasant and comfortable to the inmates, and an attraction, and not an untasteful object, among the estates and establishments of the city.

Whereas, I have proposed to the trustees of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, to establish and maintain a machine shop in connection with said institute, as will fully appear by my written communication, addressed to them and by them acted upon and assented to, and, whereas, the conditions under which I made that proposal have been strengthened by reflection, in order to carry the measure set forth in said proposal into effect, as well as to add one more expression of regard for the city with whose interests my own have been so long identified, In case I should personally fail to erect and fit up a machine shop as is mentioned in said communication, or to pay the sum of Five Thousand Dollars the first year, and Three Thousand Dollars each subsequent year during my life, I direct my executors, as soon as may be after my decease, to pay to said trustees such sum or sums as may be necessary, not exceeding Twelve Thousand Dollars, for the erection and fitting of the shop, and Five Thousand Dollars for the first year, and Three Thousand Dollars for each subsequent year as shall not have been paid or expended by me during my lifetime, as expressed in said communication, and further to pay to said trustees such sums as may be necessary to carry out my said proposal as to moneys to be expended or paid in my lifetime.

And I further give to said trustees the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars to be paid as soon as convenient after my decease, and to be on interest from my decease, to them and their successors, forever in trust, nevertheless for the purposes, and upon the terms and conditions expressed in said communication and none other, relying upon the pledge given by their vote and resolutions accepting said proposal, that my views and wishes in this respect shall be observed.

I give and bequeath to my beloved brother, Charles Washburn, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, for his own use and benefit.

And I direct my executors, from the rest and residue of my estate to pay all taxes which shall be due to the United States, under any law of Internal Revenue on the legacies hereinbefore given and trusts established, that the legatees and trustees hereinbefore named may receive the full sums herein specified.

All my legacies hereinbefore given and declared, except my wife, the Mission Chapel fund, and the provision for the Industrial School, as also the Free Institute of Industrial Science, are to be paid in five equal annual payments after my decease but without interest in any case.

And if from any cause it shall happen that my estate shall be insufficient to pay all of the foregoing legacies in full, I direct that no abatement be made in those to my wife, the Mission Chapel fund, the legacy for the Home for Aged Females, the Bangor Theological Seminary, the provision for the Industrial School, and the legacy for the Free Institute of Industrial Science, but the amount shall be abated from the other legacies, *pro rata*.

The rest, residue and remainder of my estate of every description, of which I may die seized and possessed,

I give, devise and bequeath to the charitable institutions and objects herein before named, to wit:

To the Children's Friend Society of Worcester, the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Missionary Association, the American Seamen's Friend Society, the Home for Aged Females, and the Mission Chapel Fund, to be divided in proportion to the several legacies hereinbefore named, and to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes for which they are organized.

I constitute and appoint the Hon. Emory Washburn, of Cambridge, and Philip L. Moen, Esq., of Worcester, to be my Executors of this my last Will and Testament, it being my direction and advise, that my said executors shall give a separate Probate bond, each of my said executors being responsible only for such sums of money as shall come into his hands, and that neither shall be responsible for the acts of the other.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal and publish and declare this to be my last Will and Testament, this sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-six, hereby revoking and annulling all former wills by me made.

ICHABOD WASHBURN, [Seal.]

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Ichabod Washburn, as and for his last will and testament, in our presence, who in his presence and in the presence of each other, and at his request have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto.

RUFUS W. SACKETT,
J. Q. ADAMS,
GEO. H. KENDALL.

[CODICIL NO. 1.]

Whereas, I have taken great interest in the founding and success of the Worcester Free Institute of Industrial Science, believing it will be a means of elevating and improving the condition of the mechanical and other industrial classes in the community; and, whereas, I have made certain proposals and offers to the Trustees of said Institute to erect a

Machine Shop in connection with said Institute, and to create a fund to be employed by them for the purpose of maintaining a Mechanical Department of said Institute, as will more fully appear by a reference to said proposals in writing in the hands of said Trustees, together with subsequent proposals bearing date the sixteenth of March, 1866 : Now be it remembered, that I, Ichabod Washburn, of Worcester, do hereby make, publish and declare this Codicil to my last will and testament, and to be taken as a part thereof,—that is to say, if I shall decease before I shall have fully carried out such part of said proposals as are by its terms to be executed and performed by me, I direct my executors to cause the same to be fully carried out and performed, and to defray the expenses of so doing out of my estate.

And I further direct my said Executors to pay to said Trustees all moneys which by said proposals I was to give and devise to said Trustees by my last will and testament, giving them hereby the sum which I therein undertook and engaged to give them by my last will.

But it is expressly understood that for the terms and conditions and limitations under and upon which said Trustees are to receive and hold what is above given, reference is had to said proposals as if the same were copied in this instrument.

And I further give to said trustees of said Free Institute the sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars, the principal of which they shall invest in such manner as they shall judge best, and the income or interest thereof may be expended by them for the use and benefit of said Institute in either of the departments thereof, in such manner as they shall judge best.

But no part of said principal shall be expended unless by some unexpected emergency. The Supreme Judicial Court shall upon a Bill in Equity, filed for that purpose, adjudge and decree that a part or all of it should be expended, specifying how much and for what purpose the same may be expended. My object being in this last devise to put into the hands of said trustees a working capital with which to carry on said Institute, and, if necessary, by casualty or otherwise, to expend any part of the principal in order to carry it on with success, they may do so. Said last mentioned legacy is to be paid in five equal annual payments after my decease, but with interest in any case. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this sixteenth day of March, 1866.

ICHABOD WASHBURN, [Seal.]

The words (together with subsequent proposals) before signing.

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the above named Testator to be a Codicil to his last will and testament in our presence, who in his presence have hereunto set our names as witnesses.

RUFUS W. SACKETT,
J. Q. ADAMS,
GEO. H. KENDALL.

[CODICIL NO. 2.]

Whereas, it has pleased Divine Providence, to take from me the children whose comfort and happiness so long as they were spared to me, were objects of my earnest care and solicitude, and of whom I am desirous to leave some memorial which shall be significant of what their own tastes and wishes would have dictated had it fallen to them to dispose of the competence of which I now find myself possessed, I propose

to this end, to make provision for the founding and maintaining a Hospital in the city of Worcester, so long my home and the scene of my active life, and thereby of preserving the names and memory of my beloved daughters Mrs. Eliza Ann Moen and Miss Lucy Pamela Washburn, by giving to the same the name of "The Memorial Hospital."

The design of said Hospital is to afford care, comfort and relief to the sick and suffering, who require superior medical and surgical skill and science, and are in the judgment of the Trustees thereof, and in accordance with such rules as the Trustees and Visitors may from time to time prescribe, fit and proper subjects for treatment therein.

There shall be a Board of Trustees of not less than twelve suitable and competent men, to be selected and appointed in manner hereinafter stated, to be duly incorporated by the Legislature of the Commonwealth, who shall have the trust, charge and management of said Hospital, and all property and estates belonging to the same, and the revenues and income arising therefrom, with full power to appoint and remove all such surgeons, physicians, superintendents and officers, as they shall judge proper, and to prescribe rules and regulations from time to time, for the conduct and management of said Hospital, its officers and subordinate employees.

There shall also be a Board of Visitors of said Hospital to consist of the persons hereinafter mentioned, whose duty it shall be to visit and examine said Hospital as often as they shall judge proper, and inquire into and examine as to the management and conduct of the same, and to ascertain if the purposes and objects thereof are being carried out in good faith by said Trustees. And to this end, said Visitors shall have a right at all suitable times to examine any and all books of record or accounts of the transactions of said Trustees. And all rules and regulations for the conduct and management of said Hospital, its officers and employees, made by said trustees, shall be approved by said Visitors in order to their becoming of binding effect and obligation.

The first Board of Trustees of said Hospital to be created a corporation by a suitable act of the Legislature, if the General Court shall see fit to carry out my wishes in this respect, shall consist of the following persons if they shall be living and will accept of the trust, viz: Philip L. Moen, Esq., Emory Washburn, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass., Peter C. Bacon, Esq., Dr. Henry Clark, Dr. Joseph Sargent, Dr. Thomas H. Gage, Rev. Dr. Seth Sweetser, Charles Washburn, Esq., Edward Earle, Timothy K. Earle, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., and the officiating clergyman, for the time being, of the City Mission Chapel on Summer street, and if any of said persons above named shall decline or be unable to act as members of the first board, their places shall be supplied by nomination to the legislature by my executors or such of them as shall execute this will. And all vacancies in the board shall be filled, after the first board is constituted, by the remaining members of the board, from time to time, as they occur, but no person shall be deemed to be elected unless he shall have received two-thirds as many votes as the whole remaining number of trustees, to be cast at a meeting thereof, duly called and notified for the purpose of such election.

The Board of Visitors of said Hospital shall consist of the following officers, for the time being, who, with their successors in said office, shall, *ex officio*, constitute the Visitors of said Hospital, viz: the Judge of

Probate for the County of Worcester, the Chairman of the County Commissioners for said County, or whoever shall perform the duties of that office if the name of it shall be changed, the Superintendent of the Massachusetts Insane Hospital at Worcester, the Mayor of the city of Worcester, the District Attorney for the County of Worcester, or the officer, by whatever name, who shall do the duties of that office, and the Sheriff of the County of Worcester.

And said Visitors may employ one or more physicians of respectability and competent skill and science, to examine said Hospital and its various wards and departments, and report to them the condition and management thereof. And they may and shall take such measures as they may be advised are lawful and proper to remedy or correct any mismanagement of the affairs of said Hospital, or neglect of duty or other cause of complaint or dissatisfaction which they may discover or be informed of from time to time.

Nothing herein shall be understood as limiting the power or duty of said Trustees to receive, hold and manage any and all sums of money or other property which any benevolently disposed persons may see fit to contribute to the purposes of said Hospital, or in extending or enlarging its benefits, provided the same is in accordance with the general plan and purposes herein expressed, and it is to be taken and deemed to be a part of the duty of said trustees, to make liberal rules and regulations whereby individuals may be permitted and induced to make provision for the support of free beds in said hospital, or render such other aid as they may be able and willing to contribute.

The locality of said Hospital is to be and remain in Worcester, upon such site as I shall purchase and designate in writing under my hand, or, if I fail to do so, said Trustees are to select and procure said site, by purchase or otherwise.

Now, be it remembered, that in order to provide the means of carrying out the foregoing plan and scheme of founding and maintaining a Hospital upon the basis and system above expressed :

I, ICHABOD WASHBURN, of Worcester, Esquire, do make, publish and declare this Codicil to my last Will and Testament, heretofore made, and to be taken as a part thereof in manner following, viz: I give, bequeath and devise unto my Executors hereinafter named, or such of them as shall accept said trust, the survivor or survivors of them, or whoever shall be appointed their or his successor in that trust, Seven Hundred and Fifty Shares of the capital stock of the I. Washburn & Moen Wire Works, if I should own so many at my decease, to be held and appropriated from and after my death, together with the rents, income and dividends thereon, for the use and benefit of said Hospital, and to safely invest and keep invested the income and dividends thereon, as fast as they shall receive the same, and pay and deliver over the same shares and accumulated dividends and income, whenever and as soon as said Trustees shall have been duly incorporated by an Act of the Legislature, and thereby constituted and appointed with the powers and duties indicated and implied in the foregoing scheme and proposition, and empowered to take, hold and manage said funds unto said Trustees: Provided they shall be duly incorporated and qualified to act as such Trustees within the term of five years after my decease, to be held, managed and appropriated by them in manner following, to wit: To hold said Shares and receive and invest the income

and dividends thereof for a term which, with the time which shall have elapsed after my decease before they shall have received the same, shall complete five years. And if at the expiration of said five years the said shares and accumulated income and dividends shall amount in value to more than One Hundred Thousand Dollars, I direct them to appropriate and set apart the excess over said one hundred thousand dollars, whatever it may be, as a fund for establishing and supporting a Dispensary in connexion with said Hospital, under such rules and regulations as they with the approbation of the Visitors shall prescribe, whereby relief may be extended from time to time to deserving objects not inmates of said Hospital, who may need and apply for the same.

If the said shares and accumulated income and dividends shall not at the end of said five years, amount to the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, I direct my Executors to retain enough of my Estate in their hands and apply the same by paying over the amount of such deficit in said sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to said Trustees, so as to make that sum good in their hands at the expiration of said five years.

At the expiration of the said five years, I direct that said Trustees shall set apart a sum not exceeding Fifty Thousand Dollars, as a "Real Estate Fund," and the balance of the one hundred thousand dollars as a "Hospital Fund," and keep the same safely invested, except so far as it shall be necessary to expend the same for the purposes hereinafter expressed, desiring that for this purpose they shall retain said shares of said stock so long as they shall deem such investment a safe one. Out of said Real Estate Fund said Trustees shall provide suitable buildings and fixtures for the purposes of said Hospital, so far as the same can be done, and keep the same thereafter in repair. Out of the Hospital Fund and income thereof the Trustees are to provide the necessary furniture, apparatus and appendages of such a Hospital, and to defray the necessary current expenses, of providing medical and other attendance, medicines and provisions of all kinds, which may be required from time to time in carrying out the plan and scheme aforesaid of said Hospital.

Said Trustees are to keep separate and distinct accounts of said two Funds, and exhibit the same for the inspection of the Visitors as often as they shall desire to examine the same.

And while it is my expectation and intention that the directions and limitations which I have hereinabove expressed shall be observed and carried out, as far as the same can reasonably be done, I leave to the Trustees, in other things, to plan and arrange the details for organizing and managing said Hospital according to their best judgment, so as to carry out the purposes and objects which I have in view in establishing the same, and which I have in some measure expressed above in the confidence and belief that they will, in good faith, do whatever is requisite on their part, to make it a means of preserving the memory of those who were once dear to me, as well as of providing comfort and relief to the unfortunate and distressed of generations yet to come.

In witness whereof I, the above-named Ichabod Washburn, have hereunto set my hand and seal this sixth day of December in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-six.

ICHABOD WASHBURN. [Seal.]

Signed, sealed, published and declared to be a codicil to his last will

and testament by the said testator, in our presence, who in his presence and at his request, have hereunto set our hands as witnesses.

RUFUS W. SACKETT,
J. Q. ADAMS,
GEO. H. KENDALL.

PENCILED MEMORANDUM APPENDED CODICIL NO. 3.

Dec. 6th, 1866. I am now negotiating with the heirs of Abijah Bigelow for his place at the corner of Front and Church streets, as a site for the Hospital, as a place preferable to my taste and judgment as best adapted to such a use, having a southern aspect, not liable to obstruction and containing room for the enlargement of the building if ever required, having a front of about 137 feet, 166 feet on Church street, in all 22,500 feet, and probably can be bought for 25 to 28 thousand dollars. I. W.

Whereas, I have heretofore made certain provisions by last will and codicil, in favor of my beloved wife, Elizabeth B. Washburn, and of the Home for Aged Females, as well as for other purposes therein expressed, and, whereas, upon further consideration, I am disposed to modify some of these provisions, be it remembered that I, Ichabod Washburn, do make, publish and declare this codicil to my last will and testament, to be taken as a part and parcel thereof in manner following, to wit :

In addition to what I have in my said last will and testament given to my beloved wife, I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto her the sum of Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars, to have and to hold the same as follows, to wit : One half part thereof to her own use and disposal in the same manner as is provided in respect to the legacy given her by my last will. The other half to her own use for and during her natural life, the principal thereof to go at her decease, in the way of remainder, free from any claim on the part of her representatives, to increase the fund provided for in said will for the support of the Home for Indigent Females, and to be used and applied as is therein directed, and not otherwise. And I direct that the foregoing sum of twenty-five thousand dollars shall be paid to my said wife by transferring and delivering to her two hundred and fifty shares of the capital stock of the I. Washburn & Moen Wire Works, at the par value of one hundred dollars, one hundred and twenty-five of which shares she is to hold during her life, and deliver over at her death to form a part of the fund for the Home aforesaid, unless for good cause the Supreme Court should see fit to authorize her to sell and convert the same into money, she taking the income and interest thereof as long as she shall live to her own use.

In the belief that the interests of the church and congregation who worship in the Mission Chapel will be advanced by having an inducement to contribute a part of the expenses incident to its support, I revoke so much of my said will as appropriates a part of the residue of my estate, as therein expressed, to the benefit of said Chapel. And I give all the rest and residue of my estate which shall not have been given or devised by my said will or codicil, to the societies and objects following, in the ratio and proportion which their several legacies, as expressed in my will, bear to each other, intending this as a substitute for the residuary clauses in my said will, viz : the Children's Friend Society of Worcester, the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Missionary Associa-

tion, the American Seaman's Friend Society, and the Home for Aged Females, mentioned in my said will, hereby ratifying and confirming said will and codicil, except so far as the provisions of the same may be inconsistent with the devises and legacies made and intended by this codicil.

In witness whereof, I, the said Ichabod Washburn, have hereunto set my hand and seal, this eleventh day of May in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-seven.

ICHABOD WASHBURN. [Seal.]

Signed, sealed, published and declared to be a codicil to the testator's last will and testament, in our presence, who in his presence and at his request, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses.

J. Q. ADAMS,
H. N. HARRINGTON,
G. H. KENDALL.

[The following paper is a Will of the late Ichabod Washburn, drawn up by Gov. Washburn, at his request, a short time before his decease, but not signed.]

I, ICHABOD WASHBURN, of Worcester, in the County of Worcester, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do make this my last Will and Testament.

I direct, and my will is, that all my just debts and funeral charges be paid as soon as may be practicable.

I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife, Elizabeth B. Washburn, the use, income and benefit of the sum of Eighty-Five Thousand Dollars during her natural life, with full power, on her part, to take to her own use upon her written order therefor, or to give, appoint and dispose of one-half part of said sum as she shall see fit, by gift, written declaration in her life time, or by her last Will and Testament, in such sums and for such purposes as she may choose.

And I direct that so much of said Eighty-Five Thousand Dollars as my said wife may not choose to hold or manage herself, not exceeding one-half part thereof, shall be held in trust by my Executors hereinafter named, or such Trustees as the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester shall appoint in their stead, to be safely invested and the net income thereof, after defraying the taxes thereon, and the charges of investing and taking care of the same, shall be paid over in semi-annual payments to my said wife personally, or to her written order during her life, free from interference or control of any future husband, if any she shall have, both as to the half of the said Eighty-Five Thousand Dollars which is to be subject to her disposal, and the income of the remaining half-part thereof.

In addition to the foregoing legacy I give to my beloved wife my homestead estate and all my household furniture, plate, pictures, books, provisions, indoor and outdoor articles of ornament and convenience designed and used with said estate, together with my horses, carriages, and whatever goes to make up my home establishment. Whatever is hereinabove given and devised to my said wife is to be raised, paid and appropriated as soon after my death as the same can reasonably be done.

I give and bequeath to the Children's Friend Society in the City of

Worcester, in the County of Worcester, incorporated (April 5th) in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-nine, the sum of One Thousand Dollars, to be used at their discretion.

I give and bequeath to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Five Thousand Dollars, to be used by them at their discretion.

I give and bequeath to the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to be used at their discretion.

I also give and bequeath to the American Bible Society, founded in New York in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixteen, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes of said Society.

I give and bequeath to the American Tract Society at Boston, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, which sum is to be added to the Jubilee Publication Fund of that Society.

I also give and bequeath to the American Missionary Association, New York City, to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes of said Society, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars.

I give and bequeath to the American Seamen's Friend Society, incorporated by the Legislature of New York in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-three, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes of said Society.

Whereas, it is my desire to manifest my regard for the people of my native place, the town of Kingston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by so doing to make provision for a worthy and deserving class of females belonging to said town, who, though not paupers, are dependent upon the kindness or generosity of others for their support in part or in whole, and thereby to relieve the town from the charge of their support by their becoming paupers, and to save them from the mortification of being obliged to apply to the town for relief, as such paupers, and designing hereby to establish a permanent public charity for the benefit of poor and deserving females belonging to said town,

I do hereby give and devise unto the inhabitants of the town of Kingston the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, for the uses and purposes and upon the terms and conditions hereinafter expressed, viz: said inhabitants shall, in the first place, at a town meeting duly called for the purpose, vote to accept this devise upon the terms and conditions herein expressed, and shall enter this expression of my will with their vote and action thereon in the records of said town to be forever after binding upon said town.

First. No part of the principal or interest of this devise shall, in any event, ever be used and applied in defraying the ordinary expenses of the town, or for the support of those who shall have become and are supported as paupers of the town, or for other purposes inconsistent with the objects for which it is intended, as herein expressed.

Second. The fund hereby created shall be kept invested by trustees, as hereinafter mentioned, in the bonds or securities of the United States, or of the Commonwealth, or of towns within the Commonwealth, if such bonds or securities can be obtained for investment, otherwise upon personal notes or bonds secured by mortgage of real estate, of full and ample value, to render the loan thereon safe and undoubted; the fund on no condition to be reduced below the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars herein devised.

Third. As soon after the vote of acceptance aforesaid by the town as the same can reasonably be done, three suitable and discreet persons, inhabitants of said town, shall be selected and nominated, as trustees of said fund, by the selectmen of the town for the time being, by a written certificate of such selection and appointment, which shall be entered upon the records of the town; which trustees shall hold their office for the term of five years, if not sooner removed by death, resignation or otherwise, and whenever a vacancy or vacancies shall thereafter exist, from any cause, in said trustees, the selectmen of the town for the time being, shall, from time to time, fill the same by a new selection, nomination and certificate as aforesaid, so that there shall always thereafter, as near as may be, be three trustees qualified to act in relation to said fund.

Said trustees shall, upon accepting said trust, which they shall certify to the Town Clerk, to be by him recorded, and before exercising any act or power in the premises as such, execute and deliver to the Treasurer of the Town for the time being, and his successor in their office, to the acceptance of the selectmen for the time being, a bond or bonds in the penal sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, with sufficient and satisfactory securities conditioned to safely keep, manage, invest and account for the fund hereby created, and the income thereof as hereinafter provided.

Upon filing such bond or bonds, the funds aforesaid and all moneys, securities or evidences of indebtedness belonging to the same shall be delivered to said trustees to be by them held, managed and accounted for in manner following, to wit:

They shall cause the same to be invested on interest in manner herein provided. They shall, annually, in the month of March, select from the unmarried women resident in said town, whether widows or single women, of good character and reputation in the community, such as they shall judge are in need of and deserving assistance, but are not supported as paupers by the town, always giving a preference to widows, when otherwise equally deserving, and shall pay over to them such sums as they shall think reasonable and proper, not exceeding the sum of sixty dollars in any one year, to any one person so selected and designated; said allowance not to exceed, in the aggregate, at any time, the net income of this fund, after defraying all costs, charges and necessary disbursements on account of the same.

And for doing the business of their trust, said trustees are to be allowed to retain, out of said income and charge to the same, such a sum, as compensation, as the Selectmen of the town for the time being shall judge, and in writing certify to be just and reasonable, and of their doings in respect to said trusts and of all receipts and disbursements on account of the same, the said trustees, shall, annually, in the month of March in each year, render a true and faithful account, in writing, under their hands, to the Selectmen of the town for the time being, substantially as provided in the thirty-first chapter and ninth section of the General Statutes of the Commonwealth, which said account, when approved and allowed as correct, and properly vouched by said Selectmen, shall be filed among the records of the town, and be open to inspection like the other records of the town.

And if, from any cause, there shall be no one authorized to act as such Trustees, the Fund, with all securities, moneys and vouchers belonging to the same, shall be deposited with the Treasurer of the town, for the

time being, to be by him safely kept and held, until others shall be appointed and qualified to act as such Trustees.

And I recommend for the purpose of convenience in managing said fund, that the town upon accepting the foregoing devise, adopt some name as designating the fund thereby created, to be thereafter known by such name or designation.

I give and bequeath to my faithful gardener, William T. Buckley, the sum of Two Thousand Dollars.

I give and bequeath unto the Trustees of the Bangor Theological Seminary, situate in the City of Bangor, Maine, the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars, on condition that a like sum is raised by the friends of that Institution within a reasonable time, and in no event to exceed two years from the time of my decease.

I direct, and my will is, that one-half of said sum be applied to the increase of the Library in the name of my beloved wife, Elizabeth B. Washburn, and the other half to the increase of the Washburn fund.

I give and bequeath to my nephew, George Ichabod Washburn, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to him, his heirs and assigns forever.

I give and bequeath to my beloved niece, Caroline Z. Washburn, now Mrs. Rockwood, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, to her heirs and assigns forever.

I give and bequeath to Pamela W. Cram, daughter of Calvin H. Cram, of Portland, Maine, the sum of One Thousand Dollars, to her heirs and assigns forever.

Whereas, I have long felt that it was desirable to devise some means by which a pretty numerous class of persons in the City of Worcester, who are now living without the benefit of moral and religious instruction and restraint which grows out of an habitual attendance upon the ministration of the Gospel, should be supplied with opportunities and inducements to enjoy the same. And

Whereas, it has seemed to me that the readiest way of accomplishing this purpose would be to open for the use of all who may be disposed to avail themselves of the same, a suitable and respectable place of worship, wherein upon the Lord's Day and at suitable times on week days, religious services may be held and conducted by some learned, pious and devout Christian Minister, who in addition to preaching and conducting public worship, shall devote himself by visits and personal influence to persuading and inducing such as may be unaccustomed to attend worship, or who neglect the Sabbath, or from any cause are destitute of the healthful restraints and moral influence of religious instruction, to attend upon the services in such place of worship. And

Whereas, I have caused such a house to be erected in which the Rev. Henry T. Cheever is now officiating as City Missionary, I have a strong hope of aid hereafter to carry out the design I had in causing said house to be erected.

Now in order to give consistency and effect to a plan for accomplishing the purposes and views above-named :

I give and devise unto the Union Society, a Parish or religious Society in Worcester, (of which I am now a member,) that real estate situate in Worcester at the intersection of Bridge and Summer street, containing fifty-five hundred square feet of land, viz : Fifty-five in front upon Summer street, and one hundred feet on Bridge street, with the buildings

erected thereon, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging, to have and to hold the same to the said Parish or religious Society, their successors and assigns forever—In trust nevertheless, and to and for the purposes and trusts hereinafter declared, and no other.

And in order more clearly to indicate the character and objects of these trusts, I wish to premise that the plan I have proposed to carry out is this :

First. To have a suitable and respectable place for public worship, with convenient accommodations for Bible and Sunday School classes, and one or more tenements for the accommodation of the Minister and Sexton. The Minister to be employed to preach in said House, or to be let at a reasonable rent, towards keeping the premises insured and in repair, and supporting the Minister aforesaid.

Second. To have a Minister whose religious views shall substantially harmonize with what are denominated Evangelical in their character ; who shall be endowed with respectable powers of intellect, and be a faithful, pious and devoted laborer in the work of teaching and preaching the word of God.

Third. It is my wish and intention by this bequest, to form an important auxiliary in the Missionary enterprise of preaching and ministering to the destitute in the city, and to those who do not feel sufficient interest in sacred things to attend upon the preaching of other Ministers. The trusts, therefore, upon which said estate is to be held by said devisees and Trustees, are as follows :

In the first place, that they shall suffer and permit said estate and every part thereof, to be under the care and custody and management of two of the Deacons of the Union Church, as shall be designated by said Church, and two Deacons of the Mission Chapel Church, recently organized, and their respective successors for the time being, or of a major part of them, and shall allow said four Deacons to obtain insurance upon said buildings in the name of said Trustees and the said Deacons, and to cause the same to be kept constantly insured to a reasonable amount, and in case of loss or damage by fire, shall allow said Deacons to recover said insurance money and to apply the same, according to their best discretion, in repairing or rebuilding said building, as the case may be, in the name of said Trustees, but without charge to them, and permit said Deacons from such insurance or other moneys, forever to keep and maintain upon said premises a House of public Worship, and tenements connected therewith, as large and convenient as the same now standing thereon are.

In the next place, that said Trustees shall forever suffer and permit that portion of said premises designed for the purpose of public Worship, to be occupied at all reasonable and proper times for public Worship, under the charge and ministration of a Minister of the Gospel who has been regularly ordained or set apart according to the usages of the denomination of Christians with which he may be connected and whose religious sentiments and opinions shall substantially conform to those now generally known and understood as Evangelical.

And further, that said Trustees shall suffer and permit the parts of said building designed for the use and accommodation of the Sabbath and Bible Classes, to be occupied for that purpose at all suitable times, under the direction of such Minister and Deacons, or a major part of them.

And suffer and permit the house to be occupied free from rent or charge, by any decent and orderly person who may resort thither for the purpose of attending worship, at all times, under such reasonable regulations as may be adopted by said Deacons and said Minister, or a major part of them, for preserving order and propriety of deportment in said house.

And suffer and permit the Minister selected as aforesaid, to occupy and improve so much of the tenement in said building designed for the use of the families, as in the judgment of the Deacons shall be reasonably sufficient for his convenience, so long as he shall be employed by them as such Minister, and upon such terms as they shall judge expedient, having proper reference to the use of such tenements as a means of support and encouragement of such Minister.

And shall permit said deacons, in the name of said trustees, to let such other portions of the said estate as they may judge best, upon reasonable rents, and collect and apply the same in keeping the premises in repair, in paying the contingent expenses, in conducting and managing the same, and in causing the same to be insured and appropriate and apply the surplus, if any, towards the support of the minister.

And further, shall suffer and permit said deacons, in the name of said Trustees, to commence and carry on to final judgment all necessary and proper suits or actions at law or in equity, to enable them to manage and control said estate as hereinbefore expressed, to collect the rents thereof, or remove the tenants thereof when the same shall be necessary, and generally to do whatever acts or things may be necessary or proper to effect and carry out the true intents and meaning of the trusts aforesaid and accomplish the same.

And whenever the said deacons, or a major part of them, shall, with the approbation of the Mission Chapel Church, judge it expedient to terminate the engagement of any minister who may have been employed to officiate in said house of public worship, it shall be competent for them so to do; and they may thereupon proceed to select another in his stead, in manner aforesaid, and if approved as aforesaid to employ him accordingly.

And I further give, bequeath and devise unto said trustees the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars, to be by said trustees invested in the bonds or securities of the United States, or of the Commonwealth, or of the towns within the Commonwealth, if such bonds or securities can be obtained, for investment, otherwise upon personal notes or bonds secured by a first mortgage of real estate of full and ample value, not exceeding one-half of its appraised value, to render the loans thereon safe and undoubted; in no case is any part of the money to be loaned on personal notes or bonds if the first named class of securities can be obtained. The fund, on no consideration, to be reduced below the amount devised.

In the event of the necessity of loaning a part or the whole of said fund on real estate, the appraisal of the same shall be made by three disinterested and competent judges of such estate, of which value not more than one-half shall consist of buildings thereon. The interest thereon and income thereof shall be semi-annually collected and applied, by said trustees, towards defraying the expenses of maintaining a minister and public worship, as hereinbefore expressed, or, if it shall become necessary, may apply the principal towards re-building said house, if destroyed. Nor are said trustees to be held responsible for the loss of

any part of said principal or interest, provided the same shall be invested and applied by said trustees. Nor are they to be subjected to any charge or cost on account of the same, nor on account of any suit or action which it may be necessary to bring to collect or recover said fund or the interest thereof.

It is my further direction and devise that there should be kept and maintained, in connexion with the Mission Chapel aforesaid, an *Industrial School* for children of poor parents in the city of Worcester, who in the judgment of said trustees, may be fit objects to share in the benefits thereof. Said school to be taught on some day or days in the week, and devoted to instruction in knitting, sewing, making garments, and such other domestic arts, as in the judgment of those in charge of the school, can be usefully and properly taught in such school, as well as to the inculcation of moral duties, the cultivation of good manners, and the social, intellectual and moral elevation of the pupils.

And to enable said trustees to provide a portion of the means for carrying on said school and furnishing, if need be, to deserving, destitute children, who may regularly attend said school, some parts of their necessary clothing:

I direct that the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, in addition to what I have above given for the purpose of said chapel, be paid, to be held and managed by the same persons as are to hold and manage the trusts in respect to said chapel.

If there should be established within two years after my decease, in the city of Worcester, by public or private donation, a suitable and respectable Home for aged, indigent, unmarried females of good reputation, who from loss of friends, or other misfortunes, are reduced from a state of comfortable and respectable competency to that of dependence upon charity for their support, and if my Executors, or those who shall execute my Will, shall be satisfied that said Home will be a permanent establishment, with a safe and proper Board of Trustees, duly incorporated and qualified to act to manage the same, and that a suitable permanent provision has been made for the support, comfort and maintenance of such indigent females in one or more dwelling houses, respectably and comfortably furnished, and supplied with proper lodging and boarding accommodations for health or sickness, together with proper and suitable attendants, then and in that case, I direct my Executors to pay and deliver to the Trustees of said Home, or their authorized Treasurer, in money or Stock of the Company of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, at its then market value, as they shall judge best, the sum of Twenty-five Thousand Dollars; which sum shall be held by said Trustees, and the same shall be kept and safely and securely invested; and if paid to them in shares of said stock, the same shall be held as an investment, until said Trustees, with the advice and approbation of the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester for the time being, shall judge it wise and expedient to dispose of said stock. Said Trustees may make use of the interest and income of said principal sum for the purposes of the Home, but are not to diminish or make use of any part of the principal thereof, except by way of keeping the same invested as aforesaid.

And this devise is made and said fund is to be held upon the following conditions, viz: The inmates of said Home and the recipients of said bounty shall consist of unmarried females only, of good moral character, who

shall be persons of such habits of life and such deportment in manners as shall render them not unpleasant or troublesome in their relations to the Superintendent or attendants of said Home, or the other inmates thereof, excluding such as are insane, and such as are afflicted with diseases which require special surgical or medical attention of a higher degree of skill than is ordinarily provided and supplied in similar establishments not intended as Hospitals for the sick. And while no one is to be excluded on account of her religious opinions, or the denomination of Christians with which she may be connected, preference is to be given to those of American birth, and to such as have never been the recipients of public charity, but have respectably sustained a struggle with adversity or misfortune, till such a refuge as the Home will be appreciated and enjoyed by them. And I give said sum of Twenty-five Thousand Dollars to my said Executors to hold as Trustees, until said Home shall be established as aforesaid, if done within two years after my decease, then to be paid over by them; otherwise to go as a part of the residue of my estate as hereinafter stated.

And I direct that the persons hereinafter mentioned as Visitors of the Memorial Hospital, for which provision is made in this last Will, shall be Visitors of the Home aforesaid, with full power to see and determine if the same is managed and conducted in conformity to the foregoing directions.

Whereas, I have proposed to the Trustees of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, to establish and maintain a Machine Shop in connection with such Institute, as will fully appear by my written communication addressed to them, and by them acted upon and assented to. And

Whereas, the conditions under which I made that proposal have been strengthened by reflection, in order to carry the measure set forth in said proposal into effect, as well as to add one more expression of regard for the City with whose interests my own have been so long identified :

In case I should personally fail to erect and fit up a Machine Shop, as is mentioned in said communication, or to pay the sum of Five Thousand Dollars the first year, and Three Thousand Dollars each subsequent year, during my life, I direct my Executors, as soon as may be after my decease, to pay to said Trustees such sum or sums as may be necessary, not exceeding Twelve Thousand Dollars for the erection and fitting up of the Shop, and Five Thousand Dollars for the first year, and Three Thousand Dollars for each subsequent year, as shall not have been paid or expended by me during my lifetime, as expressed in said communication; and further to pay to said Trustees such sums as may be necessary to carry out my said proposal as to moneys to be expended or paid in my lifetime.

And I further give to said Trustees the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars, to be paid as soon as convenient after my decease, and to be on interest from my decease, to them and their successors forever; in trust nevertheless, for the purposes and upon the terms and conditions expressed in said communication, and none others; relying upon the pledge given by their vote and resolutions accepting said proposal, that my views and wishes in this respect should be observed.

I give and bequeath to my beloved brother, Charles Washburn, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars, for his own use and benefit.

Whereas, it has pleased Divine Providence to take from me the children whose comfort and happiness, so long as they were spared to me,

were objects of my earnest care and solicitude, and of whom I am desirous to leave some memorial which shall be significant of what their own tastes and wishes would have dictated, had it fallen to them to dispose of the competence of which I now find myself possessed, I propose to this end, to make provision for the founding and maintaining a Hospital in the City of Worcester, so long my home and the scene of my active life, and thereby of preserving the names and memory of my beloved daughters, Mrs. Eliza Ann Moen and Miss Lucy Pamela Washburn, by giving to the same the name of "The Memorial Hospital."

The design of said Hospital is to afford care, comfort and relief to the sick and suffering who require superior medical and surgical skill and science, and are, in the judgment of the trustees thereof and in accordance with such rules as the trustees and visitors may, from time to time prescribe, fit and proper subjects for treatment therein.

There shall be a Board of Trustees, of not less than twelve suitable and competent men, to be selected and appointed in manner hereinafter stated, to be duly incorporated by the Legislature of the Commonwealth, who shall have the trust, charge and management of said Hospital and all property and estate belonging to the same, and the revenues and income arising therefrom, with full power to appoint and remove all such surgeons, physicians, superintendent and officers as they shall judge proper, and to prescribe rules and regulations from time to time for the conduct and management of said Hospital, its officers and subordinate employees. There shall also be a Board of Visitors of said Hospital, to consist of the persons hereinafter mentioned, whose duty it shall be to visit and examine said Hospital, as often as they shall judge proper, and enquire into and examine as to the management and conduct of the same, and to ascertain if the purposes and objects thereof are being carried out in good faith by said trustees. And to this end said visitors shall have a right, at all suitable times, to examine any and all books of record or accounts of the transactions of said trustees. And all rules and regulations for the conduct and management of said Hospital, its officers and employees, made by said trustees, shall be approved by said visitors in order to their becoming of binding effect and obligation.

The first Board of Trustees of said Hospital, to be created a corporation by a suitable act of the Legislature if the General Court shall see fit to carry out my wishes in this respect, shall consist of the following persons, if they shall be living and will accept of the trust, viz: Philip L. Moen, Esq., Emory Washburn, Esq., Cambridge, Mass., Peter C. Bacon, Esq., Dr. Henry Clark, Dr. Henry Sargent, Dr. Thomas H. Gage, Rev. Dr. Seth Sweetser, Charles Washburn, Esq., Daniel Waldo Lincoln, Timothy K. Earle, Stephen Salisbury, Jr., and the officiating clergyman for the time being, of the City Mission Chapel on Summer street. And if any of said persons above named shall decline, or be unable to act as members of the first board, their places shall be supplied by nomination to the Legislature by my executors, or such of them as shall execute this will. And all vacancies in the board shall be filled, after the first board is constituted, by the remaining members of the board, from time to time, as they occur; but no person shall be deemed to be elected unless he shall have received two-thirds as many votes as the whole remaining number of trustees, to be cast at a meeting thereof duly called and notified for the purpose of such election.

The Board of Visitors of said Hospital shall consist of the following officers for the time being, who, with their successors in said office, shall, *ex officio*, constitute the visitors of said Hospital, viz: the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester, the Chairman of the County Commissioners for said County, or whoever shall perform the duties of that office if the name of it shall be changed, the Superintendent of the Massachusetts Insane Hospital at Worcester, the Mayor of the City of Worcester, the District Attorney for the County of Worcester, or the officer by whatever name, who shall do the duties of that office, and the Sheriff of the County of Worcester.

And said visitors may employ one or more physicians of respectability and competent skill and science, to examine said Hospital and its various wards and departments and report to them the condition and management thereof. And they may and shall take such measures as they may be advised are lawful and proper, to remedy or correct any mismanagement of the affairs of said Hospital or neglect of duty, or other cause of complaint or dissatisfaction which they may discover or be informed of from time to time.

Nothing herein shall be understood as limiting the power or duty of said trustees to receive, hold and manage any and all sums of money, or other property which any benevolently disposed persons may see fit to contribute to the purposes of said Hospital, or in extending and enlarging its benefits, provided the same is in accordance with the general plan and purposes herein expressed. And it is to be taken and deemed to be a part of the duty of said trustees to make liberal rules and regulations whereby individuals may be permitted and induced to make provision for the support of free beds in said Hospital, or render such other aid as they may be able and willing to contribute.

The locality of said Hospital is to be and remain in Worcester upon the site which I have selected and purchased, being the estate formerly belonging to Abijah Bigelow, Esquire, containing twenty-two thousand five hundred feet more or less, situate at the corner of Front and Church streets, in Worcester.

Now be it remembered that, in order to provide the means of carrying out the foregoing plan and scheme of founding and maintaining a Hospital upon the basis and system above expressed, I give, bequeath and devise unto my executors hereinafter named, or such of them as shall accept said trust, the survivors or survivor of them, or whoever shall be appointed their or his successor in that trust, the lot or parcel of land aforesaid at the corner of Front and Church streets, together with seven hundred and fifty shares of the capital stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, if I should own so many at my decease, to be held and appropriated by them from and after my death, together with the rents, income and dividends thereon, for the use and benefit of said Hospital, and to safely invest and keep invested the income and dividends thereon, as fast as they shall receive the same, and pay and deliver over the same shares, and accumulated dividends and income, whenever and as soon as said trustees shall have been duly incorporated by an Act of the Legislature, and thereby constituted and appointed with the powers and duties indicated and implied in the foregoing scheme and proposition and empowered to take, hold and manage said funds unto said trustees, and shall convey said parcel of land to them in fee simple by proper deed

or deeds to pass a full and free title thereof, and of said rents to said trustees, to hold under and according to the provisions and requirements in this my last will and testament, as fully as if the same were devised directly to said trustees, upon the terms and conditions herein expressed, provided they shall be duly incorporated and qualified to act as such trustees within the term of five years after my decease, to be held, managed and appropriated by them in manner following, to wit: to hold said land and shares, and receive and invest the income and dividends thereof for a term which with the time which should have elapsed after my decease before they shall have received the same shall complete five years. And if at the expiration of said five years, the said shares and accumulated income and dividends shall amount in value to more than one hundred thousand dollars, I direct them to appropriate and set apart the excess over said one hundred thousand dollars, whatever it may be, as a fund for establishing and supporting a Dispensary in connection with said Hospital, under such rules and regulations as they, with the approbation of the visitors, shall prescribe, whereby relief may be extended from time to time to deserving objects not inmates of said Hospital, who may need and apply for the same.

If the said shares and accumulated income and dividends shall not, at the end of said five years, amount to the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, I direct my executors to retain enough of my estate in their hands, and apply the same by paying over the amount of such deficit in said sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars to said Trustees, so as to make that sum good in their hands at the expiration of said five years. At the expiration of the said five years, I direct that said Trustees shall set apart a sum not exceeding Fifty Thousand Dollars, as a "Real Estate Fund," and the balance of the one hundred thousand as a "Hospital Fund," and keep the same safely invested, except so far as it shall be necessary to expend the same for the purposes hereinafter expressed, desiring that for this purpose they shall retain said shares of said stock so long as they shall deem such investment a safe one. Out of said Real Estate Fund said Trustees shall provide suitable buildings and fixtures for the purposes of said Hospital, so far as the same can be done, and keep the same thereafter in repair. Out of the Hospital Fund and income thereof, the Trustees are to provide the necessary furniture, apparatus and appendages of such a Hospital, and to defray the necessary current expenses of providing medical and other attendance, medicines and provisions of all kinds which may be required from time to time, in carrying out the plan and scheme aforesaid of said Hospital. Said Trustees are to keep separate and distinct accounts of said two Funds, and exhibit the same for the inspection of the Visitors as often as they shall desire to examine the same.

And while it is my expectation and intention that the directions and limitations which I have hereinabove expressed shall be observed and carried out as far as the same can reasonably be done, I leave to the Trustees in other things to plan and arrange the details for organizing and managing said Hospital, according to their best judgment, so as to carry out the purposes and objects which I have in view in establishing the same, and which I have in some measure expressed above, in the confidence and belief that they will, in good faith, do whatever is requisite on their part to make it a means of preserving the memory of those

who were once dear to me, as well as of providing comfort and relief to the unfortunate and distressed of generations yet to come.

In executing the provisions of this Will in respect to the legacy given to my wife, I direct my Executors to pay to her Twelve Thousand Five Hundred Dollars in shares of the capital stock of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company at the par value of the same, irrespective of the market or appraised value, to her own use, and to hold a like amount in their hands in trust for her, and the income and dividends thereon to pay over to her as provided in the former part of this Will, and in that way said Executors are to make provision for the Twenty-five of the Eighty-five Thousand Dollars of which she is to have the benefit, as therein expressed; nor shall said Executors sell or dispose of said shares during the life of my wife, unless for good cause they shall do so with the approbation of the Judge of Probate for the time being, and in that case they shall invest the same on interest with satisfactory security.

And I direct my Executors from the rest and residue of my estate, to pay all taxes which shall be due to the United States, under any law of internal revenue, on the legacies hereinbefore given and trusts established, that the Legatees and Trustees hereinbefore named may receive the full sums herein specified.

All my legacies hereinbefore given and declared, except my wife's, the Mission Chapel Fund, and the provision for the Industrial School, as also the Free Institute of Industrial Science, are to be paid in five equal annual payments after my decease, but without interest in any case.

And if, from any cause, it shall happen that my estate shall be insufficient to pay all the foregoing legacies in full, I direct that no abatement be made in those to my wife, the Mission Chapel, the Bangor Theological Seminary, the provision for the Industrial School, and the legacy for the Free Institute of Industrial Science; but the amount shall be abated from the other legacies, *pro rata*.

The rest, residue and remainder of my estate, of every description, of which I may die seized and possessed, I give, devise and bequeath to the Charitable Institutions and objects hereinbefore named, to wit: To the Children's Friend Society, of Worcester; the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society; the American Bible Society; the American Tract Society; the American Missionary Association; the American Seamen's Friend Society; in proportion to the several legacies hereinbefore named, and to be applied to the charitable uses and purposes for which they are organized.

Whereas, I have taken great interest in the founding and success of the Worcester Free Institute of Industrial Science, believing it will be the means of elevating and improving the condition of the mechanical and other industrial classes in the community; and

Whereas, I have made certain proposals and offers to the trustees of said Institute to erect a Machine Shop in connection with said Institute, and to create a fund to be employed by them for the purpose of maintaining a mechanical department of said Institute, as will more fully appear by a reference to said proposals, in writing, in the hands of said trustees, together with subsequent proposals, bearing date the sixteenth day of March, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six.

Now, be it remembered, that I, ICHABOD WASHBURN, of Worcester, hereby declare that if I shall decease before I shall have fully carried out

such part of said proposals as are, by its terms, to be executed and performed by me, I direct my executors to cause the same to be fully carried out and performed, and to defray the expenses of so doing out of my estate. And I further direct my said executors to pay to said trustees all moneys which, by said proposals, I was to give and devise to said trustees by my last will and testament, giving them hereby the sum which I therein undertook and engaged to give them by my last will.

But it is expressly understood that, for the terms and conditions and limitations under and upon which said trustees are to receive and hold what is above given, reference is had to said proposals as if the same were copied in this instrument.

And I further give to said trustees of said Free Institute, the sum of Thirty Thousand Dollars, the principal of which they shall invest in such manner as they shall judge best, and the income or interest thereof may be expended by them for the use and benefit of said Institute, in either of the departments thereof, in such manner as they shall judge best. But no part of said principal shall be expended, unless, by some unexpected emergency, the Supreme Judicial Court shall, upon a bill in equity, filed for that purpose, adjudge and decree that a part or all of it should be expended, specifying how much and for what purpose the same may be expended, my object being, in this last devise, to put into the hands of said trustees a working capital with which to carry on said Institute, and, if necessary, by casualty or otherwise, to expend any part of the principal in order to carry it on with success, they may do so. Said last mentioned legacy is to be paid in five equal annual payments, after my decease, but with interest in any ease.

If the trustees of the Institute of Industrial Science shall prefer to take any part of the legacy herein given them in the stock of said Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, they may do so at par, if I shall leave sufficient to meet this, as well as the other legacies to be paid by said stock; provided, they will hold the same until, for good cause, they shall, with the approbation of the Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester, for the time being, see fit to sell and convert the same into money.

I nominate and appoint Emory Washburn, of Cambridge, and Peter C. Bacon and Philip L. Moen, of Worcester, executors of this my last will and testament, and I direct that so far as they are to act as trustees under this will, they shall be exonerated from giving bonds as such. And I direct that, as executors, they shall only be required to give separate and distinct bonds, and without surety or sureties thereon, and that each shall be responsible for his own act only, and for such sums of money only as shall come into his hands, being unwilling to require them to find sureties for the performance of trusts which I am willing to commit to them as being deserving of confidence as such trustees.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, and publish and declare this to be my last Will and Testament, this day of December, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, hereby revoking and annulling all former wills by me made.

[L. s.]

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Ichabod Washburn as and for his last Will and Testament, in our presence, who in his presence, and in the presence of each other, and at his request, have sub-

scribed our names as witnesses thereto, the word "not" in the 14th line of page 1, first interlined.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Worcester, ss.

Probate Court.

To John C. Mason, Calvin Foster, and John E. Bacon, all of the City and County of Worcester, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Greeting :

You are hereby appointed to appraise, on oath, the estate and effects of Ichabod Washburn, late of Worcester, in said County of Worcester, which may be in said County. When you have performed that service, you will deliver this order, with your doings in pursuance thereof, to P. C. Bacon, W. W. Rice, and Elizabeth B. C. Washburn, the administrators with the Will annexed of the Estate of said deceased, that they may return the same to the Probate Court for said County of Worcester.

Given under my hand, this sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

HENRY BACON, *Justice of the Peace.*

Worcester, ss., March 16, A. D. 1869. Then the above named John C. Mason, Calvin Foster, and John E. Bacon, personally appeared and made oath, that they would faithfully discharge the trust reposed in them by the foregoing order. Before me,

HENRY BACON, *Justice of the Peace.*

Pursuant to the foregoing order, we have appraised said estate as follows, to wit :

Amount of Real Estate, as per schedule exhibited,	\$84,300 00
Amount of Personal Estate, as per schedule exhibited,	467,170 46
JOHN C. MASON,	} <i>Appraisers.</i>
CALVIN FOSTER,	
JOHN E. BACON,	

Worcester, ss., June 3, A. D. 1869. Then personally appeared P. C. Bacon, W. W. Rice, and E. B. C. Washburn, the administrators with Will annexed of said deceased, and made oath that the foregoing is a true and perfect Inventory of all the estate of said Ichabod Washburn, which has come to their possession or knowledge.

Before me,

HENRY BACON, *Justice of the Peace.*

INVENTORY.

SCHEDULE OF PERSONAL ESTATE.

Household Furniture,	\$3,000	
4 Carriages, \$800, \$400, \$75, \$25,	1,300	
1 pair coach Horses,	650	
1 black Saddle Mare,	75	
1 Sleigh,	50	
2 pair Harnesses, \$100, \$25,	125—	\$5,200 00

8 1-2 per cent. dividend on 2640 shares I. Wash-			
burn & Moen Wire Works,		22,440	
2907 shares Washburn & Moen Manuf. Co.,	110,	319,770—	342,210 00
200 " 1st Nat. Bank Stock,	123,	24,600	
200 " Mechanics " "	128,	25,600	
100 " Worcester " "	125,	12,500	
15 " City " "	131,	1,965	
10 " Merchants " " Boston,	116,	1,160	
32 " Central " " Worcester,	136,	4,352	
12 " Worcester & Nashua R. R.,	120,	1,440	
5 " People's Fire Ins. Co.,	130,	650	
72 " Bay State House,	60,	4,320	
20 " Merchants Union Ex. Co.,	16,	320	—76,907 00
Note Washburn & Moen Manuf. Co., \$12,500,			
int. \$364.55,		12,864	55
Note Washburn & Moen Manuf. Co., 6,500,			
int. 232.68,		6,732	68
Jan. 1, '67. Note E. A. Moen, 6,000, (less 2,000			
paid,) int. 710.		4,710	00
Apr. 1, '68. Note C. H. Morgan, 2,875, int. 100.62,		2,975	62
" " " G. H. Kendall, 2,300, int. 161.		2,461	00
" " " Wm. P. Smith, 1,000, int. 277.66,		1,277	66
Jan. 20, '67. " C. E. Nye, 1,000, int. 44,		1,044	00
July 1, '65. " J. Q. Adams, 100, partial pay-			
ment has been made,		94	10
Note Cain Mahoney, 1,500, int. 30.50,		1,530	50
" Michael Grogan, 1,300, int. 26.43,		1,326	43
" Thomas Quinn, 1,300, int. 26.43,		1,326	43
" Thomas O'Neill, 1,500, int. 30.50,		1,530	50
" Terrence Dennen, 1,500, int. 96.85,		1,596	85
" Thomas O'Neill, 111.65, int. 2.49,		114	14
Sept. 19, '68. Notes A. J. Eaton, mortgage 933.33,			
466.67,			
		1,400.00	
1-2 interest due estate I.			
Washburn,		48.00	
		1,448 00	—724 00
Aug. 30, '54. Note Thomas Sutton, mortgage,			
2,000, int. 545,		2,545 00—	42,853 46
<i>Of Little or no Value.</i>			
Note Isaac Brayton, July 1, '59, 200, int. 119.60,		\$319	60
Elizabeth S. Peck, Aug. 8, '64,		30	00
Thos. Lewis, Dec. 12, '68, 50, int. .77,		50	77
John L. Goddard, Nov. 18, '64,		100	00
Geo. Bradford, June 6, '65, 66, int. 14.94,		80	94
Jacob C. Mowbray, Oct. 10, '67, 50, int. 7.29,		57	29
A. B. Prouty, Jan. 3, '68, 300, int. 19.57,		319	57
John M. Geer, July 23, '67, 30, int. 3.11,		33	11
J. T. Gage, March 1, '51,		265 50—	1,256 78

Considered Valuable but not able to fix the Value.

One-half the Royalty on the Patent for rolling or tempering iron.

One-half the Patent and Royalty on Bedson Patent.

SCHEDULE OF REAL ESTATE IN DETAIL.

Home estate, Summer street, about 24,000 feet,	\$22,000 00
Lot, Vernon street, " 53,000 "	3,500 00
" Front street, " 21,500 "	43,000 00
" Prescott street, " 5,000 "	1,000 00
Mission Chapel Property, " 5,500 "	12,000 00
Lot, Summer street, South of Mission Chapel, 3,000 feet,	1,200 00
Lot, Summer street, near J. Chapin's Foundry, about 4,000 feet,	1,600 00—84,300 00

PETITION

OF THE

Widow of Hon. I. Washburn,

TO THE

MANAGERS

OF THE

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

NEW YORK:

FRANCIS & LOUTREL, STATIONERS AND PRINTERS,
No. 45 MAIDEN LANE.

1840.

TO THE MANAGERS

OF THE

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The Petition of Mrs. E. B. C. WASHBURN, widow, sheweth :

On the 30th of December, 1868, there died in Worcester, Mass., the Hon. I. Washburn, for several years President of the Worcester County Bible Society, and a liberal donor to the same ; leaving a will and codicils, the last of which was witnessed in May, 1867, whereby the Bible Society was endowed with a legacy of \$5,000, and was made also joint residuary legatee with the A. B. C. F. M., the Seamen's Friend Society, American Missionary Association, American Tract Society of Boston, Children's Friend Society of Worcester, and Home for Aged Females.

Three weeks before his decease, and eleven days before his last illness, while in apparently improving health and riding out daily, the testator had another will drafted by the same person, Ex-Governor Emory Washburn, of Cambridge, who drew the first : wherein certain real and personal estate, before given to his widow and the Home for Aged Females conjointly, was bequeathed to the widow alone ; and the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society was endowed with a legacy of \$5,000, and was made an equal residuary legatee with the other benevolent societies in like manner endowed in both wills.

By the same instrument the stock bequeathed in the first will under the name of the I. Washburn & Moen Wire Works, was bequeathed to the same amount and to the same legatees, under

the name of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, this latter being the name assumed by the Company in the year 1868, after the first will was drawn, and after the consolidation with it of another property, viz. : the Quinsigamond Iron Works. Through a neglect and delay, explained in part by a letter from Governor Washburn, this second will was not signed, and the first alone was probated a few days after the decease of the testator.

In the month of June following, a printed paper was addressed to the residuary legatees, in behalf of your petitioner, the widow of Mr. Washburn, recounting the facts, and proposing a settlement with herself on the modified basis of the last unsigned will, in lieu of her taking the portion allowed by law upon the entering of her legal waiver of the provisions made for herself in the first will. These terms of settlement were duly acceded to, and the authorized assent of all the residuary legatees was decreed, save only that of the Bible Society.

On the 31st day of July, two days before the expiration of the six months allowed by law for the entering of the widow's waiver, the legacy committee of the Bible Society refused their assent to the proposed settlement. Thereupon, after intermediary correspondence, a new application was made to the Bible Society in the month of October, in the following terms :

Whereas, The administrators of the estate of I. Washburn, late of Worcester, Mass., declare an unwillingness to begin a settlement with the legatees of his will without definite instructions from all the residuary legatees as to the construction which they, the administrators, shall put upon that part of the will bequeathing shares of a certain stock.

And Whereas, All the other residuary legatees have agreed upon the conditions on which they are willing to have the estate settled, therefore, the undersigned, in behalf of the widow of the testator, being the first claimant under the will, and in behalf also of the other residuary legatees, respectfully ask that the Bible Society, through its appropriate committee, do authorize and instruct the administrators, with the will annexed,

First, That in every case where the stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works is named in the will, that it be construed as the testator intended, to be the stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company.

Second. That they authorize and direct the assignment to the widow of all the right and interest of the testator in the Tempering Patent and the Bedson Patent, for the equal distribution of the revenue arising from the royalties thereon among the benevolent societies constituted residuary legatees.

Third. That the Bible Society convey to the widow their right of residuary interest under the will of the testator for the sum of \$200, and a bond to pay the excess of that interest over \$200, be it more or less, into the treasury of the Bible Society; the same being the amount in consideration of which the Home for Aged Females, also constituted a residuary legatee under the will of the testator, has already made a similar conveyance of their residuary right and interest to the widow.

Your petitioner has recently learned by a document transmitted through Judge Washburn, of Cambridge, that the above named propositions in her behalf have been refused by the Legacy Committee of the Bible Society. She has, therefore, no other resource but to appeal herself to the Board of Managers for their adjudication of the case; and she respectfully asks the intervention of your honorable body for the protection of her rights and those of the Home, as guaranteed by the will of her husband. The settlement of the estate is necessarily delayed until the administrators are instructed by *all* the residuary legatees how to proceed. Six out of the seven residuary legatees, having the same interest as the Bible Society, have agreed that the stock bequeathed is the stock of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company.

Now, in case the Bible Society refuse to co-operate in this decision, the widow and Home for Aged Females jointly will be deprived of their legacy to the amount of \$25,000, and the widow will be without the power of fulfilling her agreement to purchase the reversionary right to the homestead which she now occupies,

and which she has agreed to purchase of the Home for Aged Females as soon as the stock bequeathed is put in her possession, she not doubting at the time this agreement was made on her part that possession of said stock would be duly given her, according to the written intentions of her husband in both wills.

In reference to the royalties above named, your petitioner has only sought to have them devoted to the charitable uses unto which they were solemnly consecrated in the lifetime of the testator. By his act while living she was made the joint dis-burser with her husband of the revenues arising from the Tempering Patent, and among his private papers there is a record of the deliberate consecration of the Bedson Patent also, which had not yet gone into practical operation at the time of his decease. She therefore asks the residuary legatees to decree their assignment to herself for the charitable purposes to which they were consecrated, as the only possible way of carrying out the benevolent intentions of her husband in regard to them. If brought to auction sale, as they must be unless the residuary legatees decree otherwise, the business firm or individuals of the firm, which has by a guarantee from the testator the exclusive right to use and vend these patents, will be certain to obtain possession of them for a mere moiety of their value. Applied as the testator is known to have intended, they will yield an annual income for years, capable of being renewed and extended: whereas, if not so held and applied, they may not produce a sum equivalent to a single year's valuation.

The Legacy Committee say, in their written document, that "it is not the just policy of the Society to hold an investment in such property (namely, that of the royalties) when not expressly required to do so by the will." But, would it be just to compel the sale of a property at half its value, which the testator is known to have intended to be reserved and used as a permanent fund of charity so long as its existence might continue, from which he predicted a valuable income for benevolent purposes, and which your petitioner now desires the privilege of consecrating to the uses intended by her husband?

Knowing, as she alone could know, how her husband's mind had been exercised in regard to that particular consecration, she had humbly supposed the "just policy" to be that which would secure the greatest amount possible to Christian Charity. The unexecuted intentions of her husband, described by the Committee in their written document as "alleged subsequent projects," and most of them expressed in his last but unsigned will, are as just and sacred in themselves as those other "projects" in the mind of her husband, by which the Bible and other Societies were made the recipients of his generosity for Christ's sake. The Bible Society can lose nothing by permitting to his widow the satisfaction of securing the benevolent disposal of the royalties for the purposes to which her husband and herself had consecrated them; but the cause of benevolence will gain. Your petitioner is unable to see how in any way this policy could be construed as unjust.

The Bible Society are not "expressly required by the will" to take and hold, as an investment for themselves or others, the property named in the will as stock in the Washburn & Moen Wire Works, and bequeathed by the testator to the Memorial Hospital, "to be held and appropriated to the use and benefit of said Hospital," and to be safely invested and kept so invested for the same; and yet it is proposed, as a policy for the Bible Society, to withhold that property from those to whom it is clearly and expressly bequeathed, and to hold it as an investment for the residuary legatees. Your petitioner is constrained to ask how can this be a just policy, when not only not expressly required by the will, but contrary to its express requisitions concerning the same property?

The other request of your petitioner, that the residuary right of the Bible Society be conveyed to her on a guarantee of complete security for the interest thereon to the Society, is founded upon the obvious importance of holding such a right to herself and co-administrators, thereby saving them the delay and inconvenience of consulting the Bible Society on all the ques-

tions that may arise, and saving the Society the trouble of investigating and making answer where its interests are in no way to be affected. To refuse the assignment asked with the safeguard proposed, may only hamper and retard a settlement, without any possible benefit accruing to the Bible Society or to any other of the legatees.

Your petitioner finally declares that all she asks is a decision in equity, not for the purpose of breaking or setting aside the will of her late husband in any of its provisions (which she might by law have done, but did not elect to do, hoping that, by consent of the legatees, the necessity for it might be avoided), but simply for the purpose of the most complete and exact fulfillment of that will in her power, and for the security intact of the interests of all the legatees, and the practical carrying out of all the charitable endowments contemplated by her husband. It is only through his beneficence that the residuary legatees are endowed with authority for any interposition whatever in the administration of the estate. And now, to use or refuse that authority so as to prevent the widow and the Home from receiving their full legacies, as provided in the will, would not be a procedure in equity or justice.

It is not legal advice or a legal decision which is needed in this matter, but simply the exercise of that authority with which the Bible Society is in this instance intrusted outside the law, to prevent, by an equitable decision, a great technical injustice, or the measure of an expensive and perhaps long-continued litigation. Your petitioner, therefore, does not ask for a legal opinion, for the administrators of the estate are able and upright lawyers and counselors, and the Massachusetts courts are as learned and honest as any in the land, yet they do not possess the authority of the legatees in equity. No opinion is necessary, nor has any been sought, concerning the question of the validity of the proved will, or the legal authority of the last will; but only the aid and authority of the Bible Society are sought in such an administration of the estate as will secure the rights of all the legatees, and prevent a special injury and in-

justice to the widow and to the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, created by the will. In the hope of precluding such a result, and saving the needless cost and delay of a case in court, your petitioner lodges this appeal, and respectfully asks that the Bible Society do now concur in the terms of settlement already agreed upon by the other residuary legatees of the testator's will.

In view of the document sent by the legacy committee to Judge Washburn, and by him communicated to the administrators, your petitioner is constrained to repeat her declaration, that it is her sole desire and prayer to your honorable body that she may be enabled to carry out the known testamentary intentions of her deceased husband, but not to the diminution or injury, in any possible way, of the rights and interests of the Bible Society as created and provided for by the testator.

The document of the Committee states that the testator's estate is large, and that the widow may legally take half of it for herself, and so execute the "alleged subsequent projects." The largeness of the estate is, in the view of the petitioner, no good reason, either for herself or any of the legatees, for setting aside, or changing, or violating any of the intentions, of the testator. Your petitioner is bound by those intentions.

The document of the committee is in error in designating the third codicil of the will as being a pencil memorandum. Nothing is in pencil but an appended memorandum to the effect that the testator, at the time of signing Codicil No. 2, December 6th, 1866, was negotiating the purchase of a certain piece of real estate for the Memorial Hospital. The document particularizes the stock bequeathed to the Memorial Hospital, namely, 750 shares in the I. Washburn & Moen Wire Works, and that bequeathed to the Home for Indigent Females, and to the widow, namely, 250 shares in the same, all valued at \$100 a share, and the whole amounting to \$100,000. And the committee go on to state that "they find no cause for believing that the testator, in mentioning shares of stock in an existing

company, meant or intended shares of stock in another company not then in existence."

Your petitioner deeply regrets being compelled by this avowal of the Committee in regard to the Memorial Hospital endowed by her husband, as well as the Home for Indigent Women, to enter into any defense of their claims.

It is not believed by any one that when the first will of the testator was drawn he meant or intended shares of stock in another company which he did not mention. No one can believe that he did, being of sane and sincere mind. But the stock which he did mention and bequeath was preserved and continued by himself as part of his estate under another name, by himself consented to and chosen, and another will was drawn, conveying the same property to the same parties under that new name, thus giving incontestible evidence as to the meaning and intention of the testator. The \$25,000, or 250 shares, devised to the Home and widow in the first will, and the \$75,000, or 750 shares, devised to the Memorial Hospital in the same, meant an actual portion of his estate. He did not intend, in appointing as residuary legatees the benevolent societies to whom he had bequeathed another portion of his estate, to confer upon those societies the authority, by denying the legal existence of the property devised to the Hospital and the Home, to transfer that property to their own residuary portion.

Your petitioner believes, and is sure, that the testator, "in mentioning shares of stock in an existing company, meant and intended" an actual amount of property then in his estate, and by him bequeathed, and not a delusive title. He meant and intended the same property afterward actually existing and described and bequeathed in the second will, as stock in the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company; for he had no other property than that in view or in possession at any time, out of which his beneficent endowments could be made. And the amounts named and the parties endowed are in forms and terms so identically the same, as to leave no doubt that the property which the testator intended to convey in the first will

was that now existing under the name of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company.

The refusal of the Bible Society to permit the stock thus bequeathed to be construed as a real property now existing in the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, would be in effect what your petitioner has endeavored to avoid, namely, a breaking of the will of her deceased husband, in several particulars, most sacred to him. It would be the nullification of those portions of the will drawn for the benefit of the Hospital and the Home, as well as the widow, depriving them of their rights and barring them from receiving what the testator intended for them. The property intended to be conveyed is annihilated as to them. What then becomes of it? Your petitioner is informed that it goes into the residuary property, and that the denial of the identity of the amounts bequeathed by the testator under the description of stock in the I. Washburn & Moen Wire Works with that described and bequeathed as stock in the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, takes it away from the Hospital, the Home, and the widow, to whom it was bequeathed, and causes it to be held for the residuary legatees, to whom it was not bequeathed and for whom it was not intended. To prevent this injustice, and to secure the appropriation of the estate according to the intentions of the giver, your petitioner implores the intervention of the Bible Society.

The provisions in the will of the testator for the homeless, the poor, the sick, and the widow, are as clear and sacred as those for any of the corporate Christian Societies. But the committee show, by their suggestion to the widow of her legal right to break the will, by taking one-half the whole estate, that there is no objection in their minds, if that were done according to law. Your petitioner, anxious to avoid that step, and yet desiring to secure the complete and equitable fulfillment of the intentions of her husband, appealed to those endowed by his benevolence with the right of decreeing such execution, in order that she might not be compelled to resort to the legal remedy. That remedy, in her case, is now impossible; and your petitioner prays for the kindness of a Christian Court, well knowing

that a court in law may press the letter against the real known intention ; but a Christian Society may do in equity, and as a Christian charity and duty, what a court in law might legally refuse. Can there be any objection against enabling your petitioner to do in equity what in effect the committee have counseled her to do in law ?

Most respectfully,

ELIZABETH B. C. WASHBURN.

January 10th, 1870.

THE ARGUMENT OF REV. DR. CHIEVER,

WHO WAS APPOINTED BY THE SOCIETY OF THE HOME FOR AGED AND INDIGENT FEMALES (WHICH WAS ENDOWED BY MR. I. WASHBURN, OF WORCESTER, MASS.,) TO DEFEND, BEFORE THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, THE PETITION OF THE WIDOW, AND THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE HOME.

Document from the Minutes of the Legacy Committee of the Bible Society.

This document first came to the notice of the Administrators and of the Widow, December 12th, 1869. It opens with a grave error, as will be hereafter demonstrated, in characterizing Mrs. Washburn's proposals to the residuary legatees for settlement, as being "an application to substitute for the proved Will a subsequent draft of a new Will." There was no such application. Other errors will be noted, but the document is here printed in full, because it contains the decision, against which the petition of the widow is presented to the Board, as being a decision injurious to the rights and interests of the Home and the Widow conjointly, and of the Hospital endowed by Mr. Washburn, and destructive of his Will, and subversive of his intentions. Her appeal is from the decision announced in this document, to the Board of Managers, as a Court of Christian Equity.

FROM MINUTES OF "COMMITTEE ON LEGACIES," AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

A former application to substitute for the proved will a subsequent draft of a new will, which had not been executed or read by the testator, and some modifications not contained in said draft, was declined by the committee, July 31st, 1869. The present application is made on the part of Mrs. Washburn, widow of the testator, and in effect offers three proposals, (1) that this Society consent that wherever the will mentions stock of the "I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works," it shall be deemed to mean and intend stock of the "Washburn and Moen Manufac-

turing Company," and (2) that this Society allow an assignment to Mrs. Washburn of the right of the testator in two patents, known as the Tempering Patent and the Bedson Patent, with a view to her collecting the royalties for the benefit of the residuary legatees, in place of having the patent rights sold by the administrators; and (3) that this Society release to Mrs. Washburn all its interest in the residuary estate for \$200, and on her covenant to pay any sum which the share of this Society in such residue may amount to above such \$200.

The stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works is mentioned in the second codicil of the will, in which the testator gives 750 shares of such stock, if he should hold as many at his death, for the use of a hospital. In the third codicil (a pencil memorandum), he further appropriates 250 shares of said stock, to be used in payment of another bequest, to be taken at par, being \$100 a share, such bequest being half for the benefit of a Home for Indigent Females, and half for the use of Mrs. Washburn herself. These two codicils are severally dated December 6, 1866, and May 11, 1867. At those dates the capital of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works was \$500,000. Afterwards, in February, 1868, that company was consolidated with another corporation, namely, The Quinsigamund Iron and Wire Works; and thus there was formed a new corporation, "The Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company," with a capital of \$1,000,000. The original company, "I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works," is allowed to exist for a period, to settle its affairs. The testator left shares in the consolidated company, inventoried as 2907 shares at 110, making \$319,770, and also certain interests in the original company inventoried as dividend on 2640 shares, \$22,400, and also an undivided fraction of assets estimated at 2 or 3 per cent., say \$528 to \$792, making together about \$23,000.

The committee do not think this Society can properly consent that shares of the consolidated company are to be intended, when shares of one of the constituent companies are mentioned.

The consolidated company has twice the capital and estate of the original company, and it was formed some time after the codicil was made. The committee find no cause for believing that the testator, in mentioning shares of stock in an existing company, meant or intended shares of stock in another company not then in existence.

The two patents are used in manufacturing certain wires; and the committee think it better that the patents be sold according to law, than kept for the collecting of royalties.

One of them has yielded \$3,777 75 of royalties during the past year, and the other is of little value. Parties engaged in this manufacture probably would bid at the sale, or if they did not, some enterprising purchaser would buy patent rights which yield an income; and it is not the just policy of this Society to hold an investment in such property, when not expressly required to do so by the will.

The residue of the estate after all debts and particular legacies are paid, is to be divided among several legatees, this Society taking one seventh part. The Committee think it best that the Society abide the regular course of administration, and then receive its share, if any there be, according to the will of the testator.

The Committee therefore decide to decline each of these propositions. In coming to this conclusion, as well as in their former decision, the Committee have had in view the facts, that the testator's estate is large, the inventory amounting to about \$550,000; that this Society is entitled to a particular pecuniary legacy of \$5,000; that the testator left no issue; that the testator's widow has the legal right to take one half of the whole estate, by waiving the provisions made for her by the will and codicils, or by all of the alleged subsequent projects of will or codicil which was not carried into legal effect; and that Mrs. Washburn's wishes in respect of certain charitable dispositions, favored in said subsequent projects, will be substantially within her power of accomplishment, in case she claims her full one-half by declining to take under the probated will.

The Secretary of this Committee is instructed to furnish copies of the above minutes to Rev. Henry T. Cheever, of Worcester, who represents Mrs. Washburn, and to the administrators with the will annexed.

ARGUMENT.

In the petition of Mrs. Washburn now before the Board, she "respectfully asks that the Bible Society do now concur in the terms of settlement already agreed upon by the other residuary legatees of the Testator's Will." Her proposals have been twice rejected by the Committee, and now she throws herself upon the first proposed settlement, and asks this Society to consent to the original agreement.

The points involved are: 1st. The relation of the petitioner to the Bible Society. 2d. Her position in her own right, and in relation to all the legatees under the will. 3d. In her own rights and of those in whose behalf she pleads. 4th. In relation to the position and action of the Legacy Committee. 5th. The rule of settlement adopted by the residuary societies, namely, the intentions of the Testator. 6th. The evidence of those intentions.

Before proceeding in our argument we enquire what there is, if anything, in the Charter of the Bible Society bearing on the case before us, or restricting our action. I am not aware of anything, except it be the restriction forbidding us from applying our funds to anything but the manufacture and distribution of Bibles. Is there anything in the Bible itself beyond its general requisitions to do justly? If so, it must be where the case of the widow and the homeless, or their appeal, is particularly named. If such a case ever came before us there is something in the Bible, whatever there be, or be not, in the Charter of the Bible Society.

"A Father of the fatherless and a Judge of the widow is God in his holy habitation," and God's command to princes, magistrates, and people is this, "that they judge the fatherless and plead for the widow;" and "they that judge not the fatherless, neither permit the cause of the widow to come unto them, are companions of thieves." "Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassions every man to his brother, and oppress not the widow nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor. Execute judgment and righteousness and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow. Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless and widow." And before Bible Societies were established, or Bible Houses builded, the piety of men had this example: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."

Now, we do not present these passages, or claim their peculiar application as at all necessary to the right consideration of the case before us; nor do we present the case as depending on the claim of the widow as a widow, or of the poor as poor. We claim only common equity for all, and the common claims of equity. But yet we are willing to be reminded by these passages, that the matter before us involves considerations somewhat different from those of a mere business arrangement. The widows and the homeless in this case are not almoners for pity, but claimants of justice. And the case involves, not merely the interests of the charities endowed by Mr. Washburn, and in behalf of which the petition is a plea, but also the reputation of the Bible Society itself, a thing of greater value than any legacy, in case the Society either refuses justice or decides against it. The World's jealous, and in some cases inimical scrutiny is upon all our benevolent corporations, and no wonder, considering the developments from time to time startling society.

Allusion has been made to reports of what has been said on the corners of the streets concerning the action of the Bible Society, that it betrayed a morality among Christians that the honor of the world would repudiate. It *has* produced the impression, which cannot be counteracted but by a just procedure, that there is a deliberate intention to overreach and take advantage by the technicalities of law, to the disappointment of equity. These are not my allegations, but if, by means of an advantage in the law, the Bible Society, or any other Society, would wrest the endowments of benevolence from their intended application, I should be bound to make them mine, and to rebuke the injustice whenever it was possible. The reputation of the Bible Society is as dear to me, as a Life Director, as to any member of this body. If the Legacy Committee are trustees of its funds, I am equally a trustee of its reputation, its equity, its honors for Christ. And if the lawyers of this Society are experts as to the application of human law, the ministers and teachers of the Bible are equally entitled to respect as to the application of the divine law.

There *is* a question of morality, and even the overshadowing reputation of the Bible Society is not strong enough to endure a stain. The very sending of an attorney to take exceptions or objections against the testimony of Judge Washburn, and the declaration of that attorney that he came to protect the claims of the Bible Society in an amount of a hundred thousand dollars, was an avowal of the determination of that Society to appropriate to them-

selves what was known universally through Mr. Washburn's will to have been devised and intended for others.

He said that the money value at issue about the stock of the Washburn and Moen Wire Works, including the Hospital fund, was about \$100,000. He appeared at the office of Bacon & Aldrich to take objections in behalf the Bible Society to the depositions of Judge Washburn in relation to the stock and the wills. The information obtained from what he said, convinced Mrs. Washburn that the Committee intended that the Bible Society and the other residuary legatees should receive and gain, by denying the identity of the stocks, what the Home, the Widow and the Hospital should lose and be deprived of; and that they were fully resolved to press the law for that purpose. This conviction compelled an appeal to the Board, and if the legal remedy had then been still in her power, it would have constrained her to resort to the remedy.

TREATMENT OF THE PETITION BY THE BOARD, AND OF MRS. WASHBURN'S AGENT BY THE COMMITTEE.

Now, in recurring to the position of the petitioner, I am compelled to note the treatment of her petition, in consequence of which the President of the Home for Aged Females instructs me as follows, so late as March 18th. "We are just informed that a printed petition from Mrs. Washburn to the Managers of the American Bible Society was not read at the meeting of the Board when received by them, but was referred to the same Committee, against whose decision, in two instances, she had appealed to the Board. We therefore request that you will appear before the Board of Managers of the Bible Society, at their next meeting, to defend the Petition aforesaid, and the rights and interests of the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, as well as those of the widow of the late L. Washburn." Signed by Charles Washburn, President.

It is not strange that this treatment of the petition should have awakened anxiety, for it could not be considered either courteous, or fair, or parliamentary. Mrs. Washburn petitioned the Board of Managers for a hearing and consideration *by them*, of her appeal from an injustice decreed by a decision of the Legacy Committee; and in her petition, presented proofs and reasons for the consideration of the Board. Without even giving it a hearing, or knowing its contents, the Board referred it *back to the same Committee*, from and against whose decision it appealed.

They did not order its reading, they did not read it, they did not hear it, they did not consider it; but, without consideration either of its facts or arguments, put it into the hands of the Committee, to whom it had not been sent by the Petitioner, but from whose judgment it appealed, with instructions to that Committee to see if there were any new facts or reasons for changing their decision. Such a procedure has seldom been heard of in any public body, and I venture to say never in any Congressional or Parliamentary body. It was as much as to say to the Committee: "Defend your own action, and be the judges in your own case, without our hearing of this widow's appeal." And they were instructed to print their report, just as if its acceptance were decided before it was reported, or as if it was predetermined to receive it, whatever it might be.

The case now before the Board is still exactly what it was previous to this Report being presented. the case of the petition of the widow against an alleged injustice in a prior report of the same Committee. It was neither fair nor equitable to subject it to the prejudice of a new report against it, before even the petition of the widow, or the presentation of her case had been read, or could be heard. Under that prejudice her case has now to be argued, after a delay of eight months in the hands of the Committee. It requires a greater patience and length of detail now, from the fact that the presentation and hearing of it in argument and fact were not permitted at any time before the Committee.

On the 22d of September, a letter was addressed by Mrs. Washburn's agent to Rev. T. R. Smith, enclosing the request previously sent to Mr. Fisher of the privilege of appearing before the Committee, and asking again the favor of such an appearance, adding the following argument or appeal in these words, namely: "All my intercourse with the Committee heretofore has been by letter through Mr. Fisher. It is now greatly to be desired that I meet the Committee in person as soon as possible. By apprising me of the time and place of my appearing before the Committee, you will greatly oblige," &c.

In the absence of Dr. Smith, Mr. Taylor replied to this note, Sept. 23, and stated, "that the request to appear before the Committee of Legacies would be acted upon by that body at its next meeting, and that its response would be communicated without delay, by the General Agent."

Hearing nothing from the General Agent, up to the 27th of October, a note was then addressed to him, as follows: Dear sir,—A note from Mr. Taylor, of Sept. 23rd, in reply to an enquiry of mine, informed me that the response of the Legacy Committee to my request would be communicated by the General Agent, without delay. I was also informed by Mr. Tracy, when I was last in New York, that a meeting of the Legacy Committee was to take place on Saturday, the 16th instant, and that you would forthwith communicate the action of that body on my proposition. But, as yet, I hear nothing. Will you therefore have the kindness to inform me whether a meeting was held, and what action, if any, was taken. By so doing, you will relieve a present embarrassment and uncertainty.”

To that letter *no reply was ever received* ; and not till the 12th December, 1869, was Mrs. Washburn made aware of the action of the Legacy Committee, and then only by receiving their document from Judge Washburn, of Cambridge.

Now, whether this neglect and refusal of the application of Mrs. Washburn's agent to appear before the Legacy Committee, were intentional or not, the injustice to her case was none the less real. And it was in no degree repaired by the reference of her petition, afterwards, to the same Committee, and a notice of the meeting of that Committee to receive information in relation to the will and estate of the late Ichabod Washburn, served, for March 16th, upon her agent. The Committee had met again and again, and had decided, and repeated their decision, against the settlement proposed and prayed for by the widow, not only not asking the personal presence and interrogation of her agent at any of those meetings, but refusing him that privilege, when it had been requested by him for the purpose of giving light and information to them, previous to their decision ; and not till eight months had passed, and the appeal of the widow had come before this Board, was her agent invited to appear at a meeting of the Legacy Committee.

It must be added that on the 28th of October, a note was received from Mr. Tracy to the effect that the proposals of Mrs. Washburn were under consideration, but that he did not find among the papers the printed copy of the will, &c., and would like to have a copy sent, as members of the Committee wished to see the whole matter, before finally acting upon it. Another printed copy of the will was thereupon immediately mailed, together with a copy

of the correspondence between Mrs. Washburn's Agent, and Judge Washburn, showing the identity of the two stocks in question, and the accuracy of the second will. Several copies of the will had at different times been put in possession of the Committee. Are we to understand that up to this period they had acted without having the wills before them for consideration in Committee?

It now becomes necessary to consider the printed report of the Committee in answer to the petition of the widow. That report has made the examination of it essential to our advancement one step in the argument for the rights of the Home and Hospital, and the judgment of the evidence on which those rights are grounded. That report is a barricade thrown up by the Committee in the very street through which we are compelled to pass to the citadel of justice. It must be swept away, at whatever cost of time and patience. Bear witness with me, that I have not provoked this investigation of its charges, and am not responsible for this delay.

THE PRINTED REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, FIRST, CONCERNING THE WAIVER.

Mrs. Washburn having withdrawn her waiver, the case is before us as a Court of Equity, with the power in our hands. She has put it out of her's, and rests only on the justice of her claims, and those of the Home, and of the Widow Oxnard, and other charities and persons conjointly with her's.

The refusal of the proposals of Mrs. Washburn, as contained in the document made up from the minutes of the Legacy Committee, and sent to Gov. Washburn, of Cambridge, makes no mention of the waiver of the widow, except in suggesting at the close, and as one of the considerations they had in view in coming to their conclusion, that the entering of it would give the widow a legal power, by taking half the estate, of carrying out the intentions of her husband. This suggestion evidently intimates that this legal remedy, thus proposed, is still in her power. But the Committee do not intimate that her proposal of her waiver for the purpose of taking her legal rights, or her withdrawal of that waiver, or whatsoever she might do with it, was any cause or reason influencing their conclusion.

Now, on the contrary, in the Report printed by them, an intimation or charge of insincerity or double dealing is based upon

the proposal and filing and withdrawing of that waiver ; and all the proceedings in relation to it are intimated as having been "designed for effect on the residuary legatees, and not as a legal step to relinquish the provisions of the will, and take the benefit and the risk of making an actual and binding waiver."

Nearly five pages of this Report are devoted to a laborious effort to prejudice the Court by producing this impression. The Committee were directed by the Board to report any new facts or principles in the Petition, the discovery of which should lead the Board to modify or change their action. But the facts were to be true facts, and the principles honorable principles. If that portion of the report which concerns the waiver presents any such new fact or principle, it is perhaps admissible, but otherwise impertinent and dishonorable. The Committee were not appointed by the Board to attack the character, or vilify the motives of the petitioner, much less by such an attack, to obtain a justification for the rejection of her Petition.

The instructions of the Board were to report facts. Every *fact* presented by the Committee in their report concerning the waiver was known to them before their first declinature of her proposals, and yet was never intimated as among the reasons of such declinature. They well knew that she was determined, if possible, not to avail herself of the power given her by the law, being conscientiously opposed to breaking the will of her husband. They knew that because she did not intend "to take by the waiver," she had applied to the residuary legatees, and now especially to the Bible Society, to relieve her of the necessity of such a measure, and to enable her to carry out all the intentions of her husband, without any breaking of his will.

Notwithstanding this knowledge of her wishes and intentions, they peremptorily rejected her request, and suggested to her that she might enter her waiver and claim her legal rights. Yet all her proceedings they now say *seem to have been designed for effect*. They were indeed designed to move the residuary legatees to a just and right basis of settlement, but in a fair, open, honorable way, and nothing designed for effect, in the base meaning which the Committee convey in that insinuation.

All the proceedings of Mrs. Washburn, and her motives in them, were without concealment, and were made known to this Committee, as to every one of the Societies. There are no new facts or

principles reported by the Committee, but a very injurious insinuation is presented, founded on the perversion of facts.

It was known that Mrs. Washburn never pretended to any determination to enter her waiver, or to use its power, for any purpose whatever, but to bring about the proposed settlement with the residuary legatees. She did it "to avoid the risk" of being compelled to break the will of her husband; and "to get the benefit" of a settlement of his estate according to the intentions of her husband.

Yet the Committee say, *Seem to have been designed!* Had they not been laid transparently before you? Turn back to page 6 of your own report, and read the top sentence. The waiver was drawn, signed, and presented as an absolute necessity, or not one step could have been taken in the premises. Designed for effect? It was the simple presentation of Mrs. Washburn's known legal right, by which, and by that alone, she could produce or offer any reason to the legatees for her proposals. She tells us that she is unwilling to use that power, and that if we will unite with her in a mutual Christian effort, she does not mean to use it, but if not, it is still in her hands. It was absolutely necessary for her to keep it in her own hands up to the last moment, and then, if any of the Societies refused their concurrence, she could still throw herself upon the legal remedy, if after every effort had been tried, she should feel constrained so to do.

And now that, notwithstanding the widow has not entered her waiver, nor claimed her legal rights, because, as she informed you at the outset, her repugnance to the breaking of the will of her husband was unconquerable, and she would rather incur the risk of injury and injustice, you confront her with the assertion that all the proceedings in relation to the waiver seem to have been designed for effect. Mrs. Washburn says to the Board of Managers, Gentlemen, I have not assumed or prosecuted my legal rights; and it is now too late to avail myself of the suggestion of your Committee that I should do it. But I throw myself and the Home upon your Christian equity.

The Committee answer her appeal: Gentlemen, this widow has not entered her waiver and taken her legal rights, which we suggested she might do. She has, therefore, no claims upon our equity, for all her proceedings in relation to the waiver, seem to have been designed for effect on the residuary legatees.

The only new fact discovered therefore by the Committee, "which should lead the Board to modify or change the action recently had in reference to the legacy," is this, namely, that Mrs. Washburn really has not entered her waiver, but is wholly in the power of this Society; and the only new *principle* suggested is this, namely, that therefore she is not entitled to Christian equity; and the reason given is the false statement, made in a bad sense, made with the insinuation of the use of deceit on the part of the widow, that "all her proceedings in relation to the waiver seem to have been designed for effect on the residuary legatees."

FALSE STATEMENTS.

The statements by which the Committee attempt to give a coloring of truth to this charge are false statements, as we now proceed to show, and we ask the patient attention of the Board, because this preliminary clearing of the way is made absolutely necessary to an impartial consideration of the argument for the rights of the widow and the Home.

The statements of the Committee are not true. On page 7 of their printed Report they affirm :

"That the printed petition *professes* to give a copy of the waiver in the following words"; and then the Report copies the waiver as if taken from the petition itself. The allegation is, that Mrs. Washburn, in her printed petition, professes to give, &c.

Now, could it be believed by any person who had seen and read the printed petition, that the paper not only does not *profess* to give, but does *not* give any copy of the waiver, not one word of it? Nor was it proper that it should. In the appendix the waiver is *printed exactly as it was filed*, along with other documents illustrating transparently its history and purpose.

But in the Report of the Committee, on page 7, a letter from Mr. Cheever to Mr. Fisher, of Aug. 2, 1869, is printed, notifying Mr. Fisher that Mrs. Washburn's "*legal waiver*" had been entered that day, and quoting the language of Mrs. Washburn in regard to that waiver, *after the close of that waiver*, as follows: "The *foregoing waiver* is made solely to procure such a disposition of his property as my husband is known to have made, or to have intended to make, by his real last will and testament. In this purpose I have been confirmed by the written joint request of all the individual legatees of my husband's will, and of all his own immediate kindred, and by the concurrent advice of judicious friends and counsellors."

Now, no lawyer could possibly mistake this quotation as being a part of the waiver, or as being intended as any statement of any part of it, it being entirely separate from it, and distinctly referring to the waiver itself as going before.

The quotation, though not a part of the legal waiver, was printed in the appendix to Mrs. Washburn's printed petition.

There are NO TWO STATEMENTS (as affirmed by the Committee of the contents of the waiver in Mrs. Washburn's petition and in Mr. Cheever's letter.

Yet the Committee say, (page 8) "A want of correspondence between THESE TWO STATEMENTS OF ITS CONTENTS is noticeable; the passage given by the letter of August 2d not being contained in the petition."

There never were any two statements, and any intimation of there having been made is false. Neither the waiver itself, nor any statement of its contents, was in the petition; nor was the passage given by the letter of Aug. 2d, quoted from the waiver, or contained in it, or pretended or proposed to be contained in it; nor was there any reference in the petition either to the contents of the waiver, or to the passage given by the letter, nor any mention of them, or reference to them.

OBJECT OF THESE FALSE STATEMENTS.

Now, what shall be said of such gross carelessness or misrepresentations? Especially when the object is transparently that of casting doubt on the good faith and sincerity of Mrs. Washburn and her agent? And this is done, or attempted, by a statement absolutely without foundation. If the falsehood of the statement is owing to carelessness, it is relieved indeed of the intention, but establishes "some doubt" whether the Report of this Committee is fit or worthy to be used as "a guide for the conduct of this Society."

There can only this be said, that *the petition of the widow was not read in the hearing of this Board*, and the gentlemen of the Committee could not possibly have read it, or they never would have put their names to the assertion that the printed petition professed to give a copy of the waiver, and that this was not a true copy, and that a passage given in a letter in regard to it was not contained in it.

But this is not all. After these statements, singularly inaccurate, to say the least, if they were to form a basis for a great and im-

portant verdict by this Court, the Report of the Committee continues, and says that "The letter of August, just quoted, declares that the waiver had been filed on that day." And the Committee then say, that "The petition would give the impression that the waiver never was filed." The allegation is, that Mrs. Washburn would give that impression.

This is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. The petition does not mention the waiver, nor quote from it, nor refer to it, nor give, nor seek to give, any impression with regard to it, nor whether it was ever filed or not filed.

Yet the Committee affirm, on page 8, of their Report, that *the petition says*, on page 16, "the following waiver was proposed," and on page 11, it says, "that remedy, in her case, is now impossible."

Now, the petition is not found on page 16, nor on page 15 of the printed pamphlet, nor any portion of the petition, nor any reference to it, nor any of the words in it, much less the words quoted by the Committee from it, and affirmed to be in it. They are not in it, nor is the waiver referred to by it, except in the following passage, on page 4, concerning a date, namely, that "On the 31st of July, two days before the expiration of the six months allowed by the law for the entering of the Widow's waiver, the Legacy Committee of the Bible Society refused their assent to the proposed settlement," and in the following passage, occasioned by the language of the Committee, namely, "The Committee show, by their suggestion to the widow, of her legal right to break the will, by taking one half the whole estate, that there is no objection in their minds, if that were done according to law. Your petitioner, anxious to avoid that step, and yet desiring to secure the complete and equitable fulfillment of the intentions of her husband, appealed to those endowed by his benevolence, with the right of securing such execution, *in order that she might not be compelled to resort to the legal remedy. That remedy, in her case, is now impossible*; and your petitioner prays for the kindness of a Christian Court, well knowing that a Court, in law, may press the letter against the real known intention; but a Christian Society may do in equity, and as a Christian charity and duty, what a Court, in law, might legally refuse. Can there be any objection against enabling your petitioner to do in equity, what in effect the Committee have counselled her to do in law?"

After this, the Committee, continuing their effort to produce an impression of double dealing (just as if this were some new fact or principle in said Petition to justify their refusal of it), proceed to give a history of their painful investigations and success in ferreting out this iniquity.

Mr. Cheever informed them, August 2, that the waiver had been filed, and they say that he informed them also, by oral communications, and that he told them "that Mrs. Washburn did not desire to proceed by waiver, but had filed it provisionally."

Her very first proposals to all the Societies informed them that she desired not to be compelled to make use of it, and that it was proposed solely to procure the consent of the legatees to the speedy settlement of the estate.

All this at, or about, the date of August 2. The Committee say that they caused enquiry to be made at the office of the Clerk of Probate, and received in return an official certificate from that officer, under seal, declaring that no such waiver had been filed; of which certificate a copy is annexed to their Report. The date of that certificate was the 25th of February, and on the afternoon of the 1st of March, the Chairman of the Committee drew that certificate from his pocket, received, he said, by him that very morning, and stated it to the Board. He was then and there informed by me, and by a letter from Mrs. Washburn's agent, of the fact that the waiver was entered and filed, and had been withdrawn, only at the peremptory command of Mrs. Washburn.

To this, doubtless, the Committee refer when they go on to say, in their Report, on page 8, that, "*it being still asserted* that the waiver had been entered *in some form*, the Committee further investigated the matter."

"It being *still asserted* that a waiver had been entered *in some form*." Here we have a direct insinuation that Mrs. Washburn and her agent, wishing to produce the impression that her legal waiver was really entered, had got up a simulated form of a *waiver*, and had passed that into the Court of Probate, the real waiver all the time being withheld, and not at all entered. Christian gentlemen have not scrupled to put their names to this insinuation of a falsehood and forgery.

But that is not all. It is insinuated that I, also, here in this Board, had adopted this forgery, and attempted to confirm it by still asserting that the waiver *had been entered in some form*, "in

consequence of which assertion the Committee have still further investigated the matter, and *as they now learn*, a waiver in some form was signed by Mrs. Washburn, and was carried by Mr. Cheever about July 28, 1869, to the office of the Probate Clerk to be entered."

Now, Mr. President, I informed this Committee a month ago, in presence of this Board, that *the* waiver, Mrs. Washburn's waiver, the *legal* waiver, and the only waiver, and not some form of a *waiver*, had been signed and filed. And I call upon this Committee to withdraw their charge, for it is unbecoming the character of gentlemen and christians. I repeat to the Board that I did not assert that *a waiver had been entered in some form*. The insinuation in regard to myself, as well as Mrs. Washburn and her agent, is absolutely false, and without any foundation on which the Committee can be excused for even the suspicion of it. The putting it in print and bringing it as a grave charge of a new fact, a discovery made for the information of this Board, is a procedure utterly unjustifiable and unchristian. As a minister of Christ, and a Life Director in the Bible Society, I have a right to demand an apology for it, and its withdrawal as false.

A waiver in some form! Why, sir, the waiver signed and entered was absolutely and precisely that, with which the Legacy Committee of this Society, unless they had been culpably neglectful of their trust, were perfectly familiar; that which had been sent to *them*, as to all the Legatees, with this declaration, namely, "Whereas, Mrs. E. B. C. Washburn, widow of the Testator, has declared her purpose, for reasons given in a document, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, to file her waiver of the provisions made for herself in said will," therefore, &c.

A waiver in some form! Why, sir, the waiver is produced, under seal of the Probate Court, *as it was filed*, and it is exactly and precisely the same, word for word, as that which was signed by Mrs. Washburn, July first, in preparation for filing, should it be found necessary, and to be presented to all the legatees; exactly and precisely the same waiver, the only waiver that has ever been seen or copied, or referred to, or imagined, unless in the brains of the Legacy Committee; exactly and precisely, nothing belonging to it, or ever pretended to have been in it, which was not there, and nothing taken from it or omitted, and nothing in it altered one hair's breadth, and no description ever given of it, or of its contents, anywhere, unless it has been misrepresented here in this Board, in any two

accounts of it containing any discrepancy. No statement has ever been made of its contents, which was not absolutely true to the letter. Nor have the Committee ever received, or seen, or heard, or known, any such statement, either from Mrs. Washburn, or her agent, or myself, or any of the Administrators, or, I will venture to add, any of those persons, to whom the agents of the Legacy Committee may have been sent for information.

And yet the Committee go on to say, "Owing to the discrepancy between the two accounts of the contents of the waiver, the Committee desired to have a view of the original document." There are no two accounts, and never have been, nor have the Committee received any two accounts, nor is there any conflict of evidence. But the Committee as vigilant and accurate inquisitors, and knowing well the importance of legal accuracy, desired to have a view of the original document, and sent an agent to Worcester, or an application; but the original document was in my hands, and as I would not relinquish it out of my possession, they have described it in their Report, having sent a lawyer to copy it, in my house, and are constrained to say that "on the back of the same leaf there is a writing which corresponds with what was given in Mr. Cheever's letter of August 2d," in which he stated to Mr. Fisher, the language of Mrs. Washburn *at the close of her waiver*, which he had that day entered. *It corresponds*; and the Committee add the sagacious remark, that "*it does not constitute a part of the waiver*," as though some person had asserted that it did. "On the outer leaf of the paper," the Committee say, "there remains the Clerk's marking, put on when it was filed, thus: "Ichabod Washburn, Widow's Waiver filed August 2, 1869."

The Committee desired to have a view of the original document. I here hold it up to their vision, and hope they are all present to behold it; for their painful labor ought to be rewarded. I open it to the inspection of all the members of this Board, that they may look upon it for themselves; this original document, which the Committee have accused this widow and her agent of simulating and falsely describing; this original document, for the inspection of which a lawyer was sent to Worcester to the house of Mrs. Washburn, and then to my house in the city of New York. I wish you to see that the description of it by the lawyer is correct, and the spectacle of the original document fully accomplished.

Now, what of all this? After all the painful sagacity with which the Committee have been laboring to discover whether the waiver of the widow was ever entered, they come to the conclusion on page 8 of their Report,—First, that it must have been signed and carried to be entered *in some form*. Second, on page 9, that the waiver, *as contained in the petition*, the waiver *in that very form*, as in the petition, is signed.

Just as if the waiver had been in the petition at all! It would seem as if the Committee could not stir a step in this attempt to involve Mrs. Washburn and her agent in the prejudice of a charge of insincere dealing, without themselves falling into fresh misstatements. For this statement of the waiver as being contained in the petition, is the renewal of such a misstatement.

But third, they come to the conclusion on page 10 of their Report that the waiver is not only signed, and filed, but endorsed by the Clerk of the Court, as filed.

But the Committee have not done yet. They say, on page 8, it was signed by Mrs. W. and carried by Mr. Cheever to be entered, *about* July 29. On page 10, they say it was signed July 1, and offered about July 30, and offered again and filed Aug. 2d. About July 29, and about July 30, is so very near to Aug. 2, that the keenest lawyer, if life depended on the argument, could make nothing of such a loose averment. The Committee have gained their whole accurate and honest information only from Mrs. Washburn and her agent, and the documents furnished by them; and all that they have accomplished by their applications at the Courts or at my house, is simply the confirmation of those statements.

A few words of enquiry, offered without the appearance of a suspicion of our integrity, would have explained any apparent discrepancy. In regard to the circumstance of the waiver not being entered earlier, Mr. Cheever says: "I was informed, at the law office of Mr. Bacon, that the probating of the will dated from the February term of the Probate Court, which was the 2d of February, and that the six months for the waiver would therefore expire on the 2d of August. In a letter to Mr. Fisher, I informed him that the time for the waiver would expire on that day, and I wished him to telegraph me, on Saturday the 31st, the decision of the Legacy Committee that day. This he did not do, but wrote me a letter, which I received on Monday the 2d of August. I forthwith went to the Register of Probate's office with Mrs. Washburn's waiver, which I

had in my hands, and lodged it with him, and he labelled, dated, and filed it; but then said that the will was probated at the January instead of the February term of the Court, which was to me a surprise. I left the waiver with the Register, and carried Mr. Fisher's letter to Mrs. Washburn, apprising her of the refusal of the Legacy Committee to accede to her proposals, informing her also that the waiver had been lodged with the Court."

Mr. Cheever then wrote to Mr. Fisher, asking a reconsideration of the decision of the Committee, and requesting a hearing before the Committee, stating at the same time that he had acted upon the necessity of entering the waiver, the time for which expired that day.

He had done this, as Mrs. Washburn's agent, and he hoped she would acquiesce; but she refused, because from the beginning she had never intended to break the will of her husband, and had only been willing to sign a proposed waiver, which she did sign, and which was laid before the several residuary legatees in her handwriting, as the foundation of their action. Under peremptory orders therefore from Mrs. Washburn, Mr. Cheever was compelled to go to the Register and withdraw the waiver. Its withdrawal accounts for Mr. Tracy's not being able to procure a copy from the records of the Court. Mrs. Washburn having always been determined not to proceed to the extremity of the law, however much she might be wronged or might suffer, could not conscientiously let the waiver remain on file as an accomplished fact. She was entreated and expostulated with, but in vain. But if, when the document arrived, December 12, from the Legacy Committee containing such astounding claims on the part of the Bible Society to the endowments for the Home and Hospital, the legal remedy of the waiver had still been in her power, she would have been constrained to protect the estate from such spoliation by means of it.

The Committee aver, that the clerk of the Court declined at first to enter the waiver, but on the presentation of it again by Mr. Cheever, received it, and placed it on file. Beyond question the Judge of Probate would have allowed it as valid, in consequence of the misleading information received by Mrs. Washburn's agent as to the time of the requisite six months. The Committee say, that the clerk called it a piece of waste paper, and permitted Mrs. Washburn's agent to withdraw it at her request. But assistant clerks are not Judges, and the required legal document was legally on file. The anxiety of Mrs. Washburn to have it withdrawn while it was still

within her power, proves that she believed its filing to be valid, and that, if not withdrawn, it would bind her irrevocably to the breaking of her husband's will.

Unquestionably the Legacy Committee have the right to pursue their investigations in their own way. But nothing in Mr. Washburn's will, nor in their rights or responsibilities as Trustees for the Bible Society in the matter of legacies, gives them authority to attempt to produce the impression that Mrs. Washburn or her agents have not acted with the legatees in good faith. There is such an attempt, and it is dishonorable and insulting.

Even if some discrepancy had happened that could not be explained, (a thing which would not have been wonderful in the course of eight months correspondence, a personal discussion with the Committee having been refused) even then, what would such discrepancy, except it were a conflict of evidence as to the intentions of the testator, or the reality of his bequests, have to do with the issue, or how could the Committee be justified in putting that in print? Is that a part of the information they were appointed to give? Is that a new fact for the Society to act upon? Show its connection in any way with the argument. Does it go to prove that there was no new will, or that Mr. Washburn did not intend in and by his will to convey \$25,000 to the Home and the Widow, on his decease, or that he did intend that the Bible Society should assume that endowment as belonging to them by virtue of his appointing them among the residuary legatees?

The Committee have sent their agents to his house and family to glean information, not in favor of her cause, but, as the event has proved, to be used against her, and with that intent. There is not the remotest beginning of justice in this procedure. It was not an inquisition pursued for the purposes of equity, but to support the special pleading of the Committee against equity, that law might stand in the place of equity and shut it out, and that the refusal of Mrs. Washburn's proposals, and of the equity implored in them, might be confirmed by the Board.

The Committee add to all this, on page 9, the following false assertion, namely, that "Mr. Cheever in a recent interview with an agent of this Committee, said that the waiver was produced by him only for the purpose of bringing this Society to terms."

This is absolutely false. Mr. Cheever positively testifies that he did never say that the waiver was produced by him only for the

purpose of bringing this Society to terms. I could have testified as much myself, knowing that the waiver was procured and presented to all the residuary legatees for their use, not to bring any of them to terms, but to afford them the basis of a proposed equitable and beneficial settlement.

The name of this agent of the Committee is not given. It stands as an anonymous slander. And what can be said of the presentation of a slanderous affirmed hearsay to this Board by their Committee, (charged to discover new facts and principles,) as a *serious argument*, a piece of *actual evidence*, to influence the decision of a body of Christian men, against the appeal before them for equity and justice?

The Committee present to this Board as positive evidence the assertion "that Mr. C. said," &c. They do not *state* it as *hearsay*, but it is *adopted* by the Committee, and *stated by them as truth*, and put in as *evidence* in a great and important case of equity, though they could not have been permitted to recount it, or even refer to it, in any court in Christendom, in a case involving so much as the value of twenty shillings.

The Bible gives us as characteristic of a good man, "he that speaketh the truth, and taketh not up a reproach against his neighbor;" and it says that "he that *uttereth* a slander is a fool." A slanderer is described by Bishop Taylor as "one who lays false imputations on another." The *utterer*, as in the case of false money, is as guilty as the author; in the instance rebuked by the Apostle Paul, "as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say; whose damnation is just." It was a case of such hearsay reported by Ziba against Mephiboseth, "He hath slandered thy servant unto my lord the king."

By the printing of this Report we have given the implied sanction of the Bible Society to innuendoes and insinuations against the veracity of the widow and her agent, alike dishonorable to ourselves in the attempt, and to her if we had succeeded. We could not know what might be inserted in this Report. And now, suppose there had been the appearance of a grave discrepancy, of which there could be produced no possible explanation; a thing which would not have been incredible after more than eight months delay and entanglement of this case in the hands of the Committee? Suppose the legal waiver, with the record of the Register upon it as having been filed, had been lost in passing from hand to hand, and that to-day I had

not been able to produce it; but the affidavit of the Clerk obtained by the agent of your Committee, denying that any such waiver had ever been filed, stood printed in their Report? It is not because of any magnanimity, or generosity, or justice, or forbearance, on our part, that the innuendoes have failed of this result.

And now, again I ask, what has this whole peculiar investigation in regard to the waiver of the widow to do with this case? Whether Mrs. Washburn entered it at once, or kept it back to the last moment, whether she entered it at all, whether she meant to enter it, are all questions that have nothing to do with our residuary rights, nor with the settlement of Mr. Washburn's estate according to his intentions. It is a province of investigation into which we have intruded as if some Tombs' lawyer were hunting up a case. The whole question of her intentions or method with her waiver was one with which we really had nothing to do. It was purely a matter of her own pleasure to tell you at all that she did this only to gain a settlement, or that she was averse to doing it. Only this remains, that if, when you said to her, The estate is large; take it, and settle it by your waiver, you knew that the time had past for that remedy, you felt that you were safe, and that you could say this without any danger of her acting upon it. You could make a jest of this offer, and still your residuary would be whole.

The Committee say on page 6 that the time expired for the filing of the waiver July 12th. Their suggestion to Mrs. Washburn was made in December, nearly six months after that legal remedy, according to their showing, was no longer in her power.

POSITION OF THE WIDOW. UNFAIR STATEMENT OF IT BY THE
COMMITTEE. THEIR SUPPRESSIO VERI.

The Widow of Mr. Washburn is not here for herself or others to ask or to claim aught that belongs to the Bible Society, nor as petitioning that Society to grant what does not belong to herself and the Home, and the other charities involved in this case. She is here with her protestation against a procedure of injury and injustice. She is here in behalf of the causes of benevolence to which her husband's estate has been consecrated, to secure its application to a larger benevolence than the law could possibly accomplish, and to protect it from being wasted or sacrificed in unnecessary litigation. She is here through her plea, with whatever evidence is presented on her part, as being intimately acquainted with the benevolent in-

tentions of her husband, accustomed for years to unite with him in his charitable plans, and in their execution ; they together deriving the highest happiness of their life from the consecration of his estate daily to human charities and to Christ. She is here with some claim to a courteous and respectful hearing, because it is the very benevolence of her husband towards this Society, and her own desire to carry out most completely the intentions of her husband, and to preserve the fruits of that benevolence intact, which brings her here.

This solemn and conscientious averment of the Widow is directly and deliberately denied by the Committee in their printed report. They say on page 19, " The present application or appeal is presented and moved wholly in the interest of Mrs. Washburn, the Widow of the testator, and the Committee cannot discover that any charitable object whatever is interested in the appeal."

This is both injurious and false. Whether it were by intentional concealment or want of due knowledge, the consequence remains the same. But it is impossible to have been for want of knowledge, as I now show. There is a careful omission in this report of all mention of the legacy by Mr. Washburn of 125 shares in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works to the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, conjointly with the same amount to the Widow. On page 4 there is mentioned among the provisions for her, \$12,500 of the capital stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works at par, as though she alone were concerned in that legacy. But the fact that this endowment was of \$25,000 in that stock, half to herself and half to the Home, is not mentioned, nor is it once alluded to in this whole statement of facts, which nevertheless is the fruit of eight months investigation by the Committee.

Now, this fact is one of the most material facts in the whole case, and the Committee could not but be aware of it. It lies at the very foundation of the Widow's appeal, for she says in the opening of her argument that " in case the Bible Society refuse to co-operate in this decision, the Widow and Home for Aged Females jointly, will be deprived of their legacy to the amount of \$25,000, and the widow will be without the power of fulfilling her agreement to purchase the reversionary right to the homestead which she now occupies, and which she has agreed to purchase of the Home for Aged Females, as soon as the stock bequeathed is put in her possession, she not doubting at the time this agreement was made on her

part, that possession of said stock would be duly given her, according to the written intentions of her husband in both wills."

It is the grand justifying fact, together with that of the Hospital endowment, for the interposition of her appeal from the decision of the Committee, and it is the fact absolutely compelling the interposition of the Bible Society to save the Home, created and endowed by Mr. Washburn, from a legal robbery of its property. And it is the grand fact on which this case must go to the Annual Meeting of the Bible Society and to the world for their verdict.

Now, if this fact were unknown, or forgotten, or unnoticed, it vitiates the whole report, just as completely as the omission of an item of \$25,000 in the adding up a column of figures, vitiates the whole presented account. If concealed, though known, it falsifies it, and converts it into an intentional deception. The Committee say that they cannot discover that any charitable object whatever is interested in the appeal. But did they not know, or had they not discovered, that the Home for Aged and Indigent Females was interested? Or had they pronounced that as being no charitable object at all? Or were they ignorant of its endowment by Mr. Washburn with \$12,500 worth of stock in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works? And did they not know that their own denial of Mr. Washburn's intentions in that endowment, was the very injustice against which the Widow appeals, as involving a destructive fraud upon the charity that her husband beyond all possibility of question intended to endow, and did endow?

Yet they aver that no charitable object whatever is interested in the appeal. By the very items that were asked in that appeal, and the very proposals resisted one by one by the Committee, it is demonstrated to have been "presented and moved" in the interest of the Home, the Hospital, the Widow Oxnard, the Gardener, the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, and the securing of the income of the Tempering Patents for benevolent objects. Will the Committee argue before this Board that neither of these objects, in behalf of every one of which Mrs. Washburn is appealing, is a charitable object? For what then are they themselves appealing or arguing? Is the Bible Society a charitable object, and not the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society? Does the fiduciary trust of this Society set them at inevitable enmity against every other Society that might be benefited by Mr. Washburn's intentions? The interest of Mrs. Washburn is not the only interest in this matter; if it had been, she never would have attempted a settlement by means of her legal power.

SOCIETIES FAVORABLY AFFECTED.

But the Committee also say, page 19, that they "do not perceive that any of the Societies or charities mentioned in the Will and codicils, or the draft of the Will, would be favorably affected in any material manner, by either of the propositions made on the part of Mrs. Washburn." But is not the Home for Aged and Indigent Females favorably affected? Do they not know that it would be unfavorably affected by taking away \$12,500 of its endowment, and would it not be favorably affected by granting and confirming the same amount? If the Bible Society had been endowed to that amount, and an appeal had been made in its behalf to that amount, would not that Society be favorably affected in any material manner by the proposal to confirm that endowment? Or again, is not the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society favorably affected? Or again, is not the legacy bequeathed to the gardener favorably affected?

The Committee know, and cannot but know, that the proposition of Mrs. Washburn is explicitly and positively in behalf of the Home and Hospital, to have the stock endowment bequeathed for them established and paid, and not withheld and nullified. They know this as well as Mrs. Washburn knew it, when presenting her appeal, and they cannot help knowing it. They do not know more certainly that the Bible Society, or any other Society or charity is mentioned at all in the Will or Codicils. They do not more certainly know that there is a Will and an estate to be administered. The affecting of these Societies and charities by the proposals of Mrs. Washburn is as plain and palpable as the existence of these Societies themselves. And it is equally plain and palpable that Mrs. Washburn's proposals and appeal are in their behalf. It is impossible to have read those proposals and her petition without knowing this.

APPLICATION OF THE HOME FOR JUSTICE.

But again the Committee aver, page 19, that "none of those institutions have applied to this Society on the subject." Here again is a statement absolutely false; and if the Committee admit the force of the legal maxim, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*, they must know that the Society of the Home for Aged and Indigent Females *have applied* to this Society. The authentication of their appointment of myself to plead their case, defend their rights, and to ask that justice be done them by this Society, is on file among your records, and the Committee know it, for it was read in their

presence and presented to your Secretary. And their very argument shows that they were also fully aware that that charity would be very unfavorably affected by their action, and very favorably by the proposals of Mrs. Washburn, else how should they imagine such a possibility as that of such an institution applying to this Society? Why should it? They well know that it must, if it were really true that this Society is undertaking to despoil that Society of its endowment, and if that institution had not applied to this Society for justice, it might have been a strong implication that no injustice was intended, and it would have acted to the prejudice of the appeal of Mrs. Washburn. And now the Committee deliberately endeavor to produce that very prejudice by asserting that "none of those institutions have applied to the Society on the subject."

The application is on file, but possibly the Committee may deem it necessary to send to Worcester to take the affidavit of President Washburn that such an application was ever made out. I desire them to do so, and thus complete the course of inquisition adopted concerning the waiver by the Widow: for my word and the documents I present are no better, no more worthy of confidence, than those of Mrs. Washburn or her agent, nor those of Gov. Washburn or his kinsman.

But the Committee say, "It is wholly in the interest of the Widow, nor can they discover that any charitable object whatever is interested in the appeal." Does that lessen its sacredness? Does that give you a *carte blanche* of denial of her appeal by the Bible Society? Has God himself, in the Bible, anywhere excepted the cause of the Widow from the catalogue of charitable objects, worthy the kind and courteous attention of Christians? Is the cause of the Widow excluded because it is the cause of the Widow? This is the argument that it is only the Widow that is concerned, that it is only the Widow that presents this appeal, only a Widow seeking that which is her right, and therefore her sacredness of regard to the intentions of her husband is to be despised.

Surely this is not Christian morality. If it were ten times only the Widow, that could, righteously, only be regarded, according to the teachings of the Word of God, as an argument for granting her petition, if the things which she asks being not in themselves unjust, we could find any just cause for doing it. And if we are a righteous Court, according to the Word of God, our effort must be, not to contrive reasons for justifying us in not doing it, but to discover if there may not be some possible just reason for doing it.

SUPPRESSIO VERI.

The Committee have endeavored to produce the belief that Mrs. Washburn's proposals are only in her own interest. To this effect the mention of the Home as being in her appeal is avoided, and the erroneous assertions on page 19 are presented, every one of them adapted to prejudice most painfully and injuriously the Widow's appeal.

I press this point. There is a manifest *suppressio veri* in the Report of the Committee. It is apparently deliberate, for just one-half the truth is there, and the other half is suppressed, which would have given an entirely different coloring to the whole. The description by the Committee of the endowment in behalf of the Widow, leaving out that in behalf of the Home, stops and suppresses just there, where the omission would set her cause in an unfavorable aspect, and deprive her of the benefit of the fact that her plea before this Board is a plea presented and intended in behalf of the rights of others, as of her own. It is stated by the Committee that \$12,500 of the stock bequeathed in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works were for Mrs. Washburn; but it is suppressed that \$12,500 were bequeathed to the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, conjointly with herself, making their interest her's, and her interest their's, and constraining her to present this appeal to the Board in their behalf as much as in her own; unless she was willing by her silence and consent, that the Committee should rob the Home as well as herself of this endowment, by claiming it for the residuary legacy of the Bible Society. Now, how can this *suppressio veri* be accounted for or justified?

I press this point, and the fact is fatal and decisive; for nowhere in this Report is it intimated that any other person or any other charity, excepting only the widow and her legacy, is interested in this stock, or is to be benefited by a judgment in its favor, or injured by a judgment against it, or by making it a nullity in the will. On the contrary, it is explicitly denied that any of the Societies or charities mentioned in the Will or codicils, or the draft of a will, would be favorably affected by Mrs. Washburn's proposals. This assertion could not even have been made by the Committee, unless by suppressing the main and material fact of the endowment of the Home, conjointly with Mrs. Washburn, by \$25,000 in the stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works. The assertion, therefore, coming after the suppression, shows the suppression to have been careful and deliberate.

Now, in spite of this suppression of information concerning the legacy of \$12,500 in Wire Work stock to the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, in whose behalf and for whose defence and protection in that endowment I stand here to-day appointed to plead, it is manifest that Mrs. Washburn has been constrained to occupy her present position by the necessity of defending the interests of others. Besides the Home, whose security, according to Mr. Washburn's intentions, now depends on her plea, there is the preservation of the income from the temporary patents to be preserved for that consecration to charitable purposes for which Mr. Washburn had devoted them, there is the legacy to the gardener, and there is the home of the Widow Oxnard to be protected by this effort.

I cannot conceive what the Committee can gain for the Bible Society or the cause of justice or benevolence in any way, by denying to her the reality of this, her position, or of the duties it imposes on her. Take the case of Mrs. Oxnard, with the positive evidence of the Widow that the house in Portland, named on page 12, belongs to her by the intention of Mr. Washburn. Mrs. Washburn claims and defends that gift of her husband as a righteous and benevolent endowment.

CASE OF MRS. OXNARD.

Mr. Washburn had expressed his intentions to give the house in Portland to his niece, Mrs. Oxnard, several months before his decease; and in October, he sent a message to her, urging her coming to Worcester, to see him, "when he would make her happy;" meaning to convey the property to her himself. The sickness of her children prevented her leaving home. The house is occupied by the widow of Mr. Washburn's uncle, Bradford, an old lady of eighty-five years. Mr. Washburn purchased the house many years since, to provide a home for his uncle, who died three years ago. Mrs. Oxnard has had the care of these aged relatives, and Mr. Washburn was gratified with her sympathy, and constantly contributed to their support. He often said to his wife that he meant to give Sarah Oxnard that house, and now Mrs. Washburn knows that it sacredly belongs to her in good faith and of right, by the intentions of her husband. Furthermore, Mr. Charles Washburn, the brother of the Testator, has had, accordingly, a quit-claim deed drawn for Mrs. Oxnard, signed by himself, by Mrs. Warren, the sister of the Testator, and by Mrs. Washburn herself. That deed

is now registered in Portland, and Mrs. Oxnard has the deed in her own hands. Will the Bible Society now attempt to take it from her by their claim of residuary legacy? This is what is proposed by the Committee, and they may probably throw a law suit on the hands of the Bible Society in doing it.

Let us beware how we came within the sweep of that notable passage in the New Testament, concerning those "who devour widows' houses."

WASHBURN AND MOEN WIRE WORKS AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY THE SAME STOCK.

On page 18 of this Report, the Committee show that by both wills 750 shares of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, or the same number of shares of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, were intended by the Testator to amount to one hundred thousand dollars at the end of five years. By their own showing then, the Wire Works' shares possess the same real value as those of the Manufacturing Company, and must be paid out of the estate, as Mr. Washburn intended, because of a special guarantee that if from any cause they failed to amount, in five years, to 100,000 dollars, the deficiency should be made up from the estate, to be reserved for that purpose. This is absolute demonstration as to the identity of the two stocks. And the Committee add, "The Hospital, therefore, is in no danger."

When the Committee sent their agent to Worcester with a claim in behalf of the Bible Society, amounting to about 100,000 dollars, as the Attorney stated, was the Hospital in no danger? Did they not then believe that their denial of the identity of the two stocks would sweep the endowment for the hospital into the residuary legacy of the Bible Society? If now the hospital is in no danger, why is the endowment of the Home and the Widow in danger? Because, there being no guarantee of five years for that, but it having been intended to be paid immediately, the Committee could fasten the grip of their residuary legacy upon that, and forbid its being considered an actual property, such as they are compelled to allow in the case of the endowment for the hospital.

But it is in danger, for any decision against the stock bequeathed will be against the Hospital as well as the Home, admitting a law suit for the Hospital as well as the Home, in which case, if the Bible Society compel these charities to go to law, and the construction

is adverse, \$100,000 in the I. W. & Moen Wire Works' stock would be worth, at best, only about \$2,000, and more certainly nothing at all. In that case, not only all the residuary legacy would be consumed, but probably the special legacies themselves, to make up the deficiency, and pay the enormous expenses of delay and litigation for more than five years. This hazard is a legal certainty.

On the other hand, if the Hospital was not in danger, yet, according to the argument of the Committee, it ought to be. For if Mr. Washburn did not intend this stock as a real endowment in the case of the Home, he did not in that of the Hospital. And if your legal duty and your obligations to Christ require you to wrest it from the Home, so also from the Hospital. You are as sacredly bound to interpose your residuary claim against the one as the other. For if the testator did not intend the one, he did not the other. And if he did not intend either, we have no right to permit either to be paid.

TESTIMONY OF GOV. WASHBURN.

On page 16, of this Report, the Committee give the testimony of Governor Washburn, that when taking the instructions of the Testator, for his last will, he inquired what the present name of the I. W. and Moen Wire Works' Company was, and received for answer, that it was Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, and that name he inserted accordingly.

On page 18 the Committee admit, that the stock of I. W. & Moen Wire Works for the Hospital, were the same provision with that of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, and being guaranteed in the estate, they say, "The Hospital is no danger."

But on page 14, they say there is no foundation for believing the testator in the mention, in 1867, of stock of the I. W. & Moen Wire Works, intended to refer to stock as the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, in 1868. This is extremely artful. The Committee do not deny the identity of the two stocks, but the latter Company not being in existence when Mr. Washburn founded the Home and Hospital in his will, in 1867, the Committee can well affirm that he did not intend to refer to the stock of the W. & M. Manufacturing Company. He could not possibly, unless he had been insane, or was deliberately planning and executing a fraudulent document, have referred to it, or intended it, when he said "I. W. and Moen Wire Works." Neither could this Committee, unless they also were insane, believe that he did.

Yet this affirmation of "no foundation," &c., leaves the impression of an argument against the identity of the two stocks, and if it was not intended to produce that impression, why is this affirmation made? The Chairman of the Committee, in an interview with Mrs. Washburn's agent, stated his own opinion that the stocks were identical. In the case of the Hospital, the Committee now do not pretend that they are not identical. Why, then, is the acknowledgement of their identity refused? In order to take away the endowment of the Home and the Widow in that stock, and transfer it to the residuary legacy.

If we could suppose Mr. Washburn himself interrogating the Committee, might it not be with some such questions as these? "Do you believe that it was my intention to found a Memorial Hospital, and that I proved the sincerity of that intention by leaving 750 shares of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works Company for that purpose? And do you believe that, sincere in that endowment, I was playing the villain and the hypocrite with the gifts for the Widow and the Home? If, even in your own extorted confession, the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works' stock was my property for the Hospital, and intended at my death to come out of my estate, was not that same stock my property also in my endowments out of it for the Home and for my wife, and actually intended as theirs? Will you undertake to come in between my intentions and their execution, with the pretence that because I made you residuary legatees, therefore your claim to the stock given to the Home and Widow was first and principal, and that I intended that stock for you instead of them? If I had meant the Bible Society to have those endowments, should I not have mentioned the Bible Society as principal?"

POSITION OF THE LEGACY COMMITTEE IN THEIR FIRST DOCUMENT.

Here we must analyze the position of the Legacy Committee as given in their first document. The position, in their own words, is this, namely, "The Committee do not think this Society can properly consent that shares of the consolidated company are to be intended, when shares of one of the constituent companies are mentioned. The consolidated company has twice the capital and estate of the original company, and it was formed some time after the codicil was made. The Committee find no cause for believing that the Testator, in mentioning shares of stock in an existing company, meant or intended shares of stock in another company not then in existence."

This is a mere truism. In the first place, the consolidated company neither was nor could be intended nor mentioned, for it had no existence. The shares mentioned (of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works) were not shares of one of the constituent companies, nor were they mentioned as such, nor any such thing as a constituent company named, but shares of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, there being only that company, and no constituent companies, in existence; yet the Committee say that "shares of one of the constituent companies are mentioned." When and where are they mentioned? There is not a trace of it, nor any intimation of any constituent company.

Accordingly, in the next sentence, the phrase, *constituent company*, is dropped, and the Committee say, "The *consolidated company* has twice the capital and stock of *the original company*, and it was formed *some time after the codicil was made*."

Of course, then, *when* the codicil was made there was neither capital or company that could be referred to, except only the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works Company; not a constituent company, nor one of many, or few companies; but the original and only Company possible to be named, or property in it bequeathed.

Yet, in the next sentence it is added: "The Committee find no cause for believing that the Testator, in mentioning shares of stock in an existing Company," (in the first sentence described by the same Committee as "one of the constituent companies") "meant or intended shares of stock in another company, not then in existence."

In the first sentence, "one of the constituent companies of a consolidated company, not then constituted, nor in existence." In the second sentence, "*the original Company*, and no other company in existence; of course not a constituent company. In the third sentence, "*an existing Company*," apart and from outside of "*another Company not then in existence*."

The Committee aver that the testator in mentioning the Wire Works Company meant the stock in that Company, and none other. Of course, for none other existed. If the Committee should find cause for believing that the testator, in mentioning shares of stock in an existing Company, meant or intended shares of stock in another Company not then in existence, they must believe the testator either a fool or a villain, in either case incapable of devising a will.

The question is not, Was the testator capable of such folly? but was that existing stock in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works,

which he bequeathed as a real property, a part of his estate when he bequeathed it, and was it also a part of his estate, a real property in his estate when he died, or had it been annihilated? Were the bequests made out of it real bequests or only pretended or seeming? Were they intended in good faith by the testator? Did he intend them at his death, and was there a claim on his estate for them at his death in and by his will devising them to the widow, the Home, and the Hospital? Did the change in the name of the property annihilate the reality of the property or the intentions of the testator?

If Mr. Washburn, owning seven-eighths of the stock in a property called the Bible House, No. 130 Ninth street, in the city of New York, had bequeathed those seven-eighths to the American Bible Society under the designation of stock in the building, 130 Ninth street, and the corporation of the city, numbering the streets anew, had changed the designation of that property to No. 140 Eighth street, would the Committee be ready to aver that the testator, in his will, did not mean and intend 140 Eighth street, for that he could not be supposed, in mentioning property in an existing number, to have meant or intended property in another number not then existing? Or would they aver that because No. 140 had increased in value, therefore it could not be supposed that the bequeathment of it to the Bible Society could have been intended and meant by the testator?

ARGUMENT ON THE HOMESTEAD IN FEE-SIMPLE.

The Committee argue that the increase of Mrs. Washburn's portion by giving her the homestead, according to the will, would reduce the residuary portion of the Society to the same amount, and therefore that she ought not to receive it.

It was one of the intentions of her husband, made known in the draft will, that she should receive the homestead as her own in fee simple, out of the estate. Of course, to whatever amount it is inventoried, that the Committee assume to be an illegal diminution of their residuary legacy, say \$22,000. And they answer We cannot consent to that. That would largely increase the portion of the Widow, by executing the intentions of the testator instead of the letter of the law.

The Widow asks that we execute the intentions of the testator, and pronounce the stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works given to the Widow and Home a valid property. The

Committee answer that that would be merely to execute the will according to the intentions of the testator, and not according to law.

The Widow and the Home answer that this is the very equity for which they appeal; that you would do them *justice*, according to the intentions of the testator. The Committee answer that that would be to declare the validity of the stock, and that, and the other concessions by intention, would be to reduce the residuary legacies to nothing, and that result the Bible Society cannot permit; for our first legal duty is to keep the residuary legacy undiminished, which we cannot do if we carry out the intentions of the testator. The claim of the Bible Society is assumed to be more sacred than that of the Widow and Home, because it is legal, while that of the Widow and the Home is only equitable.

“It is a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me.” As the old Jews made the commandment of God in behalf of Father and mother of none effect by their tradition, so the Committee make the will of Mr. Washburn in behalf of the Widow and Homeless of none effect by the intrusion of their residuary legacy. They would nullify the just and certain claim of the Widow and the Home, by putting before it the indefinite residuary claim, which in no case was ever intended by Mr. Washburn to interfere with the joint and special claim, or to give any authority over it, but to come in only after it.

It thus becomes a fraud like those that have startled the community by the altering of certified checks. You have, for example, a draft for \$5,099. If you can put the 99 of odd residuum before the first figures, you will get \$9,950. So you transpose and put the residuary legacy before the special, to drive it out, to eject the rightful owner and take possession, because you say, if the owner's claim is allowed, yours is diminished. If 50 is allowed to stand before 99, it makes a difference against the residuary legacy of \$4,851, and perhaps (see page 14) reduces it to nothing.

In the book which we print with the funds of this Society, and for the printing of which we propose to take 25,000 dollars from the endowments for the Widow and Home, and to put that amount into our own treasury, in that book it is written, “If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall put in his beast, and shall feed in another man's field, of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.” You have put the stalled ox of our residuary legacy into the field

of the Home and the Widow in this estate, instead of restricting ourselves to that which the owner intended as ours, and by the law which we have taken as our guide, the creature can devour at leisure. It is an exasperation of the injury, that we profess to be constrained to it by "legal duty," and by a vigilant, jealous regard to our fiduciary obligations. "Whatever may come to this Society from the estate of its worthy and generous friend Ichabod Washburn, be it little or be it much, the Society will diligently dispose thereof in circulating the Holy Scriptures." The amount obtained by devouring Widows' houses, contrary to the Holy Scriptures, shall be devoted to the circulation of the same. We are faithful to our charter and the law. It must be acknowledged that the Committee have not even professed a single wish or desire to be able to relieve the Widow or the Home, or to save that Institution, if we could, from the fate to which their denial of its endowments consigns it, or to carry out the intentions of Mr. Washburn, as proved by his last draft will and testament.

EXTENT OF THE CLAIMS BY RESIDUARY LEGACY.

By the position of the Committee under the claim of being residuary legatees, we claim authority over the principal ; we not only intend to have what would come to us by law and right, after all the bequests and intentions previous of the testator are accomplished, but we mean to deprive those bequests of their funds, and put them in our own treasury. We disregard the intentions of the testator, and the proof of them, and claim the right and duty to refuse them on the ground of "*some doubt*" in regard to them, which possible doubt itself was grounded only on false dates, assumed instead of the true, as on page 11.

We do this under cover of a just and vigilant regard to our stewardship with the Bible. But is there nothing in the Word of God concerning a possible covetous use and vigilance of our residuary legacy, lest any portion of it come into possession of the Widow and the Homeless? "Thou shalt not gather the gleanings of thy harvest. Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger."

But our position is, Take every grape. Take all the gleanings, and put them all to our sheaves. Leave not one to be taken as a portion for the Widow. The grapes are all ours by gift of the

owner, and we are not at liberty to decline a gift which we pledge ourselves to use, be it less or more, in circulating Bibles. Our legal obligations and our fiduciary trust prevent us from consenting to this diversion of the funds of the Bible Society from their appointed use. We cannot consent to an application founded only on the intentions of the testator, which, by increasing the portion of his Widow and the Home, takes a value from the estate, (page 14) *before reaching the residuary legatees.*

The Report says, on page 14, that a consent to Mrs. Washburn's proposals "would take from the estate *the whole value of the patent rights* before reaching the residuary legatees;" whereas, they had before rejected those proposals on this very ground, that it would put that whole value immediately and entirely in keeping of the residuary legatees, and by Mrs. Washburn's own proposition, for their benefit; and they argued that it "was not the just policy of the Society to hold an investment in such property." How *could* they hold it, if taken from the estate before it reached them? And how can they possibly affirm that it takes from the estate a value, before reaching the legatees, which it explicitly asks may be held *in the estate for the residuary legatees themselves*, as a permanent value for years!

The principle running through all the reasoning of the Committee is this, that no equitable claim by the intentions of the Testator can be admitted, which increases the portion of the Widow, and therefore diminishes the portion of the Bible Society. If either must be diminished, let it be that of the Widow, for the claim of the Widow is only equity, while that of the Bible Society is Law, and inasmuch as the appeal of the Widow professes to be only for equity, the proper rule of conduct for the Bible Society is to give her only law.

CLAIM OF THE COMMITTEE TO THE ESTATE BEFORE THE RESIDUARY LEGACY.

If Mr. Washburn intended anything in his will for other parties, before reaching the residuary legatees, he did not intend it for those legatees.

Suppose the right to a stream of water, conveyed by will along with two farms, for the benefit of the mill privileges on those farms; and that, after their use of the same, the residue of the stream, that

is, the right to its use, were conveyed by the same will to another farm and manufacturing company situated at some distance below the former.

Suppose the trustees of this latter corporation should undertake to shut out this stream from the first properties and mills mentioned in the will, by an injunction against them, on the ground of the latter corporation holding a residuary right in the stream. Suppose they should claim it all for themselves, on the ground that if they permitted it to be taken and used as a prior endowment for the first properties and mills, the water-power of the stream would be exhausted before reaching their manufactory. And suppose they should add to this claim that of the sacredness of their business, as a trust, their factories being especially devoted to the work of manufacturing paper for the Bibles of the Bible Society.

The argument of the Committee sets forth the intentions of Mr. Washburn, in favor of the home and the widow, and their appeal in behalf of the same, as if inimical to the Bible Society, and to be resisted at all hazards.

STOCK OF THE I. WASHBURN AND MOEN WIRE WORKS, AS DEFINED BY THE COMMITTEE.

The Stock in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, is described by the Committee as an actual and valuable endowment; yet they propose to the Bible Society to refuse the petition of Mrs. Washburn asking that it be decreed as such, to be paid to the Widow and the Home, according to Mr. Washburn's intentions.

The Committee on the fourth page of their Report describe the provision made for Mrs. Washburn, including the \$12,500 in stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, and then add, "that they cannot but regard such a liberal provision for the Widow as an honor to the Testator."

Here then is to be noted first, their own averment that the stock in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works *is an actual provision*. It is a real money value, calculated by the Committee as such, argued by them to have been such, intended as such by the Testator, and constituting a large portion of the provision for his wife, which the Committee pronounce liberal.

Now then, how do the Committee propose to treat this provision? Do they mean to carry out these intentions of the Testator? Do they propose that the Bible Society shall obey and fulfil them, or

render them null and void? They deliberately propose to the Bible Society to disappoint and deny them, and destroy the endowments for them, first by denying that those endowments mean stock in the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company; and second, by assuming them as belonging to the residuary legacy of the Bible Society.

They propose to take away these endowments entirely from the Widow and the Home, as not being real endowments, or intended for them, but only for the Bible Society. In this way they propose to diminish and destroy that "liberal provision" which they affirm to have been made by the Testator for the Widow, to the amount of \$25,000, which they advise this Society to abstract from that provision, and to put it into the Treasury of the Bible Society.

They hold that this Society having been made a residuary legatee to the extent of about one thirteenth part of the residue of the estate, which may remain after all special and general legacies have been discharged, the discharge of the special and general legacy of \$25,000 stock in the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works is in the power of this Society, and incumbent upon it as a duty; and being so discharged, the legacy becomes thereby a gift made to the Society by the Testator; and being such, the Society ought not to decline accepting the gift thus made, which nevertheless they must and would decline, if they permitted it to be construed as having first been made to, or intended for, the Widow and the Home. It is worthless for the Widow and the Home, if this Society will only press its plain legal duty, and deny the application of the Widow for equity, and refuse their concurrence with the decree of all the other Societies that have pronounced the endowments in the stock aforesaid as real endowments belonging to the Widow and the Home. That done, and the stock being pronounced worthless for the Widow and the Home, it becomes of course a gift made to the Bible Society by the Testator, and as such possesses a money value, and cannot be declined, though it be false and of no value for those to whom it was in the first instance bequeathed by the Testator, and, according to the testimony of the Committee, *formed a large portion of a liberal provision made by him for them.*

THE DRAFT WILL, AND THE ATTEMPT OF THE COMMITTEE TO DESTROY ITS CREDIT.

The Committee inform the Society that Governor Washburn, having received instructions from the Testator to draw up a new will,

forthwith prepared a draft of a new will, "carefully framed according to those instructions, which he had taken down in writing in presence of the Testator." They say that the said Governor Washburn having inquired of the Testator when taking those instructions, what the present name of the Company was, out of which his bequests were made under the name of the Wire Company, "received for answer that it was Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company," and consequently used that name in the draft will. Yet the Committee, on page 14, repeat their assertion that there is no foundation for believing that the Testator in mentioning stock of the I Washburn and Moen Wire Works, meant to refer to stock as the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, and declare that they do not see any propriety in treating the draft will as a guide for the conduct of this Society.

That is, they admit that there is incontestible evidence that Mr. Washburn intended to make a new will, that he declared those intentions, that he made them known to the person appointed to draw up a new will according to them, that that person took down the instructions of the Testator for that purpose in writing, in his presence, and that he drew up the will accordingly, and sent it to the testator. And the very will is exhibited and proved, so far as proof can go without being valid in law, that is, without the signature of the Testator.

And now the Committee endeavor to make a Court of Equity believe that there is no propriety in treating this draft will as a guide for the conduct of this Society. It is acknowledged that the draft will contains Mr. Washburn's intentions; yet the Committee say they are not to be respected nor obeyed, but disregarded and violated. Let this Society establish that as their rule in dealing with benevolent endowments, and there will be a speedy end to the reputation of the Society, as well as the legacies.

For why are the Committee unwilling to treat the draft will as a guide for the Society? Simply because it diminishes their residuary legacy. It compels them to acknowledge and fulfil the intentions of the Testator in his endowments of the Home, the Hospital and the Widow.

That is their attempted justification for rejecting that will, and refusing to be guided by it; the justification presented in their former refusal of the proposals of Mrs. Washburn, and in their present report against her appeal, as on page 20, where they argue that when all special and general legacies have been discharged from

the will, the residuum is a gift made to the Bible Society by the Testator, and as such ought not to be declined, but by plain legal duty, must be accepted and defended.

The endowments of \$25,000 to the Widow and Home, and \$75,000 to the Hospital are special and general legacies with which the will of the Testator is burdened, before his estate can be handled in any way by the residuaries. If, therefore, they can, by any means, discharge those legacies, so as to come before them, between them and the Testator's intentions, with their residuary claim, they can grasp them as their gift; but if they permit this draft will and the intentions of the Testator according to it to be respected, they are compelled to permit those legacies to be fulfilled, and their residuary claims are diminished accordingly.

Now then, although constrained to admit the existence of the new will, the draft will, and the evidence that it was drawn in accordance with the intentions and instructions of the Testator and in his presence, three weeks before his death, may they not destroy its credit, and persuade the society to reject it?

First, they say, page 10, "The following order of events is to be observed;" and then they go on giving an order of events, which never took place, but in which both dates and events are falsely recorded, as we proceed to prove.

But, first, we take their own appointed order, and consider their reasoning from that.

They say, on page 11, "that this draft will was sent to Mr. Washburn, December 18, 1868. that Mr. Washburn was then infirm, but able to ride out, and not disqualified for business, but that two days afterwards, December 20, he was taken ill, and December 30, died." Here then, the Committee argue, are three days, including the 18th and 20th, during which they say, the draft will was in possession of Mr. Washburn, he being in sufficient health to attend to it: and the fact that he did not attend to it, nor execute, nor amend it, it is argued *may throw some doubt* on his having a final and settled intention to depart from the original will and codicils.

It *may* throw *some* doubt; and this being the case, although the will was drafted by his instructions, only three weeks before, and is full proof of his instructions, yet the Committee deem it the legal duty of this Society to destroy the credit of the will, and proof of the intentions, on the *possibility* of *some* doubt: not the reality of any, not even pretended, but the bare possibility of *some*, and to adopt that doubt as the guide of the Society for their conduct, rejecting the draft will as no proper guide at all.

In such cases "he that doubteth is damned if he eat;" but let us test the argument at law; the legal argument, for the Committee proceed wholly by the law, and do not permit equity to enter; and let us see if it bears them out, even to the possibility of a doubt. They say the draft will remained in possession of Mr. Washburn, December 18, 19, and 20, without being executed or amended.

They say that it was sent the 18th. There, then, is one day taken from their own computation, for less than one day cannot be given, for its being sent and coming into possession. It was not in possession until it had arrived in Worcester, and been taken from the office, if sent by mail, and put into Mr. Washburn's hands. Then they say, that, December 20, he was taken ill, and they are aware that his illness was the entire prostration of paralysis. That takes another day from their computation, leaving only the 19th during which they could pretend, by argument that would stand one moment in a Court of law, that the draft will was in Mr. Washburn's possession. Here, then, are two-thirds of the possibility of a doubt taken away by the very statement of the Committee themselves, leaving only one day for the will to remain in possession of the Testator, without being executed or amended.

But now the facts deprive them even of that; for it is known that Governor Washburn sent the draft will not by mail, but by a private messenger, and that that messenger kept it by him without delivering it, at least, two days, in Worcester; received it from Governor Washburn, and kept it by him from Saturday the 19th till Monday the 21st, the Sabbath of the 20th being the day on which the last illness of the Testator fell upon him. Hence, it appears, that it was not in possession of Mr. Washburn a single day, nor a single moment, and that he did not even know of its arrival up to the day of his death.

Now what becomes of the doubt, or the possibility of doubt, as to Mr. Washburn's intentions, the only ground on which the Committee themselves pretended that the draft will cannot properly be a guide for the conduct of the Society?

But the Committee say, that after Mr. Washburn's death, the draft will "was found in his house, *apparently* unexecuted and unchanged, and it has been *conjectured* that he either did not open it, or did not know of its having arrived," but the Committee cannot speak with certainty on that point. The Committee then do not themselves know that Mr. Washburn knew of its having arrived, or that he considered with himself the question, whether he should

execute it, whether it contained "his final and settled intention." They are uncertain about this; it is matter of mere conjecture.

Yet, they ground their whole argument of doubt, by which they would set aside the draft will, as not being Mr. Washburn's intention, on the asserted FACT that it had been three days in his possession, before him for consideration. They say, "the fact that the draft will had remained in his possession the 18th, 19th, and 20th;" they affirm this as a certainty, and require you to reject the draft will in consequence. Yet they cannot speak with certainty, that he knew of its having arrived. This is mere conjecture.

First, it has been *conjectured* that he did not know of its having arrived. Second, he might reasonably expect to receive it by the 18th. Third, it had remained in his possession the 18th, 19th, and 20th, without being executed or amended. That is, it was in his possession, and he knew it, and purposely avoided executing or amending it, for that is the argument, otherwise it is nothing. He not only knew of its having arrived, but had it in possession three days, and all the while purposely avoided executing it; and this must be known, not conjectured, or no argument can be founded on it, and no conclusion justified by it; much less an argument that the draft will is worthless as a guide, and still less an argument authorizing this Society, by the possibility of a doubt, to set aside the written and known intentions of the testators, and take possession for their own treasury of a large amount of money intended and bequeathed to others.

It only remains to be asked, Did the Committee know of the fact that Gov. Washburn sent the draft will by a private messenger, and that it was not immediately delivered? If they did, then here is another *suppressio veri*, fatal even to the sincerity of their argument. They suppress a fact, which, had it been told, would have destroyed their argument. They suppress a fact in order to insinuate a doubt, intending on that doubt to build a demand for the rejection of the draft will, and the seizure of the endowment belonging to it, and by the executed will, to the Home and Widow.

Did the Committee know? Turn to the middle of page 16 of the Report, and you find them declaring that Gov. Washburn sent the draft will to the Testator by the hands of Mr. Lincoln. Now, at the same time and by the same way in which they learned that a private messenger was employed, they learned also that that messenger did not deliver the envelope entrusted to him till at least two days time had elapsed from the day when he received it. The will remained in Mr. Lincoln's hands all of Saturday, after it was

committed to him by Gov. Washburn, through Sunday, and until Monday, Dec. 21st, when it was given to Mr. Moen by Mr. Lincoln, in the post office, and brought by Mr. Moen to Mr. Washburn's house the second day after Mr. Washburn's prostration, and by his wife was placed unopened in the safe.

Mr. Washburn was so ill when the envelope parcel was brought to his house that he could not have it presented to him, and he never asked, nor was informed, whether it was returned. And nothing was known of the letter of Judge Washburn to the Testator contained within the envelope, until three days after the Testator's decease.

The Legacy Committees of all these Societies were informed of these facts. They were detailed to Mr. Tracy by Mrs. Washburn's agent. He informed Mr. Tracy at his first interview with him in July, 1869, in regard to the sending of the will by private messenger Dec. 19th, the day before Mr. Washburn was taken ill, which was Sabbath morning, Dec. 20th.

The Committee argue that a doubt is possible as to the final intentions of the Testator being serious and settled to have signed the draft will and departed from the first Will; and on the ground of the possibility of that doubt they call upon this Society to refuse the petition of the Widow. But if there be a doubt, which by admission of the Committee themselves, their three days' asserted possession of the draft will by Mr. Washburn being proved impossible, there is not; if there were a doubt, it stands in our path, and is not to be flung in the face of the Widow. If with a trembling uncertainty in your own conscience whether after all we are not violating the intentions of the Testator, we advance to take this property from the Home and the Widow; because, if we succeed in taking it from them, it comes to us, that doubt is our condemnation, but not to be used to her injury.

By all honest morality we are bound to construe such a doubt in favor of the Widow and the Home, because they are greatly injured by it, and if we can in conscience do it, we are bound to prevent that injury. If the evidence against the claims of the Home and the Widow, and against the intentions of the Testator in their behalf, is so overwhelming that we cannot conscientiously resist it, then indeed we are not bound to violate our conscience. And if our evidence is clear that the Testator intended that property for ourselves, then we are bound to take it. But if we have no evidence for ourselves at all, and the evidence for the Widow and Home is merely open to some doubt, what then?

THE PROBATED WILL THE ONLY ONE PROPOSED TO BE ADOPTED.

The document of the Committee, from the injustice of which Mrs. Washburn's petition appeals to this Board, described the proposition of Mrs. Washburn for a settlement according to the intentions of her husband, as "an application to substitute in place of the probated Will a subsequent draft of a new Will that had not been executed or read by the Testator." This was not true; and if a lawyer drew it up, there is no possible excuse for the misrepresentation. It was fatal to Mrs. Washburn's proposition, if true; for the Board could not consent that any other Will should be adopted than the probated Will. And if for that reason the Board were advised by the Committee to refuse, and they did refuse, and on that ground, accepting that assertion of the Committee as true, it is plain that a very great injustice has been committed.

In the present Report the former affirmation and description of the Committee is denied *by themselves*, on page 14, where they say: "The first proposition did *not* seek to substitute for the probated Will and codicils." And on page 15 they say: "Mrs. Washburn adopts the probated Will." Yet no acknowledgement is made of their error; if it had been, that would have been a new fact and principle, which should have led the Board to change their action; for their action, adverse to Mrs. Washburn's proposals, was based on a former affirmation of the Committee, which they themselves now say was not true.

It was not the proposal of the widow at any time, nor her intention, nor even suggestion, to substitute any other Will for the proved Will, nor was that the mode of settlement agreed to by the societies that have concurred in it; nor was it possible that it should be. Such a proposition would have carried its own defeat on the face of it. It was not that proposition which the Legacy Committee declined, July 31, 1869; but a proposal for settlement under and by the probated Will, with some modifications, wholly in the power of the residuary legatees, and proved in accordance with the intentions of the Testator. It was distinctly announced and presented in that proposal, that it was made by the widow, not only on purpose to avoid disputing the Will of the Testator, but also to carry out more fully and exactly his declared and known testamentary intentions.

Two things are to be noted in this proposal; First, it was a settlement by compromise fully in the just power and right of the

widow, both by law and equity, to offer, on the ground of her legal right to break the will of her husband if she chose, to the inevitable injury or devastation of all the rights and expectations of the legatees.

Second, it was a settlement just as fully in the just power and right, both by law and equity, of the societies constituted residuary legatees under the will, to accept and agree to, on the ground of their legal and just right to *avoid* breaking the will, or constraining or advising the widow to break it, and also to carry into execution all the purposes of the Testator, for the full and mutual benefit of the widow, the legatees, and charities endowed, and all persons interested.

This proposed settlement the Committee peremptorily declined, as also the modifications afterwards offered by the widow. They declared that they "think it best that the Society abide by the regular course of administration, and then receive its share, if any there be, according to the will of the Testator. The Committee therefore decide to decline each of the three propositions."

Now, we cannot fail to note that this settlement proposed by the widow *was in fact the regular course of administration*, and nothing irregular, or illegal, or inequitable about it. It was the course adopted to avoid a threatened irregularity, injustice and injury; a course adopted by legal advice and the instruction of judicious counsellors, in order to avoid the uncertainty and vast expense of law suits, and a costly procrastination and complication in the administration of the Estate. If a bridge is broken down or made perilous to life by a freshet, and passengers on both sides mutually agree to construct a pontoon, that is the regular course of crossing the river.

Now instead of this, and in the conclusion of their refusal of all the propositions of the widow, propositions made on purpose to avoid the irregularity of breaking up the Will, the Committee on their part suggest that the Estate is large, and the widow, possessing the power of taking half the Estate to her own use, would by so doing be able to carry out all the unexecuted projects of her husband. It may be questioned whether the bridge thus offered by the Committee was a course of administration any more regular than the settlement proposed by the widow, and agreed to by the six benevolent societies. It was certainly a singular avowal that it would be more agreeable to the Bible Society to have the widow take her rights by law, than for the Society to consent to those rights by equity.

And it was equally unfriendly and unjust towards all the other societies, to propose to the widow not merely to break the Will of her husband, but to break up an agreement entered into with them, and, disregarding both them and the Bible Society, to take the Estate to her own use for her lifetime. In the covenant entered into with the other societies, she had consented not to take that course, but to waive her legal rights, on condition of their waiving their legal rights in the same spirit, and uniting with her and the administrators in a procedure of equity according to the intentions of the Testator.

For she supposed she was dealing with those Christian counselors, who would give relief from the inexorableness of the law, by fulfilling the conditions of Christian equity, and not with those who would say to the petitioner, You shall have nothing *but* law, and not only so, but by means of the law we will take from you, and from the Home and the Hospital, that portion which you supposed your husband had bequeathed to you and to those charities.

THE PROPOSED INTERFERENCE OF THE BOARD WITH THE PROBATED
WILL, BY THE COMMITTEE.

The Committee say, on page 20, that they discover no adequate motive for interfering with the probated Will. The intimation is that they have been asked to interfere with it; that is, that the petition and proposals of the widow demand such interference. The intimation is untrue. They are not only not asked to interfere with the probated Will, nor is any such interference countenanced but they are implored *not* to interfere with it; for their proposal to this Society of non-concurrence with the other societies, by rejecting the appeal of Mrs. Washburn, is that of a special and most pernicious interference with the probated Will, preventing the endowments in it from being executed according to the unquestioned intention of the Testator. Their decision is the very interference against which Mrs. Washburn appeals. She asks the interposition of this Board against that interference proposed by the Committee, which would prevent the fulfillment of the probated Will. That interference is not general merely, but direct and special; destructive of a whole codicil, running a ploughshare through it and tearing it up by the roots, taking \$25,000 given in it to the Home and widow and transferring that endowment, against the probated Will and in defiance of it, to parties not named in that codicil, and not intended by it.

This is the interference against which I am appointed by the Society of the Home to plead, in defence of the probated Will, and of the rights of that Society in it.

UNTRUE STATEMENTS ON PAGE 7.

The Committee, in their Report, on the top of page 7, affirm that "the first proposals of Mrs. Washburn were presented to the Bible Society with information that all other residuary legatees had assented thereto." This is not true, and could not by any possibility be true; for those proposals were presented to the Bible Society the 29th of June, before the American Board, or the Tract Society, or any other society, had assented thereto. This, then, is an untrue representation, and it is unaccountable how it could have been made. Note the words of the Committee, namely: "That proposition was presented to this Society, with information that all other residuary legatees had assented thereto." What can this mean? Is it possible that the Committee venture to assert that when that proposition was laid before the Bible Society, they were informed that all the other residuary legatees had assented thereto? That is on the face of their words; the only meaning the sentence will bear. It is evidently false, as it is shown by the date, June 29, 1869, when the proposition came to the Bible Society for their consideration.

Assent is said to have been obtained to it by intimating that the settlement of the Estate might be delayed for seventeen years, by means of Mrs. Washburn's waiver; and Mr. Cheever is said to have urged that suggestion as an argument to induce the Tract Society to accept the proposition. Mr. Cheever would have failed in his duty if he had *not* urged that consideration; and the Tract Society and the other societies would have failed in seriousness, common sense, and prudence, if they had not pondered that consideration, and been affected by it. Nothing but a stolid disregard to consequences, or fancied superiority to them, could have made them insensible to the waste and mischief involved in such delay. It was right and proper to dwell upon that view, and be affected by it.

NO CONSPIRACY OF INFLUENCE.

But as to the successive or simultaneous dates of the presentation of the proposals for settlement to the various societies, and the consequent concurring or successive influence, or the indications

of any conspiracy of influence or contrivance for the same. The history is plain. The printed propositions on behalf of the widow were laid before the Bible Society, in the person of its Treasurer, Henry Fisher, Thursday, 29th of June, 1869. On the same day they were laid before the Seamen's Friend Society and the American Missionary Association. They were first addressed to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American Tract Society in Boston, on the 4th of June. The official seal of consent of the American Board was voted on the 14th of July. That of the Tract Society on the 31st day of July. That of the American Missionary Association on the 23d day of July. That of the Worcester Children's Friend Society on the 31st day of July. That of the Seamen's Friend Society on the same day.

Now if the question be asked, Why were these proposals first submitted to the American Board and Boston Tract Society? It may be answered, Because they were in the neighborhood of Worcester, and more intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of Mr. Washburn's endowments of his property, and in immediate and convenient personal communication with trustees and administrators. It was very desirable to know how the proposed settlement would be viewed by those nearest the evidence. And if the American Board, the wisdom of whose course, and the uprightness and masterly accuracy and good sense of whose business transactions are renowned over the world, could take this case, and after thorough examination decide every point in favor of concurrence, it presented a just hope of a speedy settlement with all. If such an example carries weight, it cannot be helped; it is not to be thrown away. It is God's edict to give weight to the example, whether of a righteous man or a just and benevolent corporation. And if the allegation of such an example might clear the way for others, or help to remove doubt, or quicken a decision where there was hesitation or delay, there certainly could be nothing wrong or unfair, or any way improper, in taking advantage of such an example. If it was an argument, let it have its just weight; so was every successive concurrence a fair additional argument. If, when it comes to the Bible Society, or because they have delayed their decision, the majority have concurred, have the remaining societies any right to complain that they were not called in first, or that they are pressed unfairly, or that they cannot decide impartially with such a weight of example before them?

But suppose it had been said, or intimated to the party presenting these proposals, Your plan will meet with opposition, if anywhere, from the Bible Society. That Society is wealthy, and regard themselves as not in such immediate need of any legacy as the other societies, and may possibly feel that they can just as well wait for the settlement of the estate by due course of law. In that case it would have been very unwise, if not unjust, to prejudice the proposed equitable arrangement, by presenting the example of such opposition.

REASONING OF THE COMMITTEE AGAINST THE PRESERVATION OF THE ROYALTIES.

In respect to the Tempering Patents, there is in this Report no mention of the reason given by the widow for her proposal of their assignment to her for the charitable uses to which they were devoted by the deceased. Yet she had stated that neither of the patents was indeed named in the will, "but with the terms, and history, and intended use of them I was made well acquainted by my husband, and was also made by him a joint participator in the distribution of the proceeds of the Tempering Patents, to the cause of benevolence, to which they were solemnly consecrated. A record of intended consecration of the Bedson Patent is among the private papers of my husband."

A sacred transaction and a sacred purpose are here referred to, and a right conferred by her husband to see that the income from these patents should be devoted as it was intended. She knew that it would be nearly lost, if the right was sold, instead of being reserved, and the annual income for many years devoted in charity. She knew that the only way of saving that income for the benevolent uses intended by her husband, and committed to her management, was to put this consecration of them among the terms of that proposed settlement, which her legal right of waiver gave her both the power and the right to offer. If this consecration was not thus secured, she knew it would be lost, and an income sacrificed of several thousand dollars, annually, by the legal measure of selling the patent rights at auction, in which operation probably not a thousand dollars would revert to the estate, in lieu of several thousand otherwise, for many years, to the causes of benevolence.

To prevent the objection of indefiniteness as to the objects, Mrs. Washburn proposed to the Bible Society the distribution of the income among all the societies created residuary legatees by her

husband, supposing that the Bible Society could not possibly refuse an arrangement so manifestly for the benefit of all, and in which she herself had not the remotest interest, but that of an earnest desire to secure the fulfillment of what she knew to be the benevolent intentions of her husband, in a matter very dear and sacred to him, namely, the consecration of those patents as long as their use should continue, to the cause of Christ. It had been a satisfaction to him to know that the great toil, anxiety, and perplexity of years through which the value of those patents had been finally and firmly established, would result in a rich reward in the security of what he believed would be an annually increasing fund, over and above all his other income, for benevolent uses.

Now, the facts of this consecration, and this committal of its accomplishment to her participation and care, were clearly but briefly given as the grounds and reasons of her proposals for saving this fund, by the consent of the residuary legatees, for their benefit, from an otherwise inevitable and needless waste. There is not the slightest intimation of these facts in the Report of your Committee, and on the other hand, the mention of the proposal of their keeping in the care of Mrs. Washburn, on pages 14 and 15, is in terms so derogatory, without an intimation of the foundation of her right or the reason of her proposal, that the omission constitutes a *suppressio veri*, injurious both to her and to the societies that have concurred with her in the appropriation. It is the omission of a grave fact, of moral significance and importance, the knowledge and consideration of which were essential to a right decision.

The Committee argue, first, that the assignment of these patent rights, according to the proposal of the widow, and their investment as a perpetual charity, would prevent their sale; second, that it would "place them in the charge of Mrs. Washburn, to manage and collect the royalties or rents;" third, that such an investment "is not a just policy of this society;" and fourth, "If the investment were proper, a lady ordinarily would not be the proper agent to manage such property."

To say nothing of the singular supposition of a lady being incapable of collecting and disbursing rents for benevolence, or an improper agent in a work so blessed, it may very properly be answered that if she were a proper person for the Testator to consult and authorize during his lifetime, and to unite with him in the consecration of these funds, so that, exercising this benevolence together with him, she had become familiar with its details and

with his methods, it is, to say the least, an unwarranted presumption for gentlemen, who know nothing about these charities but from her, to offer their opinion on such a point as a grave argument to this Court for resisting the intentions of the Testator, and withholding from his widow a benevolent privilege which he had conferred.

Formely they argued, as has been recorded on your Minutes, that it was not a just policy. If that had been true, not a word more could be said upon the subject; if not true, so much the worse for being affirmed. But the widow answered very properly that the just policy was that which would secure the greatest amount possible to Christian charity, and that the intentions of her husband were the just policy, and that, while the Bible Society could lose nothing by executing them, the cause of benevolence would gain, and that it would certainly be unjust to compel the sale of a property at half its value, which the Testator is known to have intended to be reserved and used as permanent fund of charity to the end of its existence.

Next they argued against the value of the patents, pronouncing one of them of little value, and of course presenting that as a reason for selling them. Now they argue that they are valuable and saleable, page 15, but that a lady is not the proper person to manage them.

Well, Mr. President, that is perhaps a matter of taste; but I think if a lady can have the charge of a kingdom, if a lady could be a queen 2,000 years ago, if a lady could judge Israel, if a lady can be president of an auxiliary Bible society, if a lady can have charge of the hospitals of an army, if a lady can relieve the afflicted and diligently follow every good work, she can be entrusted by her husband to receive and disburse his royalties for Christ's sake, and that nothing would be gained by adding even a board of lawyers to such administration. But whether this or no, Mr. Washburn's intentions being proved in the matter, what has the opinion of this Committee, or their tastes or ours, rightfully in any way to do with it? Their opinion may be at variance with his; that of every member of this Board may be; but how can that be given as a reason for refusing to execute his intentions?

In the mention of these patents in their former document the Committee affirmed, that "one of these patents has yielded \$3,777.75 of royalties the past year, *and the other is of little value.*"

They said also, that "parties engaged in this manufacture probably would bid at the sale, or if they did not, some enterprising

purchaser would buy patent rights, which yield an income ;” “and it is not the just policy of this Society to hold an investment in such property, when not expressly required to do so by the will.”

These statements were incorrect. First, a mere probability of parties bidding was set against the certainty of a regular income. “Some enterprising purchaser would buy.” There is no certainty. The testimony to the contrary is, that probably no one *would bid* against the Company, who would themselves *bid* in those patents, for “a mere moiety of their value.” Possibly \$500 might be gained out of the sale at auction of that, which, assigned as the Testator intended, would yield five times that amount annually for thirty-six years or longer.

But again, it is not true that the Bedson patent is of little value. It is an acknowledged success, and there are numerous applications for buying the right to manufacture under that patent. But the Company to which Mr. Washburn assigned the exclusive right to manufacture, and to vend that right, refuses to sell a right, intending to keep the monopoly of this patent, and expecting from it very large profits. The dividend of royalty for the first six months, and while they were experimenting at great disadvantage, was \$950. Half of this goes to the estate. Beyond doubt the royalty for the second six months will be three or four times as much, perhaps between three and four thousand.

Now, whereas the Committee say that “it is not the just policy of this Society to hold an investment in such property, when not expressly required to do so by the will,” it may be answered first, The residuum must be held at any rate, whatever it may be, until the estate is settled. And second, the just policy will be that (1) which is most according to the intentions of the testator, and (2) that which will bring most to the causes of benevolence, and (3) in this case, that which the six other legatees have agreed upon ; and the proposal of the widow being for their interest, six to one, it could not be a just policy for the Bible Society, by refusing this item, to deprive those societies of their benefit, and to invalidate Mr. Washburn’s benevolent design in the consecration of this part of his income to a perpetual charity. The Bible Society has no right to compel the sale of this property, at the disadvantage, first and certainly, of frustrating the intentions of the Testator, second, and as certainly, of diminishing the property of the other residuary legatees, third, and as certainly, of diminishing their own property.

THE COMMITTEE ON MR. BULKLEY'S LEGACY.

Now, in respect to the legacy for Mr. Bulkley, which Mrs. Washburn claims according to the intentions of her husband to be \$5,000 instead of \$2,000, the sum named in both Wills, the testimony of Mrs. Washburn is positive that after the departure of Governor Washburn with the instructions of the Testator, the same day or the day following that, when Mr. Washburn directed the changes to be made in his will, he informed his wife that he had bequeathed two thousand dollars to his gardener, but should make it five thousand when Judge Washburn should bring the corrected will for signature.

The Committee affirm this testimony wholly irreconcilable with the fact that Gov. Washburn manifestly entered \$2,000 in his draft of the will, and they add, that the gardener himself has been examined, and knows of no more. Is this meant as argument?

Why did not the other societies send their agents to the family of Mr. Bulkley? He might have enjoyed the visits of seven legal clerks, and they might all have met in his parlor to question him. Was this to collect any information as to Mr. Washburn's intentions? Would it not be a palpable absurdity to question him? The inquisition could not possibly have been a friendly one, but inimical to the claim, and intended to blast it. Do we not know that anything that he might have said, had he been so foolish as to say anything in his own favor, would have been set down at once as not only no evidence, but really proof of a conspiracy to defraud? They went there and found nothing. What would they expect to find? Suppose Mr. Bulkley had declared that Mr. Washburn owed him \$3,000, and had promised to pay by legacy to that amount; would that have been presented by the Committee as information, or as evidence? And if so, would it have been given as a reason for or against the plea of the widow? Yet this visit to Mr. Bulkley is set down as concurrent proof that the alleged intention to make his legacy \$5,000 is irreconcilable with Governor Washburn's draft of the Will.

It is not in any wise irreconcilable, and any Court in Christendom would be compelled to charge a jury that it is not. The order of Mr. Washburn to insert \$2,000 is one fact; Governor Washburn's insertion accordingly is another fact; Mrs. Washburn's testimony that her husband afterwards declared he intended making it \$5,000 is another fact; and neither of these facts in any way,

or even in appearance, militates against the other, or is irreconcilable with it. They are independant facts, and one just as likely to be true as another.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY NOT ASKED TO AMEND THE WILL.

The Committee say that the Bible Society as a legatee cannot amend the Will of the Testator. It is not pretended that they can amend it. They are not asked to amend it, but to carry it out, to prevent it from being broken, to decree that it be fulfilled.

The Committee say that "the writing controls." It ought to control, when once its meaning has been ascertained. But by the decision of this Board if we follow the Committee, it does not control. They do not permit it. Their interpretation of it controls, above and against the interpretation of the administrators and the proved intentions of the Testator. Their Will controls, and not Mr. Washburn's, nor the Will of the Testator, but theirs, by defrauding his writing of the meaning he meant, and substituting a meaning of their own, which he did not mean.

EVIL RESULT OF THE REASONING OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Home and the widow appeal from the Court of Law to equity. The Committee say they shall not go out of the Court of Law, but shall be held down in it, and only the law administered. The Committee say, in effect, that this Board cannot and shall not act as a Court of Equity, but only as if it were a Court of Law, which it is not and cannot be. The Committee would compel this independent and Christian tribunal to act only in obedience to the lower Court, and not as a Court of Appeal from the lower.

Now, this is the great evil of the position and reasoning of the Committee, shutting us up to legal obligations in disregard of those that are moral and equitable. Legal obligations are assumed as the superior and controlling authority, when, by the Divine law, equitable obligations are the rule. The Committee confound our provinces of duty, or rather, they leave only one province, the legal. They set their legal duty where it does not belong, and so it becomes injustice. They set it in the place of mercy. To the appeal for an egg they offer a scorpion. It is the declaration of the Scriptures that he shall have justice without mercy that hath showed no mercy, and mercy rejoiceth against judgment. We have reversed this rule of morality, and are acting on the maxim that judgment

rejoiceth against mercy, that the law alone can be executed, and that equity cannot enter. But the appeal before us is to equity, as being, by God's own appointment, above the law.

THE SOCIETY NOT ASKED TO BREAK ANY LEGAL OBLIGATIONS.

On page 21, the Committee say: "This Society is a corporative body, with legal obligations, and subject to the control of jurisprudence. The Board is a body of Trustees, amenable to all the proper regulations and scrutinies pertaining to trusts."

All that is asked in Mrs. Washburn's appeal is that this Board fulfil all these obligations and scrutinies, and not that any one of them be disregarded.

The execution of the probated will, and the exact legal fulfillment of the intentions of the Testator, which Mrs. Washburn asks of the Board, is not only no violation of any legal rules or obligations, but the faithful performance of them.

The law of the will and the "control of jurisprudence" in regard to it, especially in reference to any rights or obligations of residuary legatees, is this, namely: that such legatees possess entire authority over what would come to them from the estate by the will after all its special endowments, bequests, gifts, are satisfied. They can therefore say and determine what they will do with that, or what the administrators shall do, under their instruction.

If the intentions of the Testator are proved in regard to some things not named in the will, or if proof exists thereof sufficient for a court of Christian men acting in equity, the execution of those intentions depending exclusively and entirely upon the use of the residuary portion of the estate, then, and in that case, the law is completely obeyed, and the whole will is confirmed and protected by the residuary legatees giving orders to the administrators to take their portion of the estate and to apply as much of it as is necessary to the fulfillment of those intentions. The residuary legatees may do what they will with their own, so long as they do not turn it against the will of the Testator, but apply it consistently with his intentions. So doing, they fulfil at once and completely both the law and the gospel of jurisprudence.

They have authority to prevent the Testator from being defrauded of his own right, either by mistake, or technical error, or imperfection of the law. They can supply an imperfection, correct a mistake, and transfigure into justice what otherwise had been injustice. They can give a more accurate and perfect execution to

the probated Will, and so to the reality of the law, than the letter of the law could accomplish. This is at once a right and privilege. And this is what they are asked to do, and just what the six residuary legatees have done in acceding to the proposals of Mrs. Washburn.

But they have no right, by virtue of their legal authority as legatees, to take an error, or imperfection, or doubtful construction in the Will, and confirm it for their own benefit, and to the injury of other legatees, under cover of its being their gift. If they do this, or attempt to do it, then, instead of being Trustees under the Will, they are Trustees against it; instead of guarding and fulfilling its bequests and legacies, they defile and corrupt them.

They are amenable to all proper regulations and scrutinies pertaining to trusts, moral as well as legal; and the most important of those scrutinies are those laid down in God's law book for all men and corporation, this Book which we print. The morality or immorality of our legal obligations is to be determined by comparison of them with those divine scrutinies. If, under color of legal authority, or right, or duty, we violate the moral regulations pertaining to trusts, it becomes a breach of trust, not a keeping of it. By means of law we intentionally break the law. Nor does it excuse or absolve us, that we can plead a conscientious intention of legal duty. Paul could plead a conscientious intention of fulfilling the law exactly, when he put it in execution against the disciples of Christ. To the end of the world no higher or better conscience or intention can ever be pleaded in behalf of legal authority against moral right. But the intention and legal obligations together could not sanctify the crime, no more than the end could sanctify the means.

The Committee say, on page 21, that "the Board must have regard to legal obligations and duty," and that "it should not yield a clear right regularly conferred upon it, and thereby violate its fiduciary obligations."

The Board are not asked to yield any right whatever, but to exercise it; nor to violate any of its fiduciary obligations, but fulfil them. They are not asked to yield a clear right, but to instruct the Administrators of Mr. Washburn's Estate to use that right and exercise that authority for the just administration of the Estate, and for the benefit of this Society and of all the legatees. That is all the yielding that is required or involved in the appeal of Mrs.

Washburn, and this Board cannot fulfil its fiduciary obligations without that yielding; that is to say, without that instruction to the Administrators to take and use that yielded right; a right not relinquished, but put into their hands to be exercised.

Refusing thus to yield it, we violate it. We hold it as a despotism over the administrators, compelling them either to violate what they know to be the Will of the Testator, or to plunge the Estate into litigation that will consume all the residuary legacies in question, and more than all.

Let it be understood that by reason of this power conveyed in a residuary legacy, it is the intention and rule of this Society to intermeddle with the administration of the Estate of every benevolent person that may make this Society a residuary legatee, to hamper the administrators, to withhold from them the trust of residuary authority when asked in aid of settlement, to throw the Estate into endless lawsuits rather than exercise Christian kindness, to refuse all equity, and press the injustice of law; and no man henceforth will trust this Society with a legacy. It will be rather a beacon of warning and rebuke.

RULES OF EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT.

In regard to every item in the proposals of settlement, the first question is,—Has the petitioner a right to claim this? Is it accordant with the intentions of the testator? Does she offer a just equivalent? Then the charter of the Bible Society does not forbid an equitable arrangement, does not compel us to deny any claim of the widow founded (1) on her own right, (2) on the intentions of the testator, and (3) on a just equivalent. It is right for the Bible Society to grant what the widow asks under these three conditions. Is that which Mrs. Washburn has yielded to the Bible Society, and the other societies constituted residuary legatees, fairly entitled to a corresponding yielding on the part of those legatees? The Bible Society, or any other society, could not without injustice, first deprive the widow of her legal opportunity and power of waiver, on the possession of which her whole proposals of adjustment were based, and then, second, proceed to take advantage of their own action, and say to her, “we have got the vantage ground out of your hands into ours. We are the party to make terms, not you.” The Bible Society are bound in honor and justice to act just as the other societies in the adjustment, just as if Mrs. Washburn had now the absolute right and power to take her half

the estate, and order the whole administration to be deferred for her advantage, until her life-claim upon it should cease. Mrs. Washburn might have demanded of the societies, instituted residuary legatees, the payment to her of a fair legal equivalent of her life-claim on the estate, an exact equivalent by annuity calculations, as a just return for her giving up of the estate to the immediate payment of their legacies. In that case, the amount would have been much greater than all the several items, that for the sake of others or herself, she requires, in the proposed settlement, according to the intentions of the testator.

BANK STOCK AT PAR.

You object to the payment of her legacy in the bank stock of her husband at par. It was his requisition, not her's, that the bank stock should be set off for her benefit. If there were merely evidence that he appointed the bank stock as the material in part of the payment of the endowment by the will, that would be sufficient; because, the conveyance of stock named carries with it the condition at par, so that it was not only just but legal that that condition should be in the proposals for settlement. But that condition itself was named and appointed by her husband in regard to the endowment of stock wherever it is bequeathed, and therefore as in accordance with his intentions, by the same rule on which the whole proposed settlement is grounded, it was set down in the agreement between herself and the residuary legatees.

The following is a copy of the draft of a letter found in the handwriting of Mr. Washburn, to Judge Washburn, of Cambridge, in regard to some changes that he desired to have made in his will. It is dated, Worcester, November 26, 1866. "Hon. E. Washburn: My Dear Sir—Since I made my will, in which I made, as I then thought, an adequate provision for my wife, everything, as you know, has materially increased in price, making it more expensive to live. I desire therefore to make more ample provision for her support, as also for the support of the Home. And here let me suggest how I would like to have the investment made if nothing occurs objectionable: 40,000 dollars in bank stock which I now have; nothing can be better, unless the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works Stock."

At the time of this writing the amount in bank stock is set down by Mr. Washburn at \$40,000. Afterwards, as appears by another letter printed among the depositions of Judge Washburn,

in regard to the will, Mr. Washburn stated the amount as being \$60,000. The following is the printed letter, without any other date than that of May 3d, but later, evidently, than the preceding draft letter :

No. V.

WORCESTER, May 3d.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN,

DEAR SIR—Enclosed please find a draft for \$500, in consideration for services rendered. I also enclose a codicil, which I made myself. It expresses what I want, except I wish to make it \$25,000, in the room of \$10,000. This increases what I have provided for my wife to \$85,000. Have I made it large enough? \$60,000 of it in bank stock, paying 10 per cent., the I. Washburn and Moen Stock will be much more. I think it may be safe to reckon a cash income at least 10 per cent. after paying the taxes. You are aware that the expense of living has much increased, so that I wish to increase my provision ample. I trust you will be frank in the expression of your views.

Truly yours,

(Signed,)

I. WASHBURN.

From these letters two things are manifest, 1st, the I. W. and Moen Wire Works were an actual property, regarded by Mr. Washburn as of so great value, as a permanent investment, that he could not tell which would be the best for his wife to hold, that or his bank stock. If she held either, it must be at par. Only on a sale of them could there be any consideration of a premium, which, if she chose to sell, would of course be hers.

Second, by both wills the stock bequeathed to her, whether in the I. W. and M. Wire Works, or in the Manufacturing Company, was to be assigned by her, and possessed by her, at par; which goes to prove that if bank stock was bequeathed, it must be in the same way; if intended as an investment at all, then, intended at par. The mention of the two together, asking the opinion of the executor which to chose, leaves no reasonable doubt that if either was to be at par, then both, if the investment was bequeathed in both.

If Mr. Washburn at this time intended to give his bank stock to his wife, or the Wire Work Stock, he meant it in no other way than at par. He said he had \$40,000, afterwards \$60,000, in bank stock; of course he meant that amount at par. That is a fixed

value. Above or below par is a moveable value. No one in bequeathing certificates of stock, could mean it at any other than the face value of those certificates.

In the presence of Mrs. Washburn, December 9th, 1868, Mr. Washburn said to Judge Washburn, then receiving instructions in regard to his will, "I wish my wife to have my bank stock, because it is so convenient a form of property for a lady to manage." The known intentions of Mr. Washburn were sufficient reason and justification for putting this requisition among the proposed terms of settlement.

In the deposition of Hon. Emory Washburn, printed by this society, we find on page 9 an account of his interview with the testator before drawing up his last will, in which he advised that some of the funds he was proposing to create should remain in the stock of the Washburn and Moen Company. "He also directed that certain of the legacies he wished to give in his new will should be made in shares of the stock of said Company." (These legacies and shares appear in "the draft will," as legacies to the Widow, the Home, and the Hospital, in shares of stock in the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company.)

Hon. E. Washburn then testifies, as follows:

"But as I had heard that the name of the Company had been changed, I asked him what was the present name of their Company. and he answered me, Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company."

On page 11, the same Hon. Emory Washburn testifies as to various conversations with the testator, and says, "he very often spoke of his business, of his connection with Mr. Moen, of stock in the Company of I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, of the business they were doing, and when, at our last interview, I asked him what the name of their Company was, he answered, as I have stated, Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company."

AUTHORITY OF RESIDUARY LEGATEES.

The residuary legatees cannot alter the terms of the will, but they can instruct the administrators how the clauses bequeathing stock may be interpreted, simply because of there being a possible question, involving the peril of a law suit, in case of the non-payment of the \$100,000 bequeathed in stock for the Hospital, or \$25,000 bequeathed in the same stock to the Widow and the Home. If those bequests were annulled, they would become residuary amounts in the estate; if justly annulled, they would belong to the residuary legatees.

The sole right of the residuary legatees to be appealed to, or to say any thing in any of these premises, lies in the fact that they can do what they will with their own, with whatever comes to them by the will as residuary legacy. But there is another fact, that nothing is their own, which does not come to them by the intention of the Testator. That which he intended for others, cannot be taken by them and put into their residuary portion. If the law gives it to them, while the intention gives it to others, they have the power and right, over and above the law, to direct the administrators to give it to those for whom the Testator intended it and and after that, if any thing remain, it comes to them both by law and intention.

RULE OF ACTION BY THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

The rule by which the Societies concurring in this compromise have come to their decision is simply this, namely, to ascertain the intentions of the Testator. It is a just rule. It is in fact the rule in law, for the letter of the law is adhered to only as an exponent of the intentions. But wherever there is doubt, where the letter is not plain, or a technical error has occurred, or a mistake of title as when *Seamen's Friend* instead of *Aid* was inserted, and evidence was brought that the Testator intended *Aid*; in all such cases the evidence of intention is to be looked for outside the writing, as well as in the letter; and it may be such as would justify a conclusion in equity very different from the conclusion or sentence of the law acting according to the letter. It may be that the letter killeth, but equity cannot err, once it is ascertained.

There could be nothing more equitable than the principle of decision, adopted by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in all cases such as the one before us, to ascertain the intentions of the Testator, and to act in regard to them not as a Court of Law, but with the prerogative of a Court of Equity; deciding every case on its own evidence and merits, as a Christian Society acting by broad Christian principles, outside the Courts of law, above them, and if need be, if justice require it, reversing their decision. A law Court adheres to the law; a Christian Court tries the decision of the law, and sometimes the law itself, by a Higher Law, and a Christian freedom. Go ye and learn what that meaneth. I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.

NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE.

All that remains to be considered is the evidence of the intentions of the Testator. It has been fully laid before the Residuary Legatees and has perfectly satisfied six of those Societies, after careful examination. The evidence is sufficient for a Court of Equity. It could scarcely be plainer, and yet escape being compulsory in a Court of Law.

It is a combination of internal and external proof such as rarely exists in such cases. It constitutes one of the most palpable demonstrations on record. We have, first, the main witness unimpeachable as to the second will having been drafted precisely according to the instructions of the Testator. The history of this will is demonstrated apart from the parties concerned in it, as having been drawn up, not when he was helpless, or in consequence of his illness, but while in possession of his faculties and attending to his business. We have the providences by which he was prevented from signing it, and the fact that it was not opened nor its contents known, till after his death it was found with the letter of the lawyer who drew it up, addressed to the Testator. Such as it was found and produced, Judge Washburn testifies that it was drawn up by him, under the instructions of the Testator alone.

On a comparison of the wills, it is found so identical with the first will as to preclude the supposition or suspicion of its having proceeded from any other person than the Testator; while the alterations are precisely such as the Testator himself must have made, as a man of integrity, and the additions such as the lawyer would have had no motive either for making or suggesting. If this second will had not been found prepared, it would have subjected the memory of the Testator to a charge either of insincerity or gross carelessness, or both, equally inconsistent with his character as a christian and a man of business. The provisions in the second will are precisely the things needed to prove the integrity of the Testator in the first will.

SHALL THE WILL BE EXECUTED ?

Take then the will as it stands. Take the bequests to the Widow, the Home and the Hospital. Are they real bequests? Did they express the intentions of the Testator? Was it his intention that a Home and a Hospital should be endowed and established out of his estate? If we admit that it was, do we intend to carry his intentions into execution, or to permit them to be executed? If

we do not, then let us say so, and let it be made known as a rule and principle of the Bible Society not to regard the known intentions of the Testator. It is easy to see what will be the effect of such a principle upon the interests of our benevolent societies.

It is safe to say that Mr. Washburn would never have left an endowment to the Bible Society, nor ever would have made them residuary legatee, had he supposed them capable of annulling the provisions of his will in order to increase their own legacy. It is vain to say that it is the law that does this, but not the Society. It is the choice of the Society to act by law and not by equity, if they pursue this course.

The technical error which Mr. Washburn corrected, the Bible Society return to its place and power, and make use of it to cut up his benevolent intentions by the roots. They assume that if there be an error, the error must be carried out, and not the intentions. No evidence of the intentions, out of the will, shall be received as to the error or its correction. To admit the intentions of the Testator designating funds for the Hospital, the Home, and the Widow (or if the Hospital be given up as "in no danger," then for the Home and Widow only,) would be, according to the argument of the Committee, to deprive the Bible Society and the other residuary Societies of a property, which the Testator did not indeed intend they should possess, but which will fall to them by law, and which by due course of administration they may possess, if the intended charities are deprived of it.

This is the position which we take, when we say we will throw ourselves upon the law, and take the position which the law gives us. It seems to be a position of cool, indifferent justice, impartial, disinterested. The Bible Society is not pressed for want of funds. One of its officers remarked that the other benevolent societies named in the will want to handle their money at once, but we can wait. It is as good for us twenty years hence as now. The Bible Society may afford to wait, but the Widow and the Home cannot afford to lose by their waiting, and indeed under the divine administration we cannot afford to make them lose. The Bible Society cannot afford to over-reach the widow and the homeless, even by law. Yet such a course is being proposed. When the widow and the homeless, to whom Mr. Washburn's generosity is offered, reach forth their hand to take the boon intended for them, another hand strong and comprehensive, and made up of many hands, over-reaches them, and grasps their portion. The hand of the Bible

Society does this by means of law, though appealed to in equity, and adds the justification of doing this as Trustees for Christ Jesus. It is argued that the law of our stewardship of the interests of the Bible Society forbids us from alienating any of the property that may possibly by law come into our possession. It belongs indeed to the Widow and the Home by right, by the intention of the Testator; but the law takes it from the Widow and the Home, and gives it to us by residuary legacy.

An injustice committed by the law is in many cases impersonal. It cannot be remedied by the law; the law cannot be petitioned. If those who have neither the power nor the right to intervene are compelled to say, "The law must take its course," then there is no remedy, but at least there is no assumption of the injustice by personal responsibility, by persons undertaking to confirm as a voluntary choice the involuntary error. There is no direct sanction of wrong. But the moment it passes into the power of a man, or a company of men, to correct or confirm the error or the wrong, that moment it becomes a personal choice.

The Bible Society enters, and the contemplated injury passes from a misfortune or fatality to a choice, a decree, by persons not responsible to the law or bound to execute its errors, but responsible to God and his revealed will; persons to whom God in his providence has committed the power and authority of enacting the right and preventing the wrong. The letter of the law may give the power and authority of preventing the right and enacting the wrong; but they are responsible to God, and if they throw themselves upon the law, and say, we are content with the law as it is, and will not go behind it, or we will take what the law gives us, or, we decree what the law decrees, we demand nothing but the bond, then the law is no excuse or justification for doing what God forbids.

In the present case, the loss and wrong against the Widow, the Home, and the Hospital, the moment we have inflicted it, comes to us as profit to ourselves. The law at once bribes and rewards us; and all we have to do is just merely to say, we are content with the law; we think it best to take its regular course of administration; we desire nothing but justice, nothing but what the law gives us. If the widow and the fatherless are afflicted, we do not do it. We merely let things take their course. You cannot say we committed the wrong.

The brother who did not reach forth his hand to hold up from drowning his elder brother, because, if he drowned, the inheritance

would be his, only abstained from interfering with a providential law. He did not push him in ; he did nothing at all in the premises ; he fell in, and the younger brother simply threw himself upon the laws of nature, saying, I am content with what the law gives me. But the law gives it to you, only by your refusing to intervene between your brother and death, only by your refusing to consent that he be saved.

My moral sense tells me that taking what belongs to another, because the law gives it to me, is robbery, and the law giving it cannot make it right. Neither can the law take away or destroy or diminish the rightful claim of the other party, or prevent its being the first and superior claim. A man may shut himself up in the law claim, and believe with all his conscience that it is the only claim, being the only one that will stand in law, but that does not prevent the law claim from being unjust and wrong, if the other claim is right. A legal conscience may be perfectly sincere, and yet endorse a legal robbery. And the unquestioned sincerity of such a conscience in the legal position, cannot forbid me from describing both the conscience and the position as unjust and wrong.

This robbery by law is one of the most frightful corruptions of modern society. In savage life men cannot be guilty of it. It belongs to a highly cultivated civilization. The sanction of it in any appearance by this Board would be a great evil. It sets human law between men's consciences and the divine law. It sanctifies crime, justifies it, puts the respectable name of rectitude by law upon it, and it walks forth unrebuked among men. The conscience is pacified, lulled, scared by it, and the greatest crimes may be committed without compunction, without remorse. Human beings have been sold into slavery by christian churches, and the price put into Missionary boxes to send the Bible to Africa. I doubt not that they were sincere ; the law made it lawful, and they believed it right, and the public conscience sustained it, but that did not make it any thing else than crime.

History presents instances of men getting laws made on purpose to legalize intended injustice and robbery, and the thing once having the claim of law, nothing could be done against it, and after a little time, it is established as a habit of virtue. Legal expediency becomes moral right. So potent is the impress of the sacredness and all sustaining and sanctioning power of law. Men's consciences by it are absolved from crime, and licensed to commit sin as if it were virtue.

I have now taken up every point of importance, and presented the facts. There remains only to be added the following extract from a memorial addressed to the Board of Managers by the Trustees of the Home, in consequence of a misstatement in the report of the Committee, referred to on pages 24 and 25 of the present pamphlet.

MEMORIAL OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE HOME FOR AGED AND
INDIGENT FEMALES.

To the Managers of the American Bible Society :

WHEREAS, the President of this Body of Trustees did, several weeks since, by a written document, appoint and request Rev. Dr. Cheever of New York, to appear before the Managers of the American Bible Society, in behalf of a Petition addressed to said Managers by Mrs. Washburn, and to defend the rights and interests of the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, as well as those of the Widow of the late I. Washburn, before the said Board of Managers :

AND WHEREAS, it is affirmed on pages 18 and 19 of a report in regard to the petition of Mrs. Washburn, signed by the Legacy Committee of said Bible Society, that "The Committee does not perceive that any of the societies mentioned in the Will and Codicils, or draft of Will would be favorably affected in any material manner by either of the propositions made on the part of Mrs. Washburn ;" and that "none of those Institutions have applied to this Society on the subject ;" and that "the present Appeal is presented and moved wholly in the interest of Mrs. Washburn, Widow of the Testator, and the Committee cannot discover that any charitable object whatsoever is interested in the Appeal."

NOW, THEREFORE, we, the Trustees of the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, in fulfillment of our trust, do protest against the injury and loss threatened to the Home by the refusal of the petition of the widow, and the withholding of endowment to the amount of \$25,000, bequeathed in stock to the Home and Widow conjointly, by will of the late I. Washburn, and we appeal to the Board of Managers of the Bible Society for equity and justice, that the Codicil in said will conveying said bequest may be protected and fulfilled in behalf of this Home, according to the will and known intentions of the Testator, by a concurrent decree of the Bible Society with the other residuary legatees, to the effect that the stock bequeathed shall be held to be stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company.

AND WHEREAS, the residuary interest of the Home in the estate of the Testator is greater than that of all the other residuary legatees together, its legacies being by will to the amount of about \$95,000, we, as its trustees, do also protest against the endangering of that possible interest by the large expenses which will have to be incurred by the protracted process of litigation, if the Bible Society, do not concur with the other residuary legatees in the terms of settlement proposed by Mrs. Washburn on the basis of the known and expressed intentions of the Testator.

CHAS. WASHBURN,

President Trustees of Home for Aged Females,

AUG. N. CURRIER,

Treasurer.

WORCESTER, April 26th, 1870.

The following is the Codicil of Mr. Washburn's probated Will bequeathing \$25,000 to the Widow and Home conjointly, as referred to in the preceding argument:

"BE IT REMEMBERED, that I, Ichabod Washburn, do make, publish and declare this Codicil to my last Will and Testament, to be taken as a part and parcel thereof in manner following, to wit:

"In addition to what I have in my said last Will and Testament, given to my beloved wife, I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto her the sum of Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars, to have and to hold the same as follows, to wit: One half part thereof to her own use and disposal in the same manner as is provided in respect to the legacy given her by my last Will. The other half to her own use for and during her natural life, the principal thereof to go at her decease, in the way of remainder, free from any claim on the part of her representatives, to increase the fund provided for in said Will for the support of the Home for Indigent Females, and to be used and applied as is therein directed, and not otherwise. And I direct that the foregoing sum of twenty-five thousand dollars shall be paid to my said wife by transferring and delivering to her two hundred and fifty shares of the capital stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, at the par value of one hundred dollars, one hundred and twenty-five of which shares she is to hold during her life, and deliver over at her death to form a part of the fund for the Home aforesaid, unless for good cause the Supreme Court should see fit to authorize her to sell and convert the same into money, she taking the income and interest thereof as long as she shall live, to her own use."

MEMORIAL OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE HOME FOR AGED AND
INDIGENT FEMALES.

To the Managers of the American Bible Society :

WHEREAS, the President of this Body of Trustees did, several weeks since, by a written document, appoint and request Rev. Dr. Cheever of New York, to appear before the Managers of the American Bible Society, in behalf of a Petition addressed to said Managers by Mrs. Washburn, and to defend the rights and interests of the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, as well as those of the Widow of the late I. Washburn, before the said Board of Managers :

AND WHEREAS, it is affirmed on pages 18 and 19 of a report in regard to the petition of Mrs. Washburn, signed by the Legacy Committee of said Bible Society, that "The Committee does not perceive that any of the societies mentioned in the Will and Codicils, or draft of Will would be favorably affected in any material manner by either of the propositions made on the part of Mrs. Washburn;" and that "none of those Institutions have applied to this Society on the subject;" and that "the present Appeal is presented and moved wholly in the interest of Mrs. Washburn, Widow of the Testator, and the Committee cannot discover that any charitable object whatsoever is interested in the Appeal."

NOW, THEREFORE, we, the Trustees of the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, in fulfillment of our trust, do protest against the injury and loss threatened to the Home by the refusal of the petition of the widow, and the withholding of endowment to the amount of \$25,000, bequeathed in stock to the Home and Widow conjointly, by will of the late I. Washburn, and we appeal to the Board of Managers of the Bible Society for equity and justice, that the Codicil in said will conveying said bequest may be protected and fulfilled in behalf of this Home, according to the will and known intentions of the Testator, by a concurrent decree of the Bible Society with the other residuary legatees, to the effect that the stock bequeathed shall be held to be stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company.

AND WHEREAS, the residuary interest of the Home in the estate of the Testator is greater than that of all the other residuary legatees together, its legacies being by will to the amount of about \$95,000, we, as its trustees, do also protest against the endangering of that

possible interest by the large expenses which will have to be incurred by the protracted process of litigation, if the Bible Society, do not concur with the other residuary legatees in the terms of settlement proposed by Mrs. Washburn on the basis of the known and expressed intentions of the Testator.

AND FURTHER, *Resolved*, That this body of Trustees having learned through Rev. Dr. Cheever, that the Chairman of the Legacy Committee of the Bible Society informed its Board of Managers on the 21st of April, that "in pursuing further investigation he had discovered that Mrs. Washburn and Mr. Cheever had got themselves appointed trustees in the Home for Aged and Indigent Females, in order to get the stock into their possession, and that the whole thing was a job," do take occasion of this our first meeting since such an extraordinary statement was made known, to declare it utterly false and slanderous, Mrs. Washburn not now being, nor ever having been, a trustee of this body, and Mr. Cheever having been appointed just as all the other six trustees were, at the time the institution was incorporated, by Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, on the 18th of May, 1869.

Voted, That the foregoing Memorial and Resolution be at once transmitted to the Managers of the American Bible Society, with an expression of regret and astonishment that the Christian gentlemen of so old and honorable a body should have ever authorized their names to be appended to a Report of the character above referred to, or for a moment to have entertained an allegation against two Life Members of the Bible Society, like that which we have been under the painful necessity of so positively contradicting as utterly groundless and absurd.

CHAS. WASHBURN,

President Trustees of Home for Aged Females,

AUG. N. CURRIER,

Treasurer.

WORCESTER, April 26th, 1870.

Regards of
R. P. Buck

TO THE
BOARD OF MANAGERS
OF THE
American Bible Society.

THE Committee on Legacies respectfully report upon the matters referred to them in relation to the petition of Mrs. E. B. C. Washburn, and the memorial of the Trustees of the Home for Aged Females, as follows :

The Committee have examined the pamphlet of 80 pages, entitled "Document," etc., issued by Rev. Dr. G. B. Cheever, and also his subsequent pamphlet of 66 pages, entitled "Argument," etc., as well as the petition, memorial, and other papers connected with the subject.

The "treatment of the petition by the Board" is denounced by Dr. Cheever. ("Document," pp. 14, 15; "Argument," pp. 5, 6.) The petition was a printed pamphlet of 24 pages, with a cover duly labelled; and on the assembling of the Board, every member found a copy in his seat, they having been previously distributed. On the petition being presented, there was no demand that the same should be read aloud, nor did Dr. Cheever proceed to read it. Each member had a copy to carry home, where he could examine it deliberately before it would be acted

upon. The reference of it, in the mean time, to a standing committee was entirely proper and parliamentary; and the accusation that such reference "was neither fair nor equitable" ("Document," p. 15; "Argument," p. 6) was unwarranted. The Board has given hours of attention to what Dr. Cheever has chosen to read and to say, and has not taken one hasty or inconsiderate step in dealing with the subject.

Equally unfounded is the charge of Dr. Cheever against the Committee, in respect of its treatment of the petition. In his first pamphlet ("Document," pp. 4-10) he professes to give a copy of the petition; but totally omits the last 24 pages of the printed petition, including letters, waiver, and extracts, and concluding with the petitioner's comments and the expression of her desires; all which clearly form a part of the petition, were intended to be so understood, and in fact were so understood by readers. Having thus set forth a part of the petition, he accuses the Committee of falsehood, gross carelessness, and misrepresentation, for truly quoting from, or referring to, the parts thus suppressed. (See "Document," pp. 22-24.) The same matter is substantially repeated in the same style by Dr. Cheever in his second pamphlet ("Argument," pp. 11-13).

Dr. Cheever declares that the Committee made an untrue statement in the report of April 5, 1870, to the effect that none of the charitable institutions had then applied to this Society on the subject of the will ("Document," p. 40); and he places his accusation on the fact that his appointment to speak for the Home was on file. The truth is, that his appointment was made March 18th ("Document," p. 14), and it never was heard of by the Society until the next meeting of the Board, which was April 8, at which time the report of the Committee was presented which had

been signed April 5th. The first mention of his appointment came to the Society some days after the report was signed, and immediately after it had been read. The statement so denounced as "entirely untrue" was perfectly true.

The Committee do not deem it necessary or proper to vindicate themselves from the other and manifold accusations of falsehood, deception, concealment, injustice, and the like, contained in Dr. Cheever's two pamphlets; the business and duty of the Committee being to aid the Board in its efforts to attain to a right decision, rather than to defend themselves.

The Committee find no cause to doubt the correctness of all the material statements of fact contained in their former report.

As they understand it, there is no desire in any quarter to substitute the unsigned draft of Will, for the Will and codicils actually executed, probated, and under administration. The allegation of Dr. Cheever, that the Committee are unwilling to treat that draft Will as a guide, because it diminishes their residuary legacy ("Document," pp. 57, 58), is absurd; for if the draft were taken as a guide, this Society's share of the residue would be increased and not diminished.

Nor did Mrs. Washburn ever design to have her waiver filed. The written waiver was obtained from her by her brother, Rev. H. T. Cheever, to use in promoting his movement to obtain favourable terms from residuary legatees, and he used it accordingly; and not having fully succeeded, he, without her consent, filed it after the proper time for filing it had expired, and it was taken off the files by Mrs. Washburn's direction.

Nothing has come to the knowledge of the Committee

which would warrant the Society in making the proposed concessions to Mrs. Oxnard, or to the gardener, nor the proposed transfer of the patents, nor the sale of the Society's residuary legacy.

The matter which is of personal interest to Mrs. Washburn, and is advocated by her brothers, Rev. Dr. G. B. Cheever, and Rev. H. T. Cheever, is the proposal that certain gifts to her and the Home should be paid in stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company at par, instead being paid in stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works at par, as the Will directs. The two kinds of stock now exist, and the Estate holds both in large amounts. The I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works Stock by the appraisal is worth \$8 50 per share, and the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company Stock by the appraisal is worth \$110 per share. The substitution proposed would greatly increase Mrs. Washburn's portion of the Estate. Without such substitution, and taking what the Will gives her, her share would amount to an endowment for life in about \$89,000, and a power to dispose out of that fund of about \$31,000. The proposed substitution, if made, would increase both the life endowment fund and the absolute Estate given to her. The amount she is to receive under the Will, without such addition, is about the same as she would have been entitled to if the unsigned draft of Will had been executed: the amount she would take, if her petition was granted, would be materially more than that draft Will would have given her.

Nor are the two stocks identical. The Chairman of this Committee denies that he ever expressed an opinion that they were or are identical. The new Company was formed on a fresh basis, and bought out most of the property both of the old Company and of one other distinct

Company; and there was nothing of the nature of a strict consolidation or amalgamation of the old into the new Companies.

The I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works mentioned in the codicil of the Will, was in existence and operation at the date of that codicil, and received a charter by special act of the Legislature, May 15, 1867. (c. 233, p. 628.)

The Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company was chartered February 24, 1868 (c. 31, p. 27), and authorized to have a capital of \$1,000,000, and by a later act is authorized to advance its capital to \$1,500,000. (Act of May 26, 1869, c. 328, p. 635.)

While the Estate has shares of the very stock given by the Will, the request that this Society should substitute other stock not mentioned in the Will, because the former shares are reduced in value, is asking the Society to make a donation to Mrs. Washburn out of what the testator devoted to other uses; and the granting of it, under the circumstances, would be a clear breach of trust in the Board of Managers.

The application of Mrs. Washburn now seeks support in a memorial from the Trustees of the Home itself; and this makes it necessary to bring before the Board the matter of the Home more at large.

The Will of Mr. Washburn provided very largely for the Home for Aged Females. He gave it the reversion of his homestead after the life of his widow, and \$80,000 in cash, and a reversion in 125 shares of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works stock after his widow's death, and made it a residuary legatee in such form that it will receive over two thirds of the residue of the Estate. When giving instruction to Governor Washburn for drawing a new Will, the testator intended to change his provision

for the Home very materially. Indeed, the whole scheme for the Home in the draft Will was different from that in the probated Will. But that is not of importance in the present connection.

The proposition now before the Society for its assent includes this: that in lieu of 250 shares of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works stock given to Mrs. Washburn for life, with remainder in half of it to the Home, a like number of shares of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company stock should be so transferred. The latter shares are worth about \$27,500; the former are worth about between \$2,000 and \$3,000. The life interest of Mrs. Washburn is about equal to one half the total value in either case.

It has been argued by Dr. Cheever that this should be done for the benefit of the Home, and the claims of the Home as a charity have been urged with great ardour. With what justice or propriety such an argument is made, may be easily ascertained.

The substitution of the more valuable shares for the less valuable shares, in the manner proposed, would diminish the residue of the Estate by just the difference in their value. The Home, being entitled to over two thirds of the residuum, would thus lose two thirds of that difference, and would get back only one fourth by the substitution; and would thus make a large loss instead of a gain. For example: if the proposed substitution took, say, \$12,000 from the residue, the Home would thus lose \$8,000; and for its share of the \$12,000 it would get back only \$3,000; and make a net loss of \$5,000. Mrs. Washburn alone would be the gainer, as her share would be increased, and she has no interest in the residuum. The Home would be simply a loser for her benefit.

It is noticeable that the Trustees of the Home appear in the memorial as "protesting against the injury and "loss threatened to the Home by the refusal of the petition of the widow," etc. It is clear that the granting of the petition would operate directly to the prejudice of the Home, and the Trustees might more properly have protested against its being granted.

The Home was incorporated by a special act of the Legislature, May 10, 1869, by the name of "The Trustees of the Home for Aged Females." (c. 265. p. 594.) It names as Trustees, Charles Washburn, Philip L. Moen, and W. A. S. Smith, and their survivors, with power to fill vacancies in their own body. It empowers the Trustees "to take and hold property, personal and real, given by "Ichabod Washburn, late of Worcester, deceased, by his "last Will and Testament, for the purpose of establishing "and maintaining a Home for Aged Females, and to hold "and administer the said Estate for the charitable uses "mentioned in said Will." The fifth section provides as follows:

"The said Trustees are hereby authorized and empowered to sell and dispose of, at public or private sale, for an "adequate consideration, any reversionary interest or title "that they may have or hold under said Will, in or to any "estate, personal or real, and to execute all deeds and "instruments that may be necessary to perfect such sale; "and to settle and compound with any and all persons "who may have any interest or title to such estate or "property, of which the said Trustees hold the reversion "by the provisions of said Will; *provided* that the proceeds of such sale or settlement shall be held, invested "and administered by said Trustees or their successors;

“upon the trusts and for the uses and purposes set forth
“in said Will.”

In the place of Mr. Moen and Mr. Smith, Rev. H. T. Cheever and Mr. A. N. Currier have become Trustees. Mr. Charles Washburn remains an original Trustee. Mrs. Washburn herself seems not to have been a Trustee at any time, but her active agent, Mr. Cheever, has been a Trustee from about the time of the organization of the corporation, including the time of the agreement made by the Trustees with Mrs. Washburn.

That agreement was for the sale of the reversion of the homestead to Mrs. Washburn for 100 shares of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company stock at par, if the same could be obtained by her in her portion of the Estate. It is a contract to defeat the Testator's design in relation to the use of his homestead, clearly expressed in the Will; and to pass out of the ownership and possession of the Home, real estate which he meant to make inalienable.

The power to sell that real estate may be claimed under the provision of the charter above quoted. That charter was asked for by a petition signed by Mr. H. T. Cheever and others, dated February 3, 1869, praying that they might be chartered and incorporated as a body of Trustees “to hold and manage a property lately devised
“by Will of Hon. Ichabod Washburn, of Worcester, to
“constitute and endow a Home for Aged and Indigent
“Unmarried Females, and that they may be empowered
“forthwith to organize and administer said charity, so
“as most speedily and effectually to carry out the design
“of the benevolent testator.” There is no request in the petition for power to sell and convey the real estate. The petition is based on the probated Will, and does not ask

for any of the modifications suggested by the unsigned draft Will. A bill was introduced, which, after amendment in both houses of the legislature, was finally passed, containing the provision for a sale, above quoted.

The Will expressly and distinctly devises the Testator's dwelling-house for the Home, and devises it to the Trustees "for this purpose," and provides that their act of incorporation shall have "such a direct reference to the terms of this devise as shall require them to execute the same, or, upon failure so to do, to forfeit all right to the property devised." (Will, pp. 7, 8.) His devise follows, particularly describing the premises "upon Summer Street, Worcester, where I now live," and proceeds thus: "To have and to hold the same to said Trustees and their successors forever in trust, to and for the following uses and purposes, and none other, viz.: In the first place, that they permit my beloved wife, Elizabeth B. Washburn, to occupy the premises in such manner as she shall please for the term of her natural life after my decease, if she shall so choose, and if she shall waive or surrender any part of this provision, I wish it to be understood as a voluntary gift to that extent on her part to the object of this devise, she in no event to be held accountable for the rent or waste of the premises.

"In the next place, to fit and prepare the premises so as to furnish comfortable and convenient accommodation for such females as are hereafter described.

"And to keep the same forever in a condition to accomplish the purpose of this devise as hereinafter expressed, and always kept insured in some responsible office or offices for as large an amount as may be, and allow the same to be made use of for the purposes aforesaid, and none other, except as follows." (p. 8.)

He then provides that in a certain event a church may be built on a part of the premises now vacant. He further speaks of the Home as an "establishment," and designates its uses. (p. 9.) He then gives a legacy "unto the said Trustees and their successors for the purpose of maintaining said Home, and carrying out the intent and purposes thereof." (p. 9.) He then provides that in case the Home shall ever require repairs costing more than the income of its personal fund will cover, the Trustees may sell a part of the land, "if not before appropriated for a church," and lay out the proceeds on such repairs; and he concludes on this subject as follows:

"And it is specially charged upon said Trustees, as a duty, that the establishment be kept and maintained in a condition to be pleasant and comfortable to the inmates, and an attraction, and not an untasteful object, among the estates and establishments of the city."

In an early part of the Will (p. 7, 8), the Testator, in his first mention of the Home, recites thus:

"And whereas, I have thought that my own dwelling house and Estate in which I now live, would be in most respects well fitted for such an establishment, and know of no use to which I should prefer to have the same applied, when my own family shall no longer need or desire it for their own use."

It is clear that the Testator did not intend to allow a sale of the homestead; and that according to his Will no part of the premises can be sold, unless, in an emergency, a sale of a part of the vacant ground should be necessary to pay for repairs of the Home itself standing on the premises. The unlimited power of sale given by the Act of Incorporation, therefore, was inconsistent with the Will. If this charter should be deemed to confer upon the Home

a valid power to sell the very property which the Testator designed as the inalienable premises of the Home, then the charter itself would not be such an one as the Will requires, and the Trustees, therefore, would not take the land; and the devise would remain executory until a new and proper corporation should be created, being (as the Will says) "duly chartered and incorporated by the Legislature of this Commonwealth, for this purpose, and having, in their act of incorporation, such a direct reference to the terms of this devise as shall require them to execute the same, or, upon failure so to do, to forfeit all right to the property devised."

Even if the Trustees of the Home had full right and power to sell the reversion of the homestead, the sale thereof to Mrs. Washburn by the Trustees, one of whom is her agent, would be inconsistent with the rules of equity which govern trusts, and forbid a Trustee from dealing as Trustee with himself either as principal or as agent of another.

It is not the province of this Society to watch the interests of the Home; but when there is an attempt to press this Society into a concession under the plea that the Testator's wishes in regard to the Home, and the material interests of the Home itself, require the concession, with a view to enable the Trustees to sell the real estate as proposed, and when the proposed concession would, first, reduce the legacy of the Home, and, next, involve a defeat of the Testator's obvious plan, it becomes necessary to observe the peculiarities of the case above pointed out. The Trustees of the Home (Mr. H. T. Cheever being one) complain of an expression used in oral debate, and the Committee therefore simply describe the transaction without characterizing it.

The Committee proceed to state, according to the knowledge and information they have been able to obtain, such further facts as they deemed called for by the Board.

Mr. I. Washburn, of Worcester, Massachusetts, made his will on the 16th day of March, 1866; a codicil to it on the same day; a second codicil on 6th day of December, 1866; and a third codicil on 11th day of March, 1867. He died on 30th day of December, 1868. This will and the codicils were presented to the Probate Court of the County of Worcester for probate, by Governor Washburn and Mr. Philip L. Moen, who were named in the will as Executors, and probate was granted on 12th day of January, 1869; but they did not apply for letters testamentary, and letters of administration with the will annexed were issued to his widow, Mrs. E. B. C. Washburn, and Messrs. P. C. Bacon and A. A. Rice, who undertook, and whose duty it then became, to execute the will.

The testator left a widow, but no surviving issue.

Three weeks before his death, and eleven days before his last illness, while in apparently improving health and riding out daily, he gave instructions to his old friend, Governor Washburn, to draw his will over again, with alterations and modifications which he specified. Governor Washburn made a draft of a new will for him, pursuant to these instructions, and sent it with a letter addressed to him at Worcester. It is said that before the letter and draft were delivered, he became too ill, having been paralyzed, to give any attention to it, and that, in fact, he never saw the draft of a will thus prepared by Governor Washburn. The Committee think that there is no reason to doubt this statement.

By the will and codicils admitted to probate, the testator made seven societies, including the American Bible

Society, and The Home for Aged Females, his residuary legatees.

Some months after the will had been admitted to probate, an application was made by Mr. Henry T. Cheever on behalf of Mrs. Washburn, who is his sister, to all these residuary legatees, except the Home for Aged Females, for their agreement to a settlement (as it was called) with the widow on the following conditions, namely:—

—That the homestead, with its appurtenances, should go to Mrs. Washburn in fee instead of for life; that the \$85,000 of which she is to have the use for life by the Will should include all the bank stock of the estate at par, and 125 shares of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company stock at par; that the gardener's legacy should be raised from \$2,000 to \$5,000; that a certain house and lot in Portland, Maine, should be conveyed to Mrs. Oxnard; that the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society should have a legacy of \$5,000, and also be deemed one of the residuary legatees; that in every case where stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works is named in the Will, it be construed to mean stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company; and that the Testator's interest in the "Tempering Patent" and the "Bedson Patent" be assigned to Mrs. Washburn for some charitable uses not specified.

This application was dated June 2d, 1869, but was not received by the American Bible Society until July. It was first brought before this Committee on the 31st of that month, and after consideration was declined.

Subsequently, another application from Mr. Cheever in behalf of Mrs. Washburn, received by the Committee, was carefully considered and declined.

That application was to the following effect, namely:

First, that this Society consent that wherever the Will mentions stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works it shall be deemed to mean and intend stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company; and *Second*, that this Society allow an assignment to Mrs. Washburn of the right of the Testator in two patents known as the "Tempering Patent" and the "Bedson Patent," with a view to her collecting the royalties for the benefit of the residuary legatees, in place of having the patent rights sold by the administrators; and *Third*, that this Society release to Mrs. Washburn all its interest in the residuary estate for two hundred dollars, and her covenant to pay any sum which the share of this Society in such residue may amount to above such two hundred dollars.

A petition was presented subsequently to the Board of Managers on this subject in the name of Mrs. Washburn. It was referred to this Committee, and a report upon it was made by the Committee recommending the Board not to accede to it.

In order to an intelligent understanding of the case, it is deemed proper to present a brief synopsis of the Will and codicils which have been admitted to probate, and which Mrs. Washburn and her associate administrators have undertaken to execute; and to point out the provisions, varying from them, in the draft of a Will prepared by Governor Washburn.

The provisions of the Will and codicils admitted to probate, stated briefly, are as follows:

The following legacies are given to each of the following associations and persons, namely:

\$20,000 to the Bangor Theological Seminary, on express condition that a like sum is raised by its friends.

\$5,000 a piece to the following legatees:

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The American Bible Society.

The American Tract Society at Boston.

The American Missionary Association.

The American Seamen's Friend Society.

George Ichabod Washburn, his nephew.

Mrs. Rockwood, formerly Caroline T. Washburn, his niece.

Charles Washburn, his brother.

\$2,000 to William T. Buckley, his gardener.

\$1,000 to the Children's Friends Society of Worcester.

\$1,000 to Pamela W. Cram.

\$10,000 to create a fund to be held in trust for benefit of widows and unmarried women, at Kingston, his native place.

Various sums to the Free Institute of Industrial Science at Worcester, with directions to the Executors to fulfill proposals which he had made to the Trustees.

\$20,000 for a Mission Chapel Fund.

\$5,000 for an Industrial School in connection with the Mission Chapel.

\$100,000 in trust for a corporation to be created for a memorial Hospital; for this purpose he gave to his Executors in trust 750 shares of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works stock, if he should own so many at his decease, to be held and accumulate for five years. If the fund should, at the end of five years, exceed \$100,000, the surplus was to be appropriated to another object, if it should be

less than \$100,000, the deficiency was to be made up out of his Estate.

He gave his wife for her life the use of his homestead, furniture, paintings, plate, carriages and horses, and \$85,000, one half to be at her disposal, and he directed that of this \$85,000, \$25,000 be paid by transferring and delivering to her 250 shares of stock of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works Company, one half of which was to be at her disposal as aforesaid.

He provided for an association to be formed and incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, for a Home for Aged Females, and he gave to it \$25,000, and also after Mrs. Washburn's decease, his homestead and a further sum of \$67,500.

He made the following seven societies his residuary legatees, namely:

The Children's Friends Society.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The American Bible Society.

The American Tract Society.

The American Missionary Association.

The American Seamen's Friend Society.

The Home for Aged Females.

in the ratio and proportion which their several legacies before mentioned bore to each other.

He appointed Governor Washburn and Mr. Philip L. Moen the Executors of his Will.

In a pencil memorandum, on the third codicil, the Testator stated that he was negotiating for a place for the Hospital at the corner of Front and Church Streets.

The paper drawn up by Governor Washburn under

instructions from the Testator as a draft of a Will, was similar to the Will and codicils which have been admitted to probate, in all respects, with the following exceptions:

1. He devised to Trustees for the Memorial Hospital the piece of ground mentioned in the pencil memorandum as codicil No. 3, and he gave the Trustees 750 shares of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, instead of the I. Washburn and Moen Wire Works, but with the same provisions in all other respects; so that if, at the expiration of five years, the amount, with the accumulations, should exceed \$100,000, the surplus should be applied to another object (a dispensary), and if there should be a deficiency it should be made up out of other assets, thus fixing the legacy to these Trustees at the precise sum of \$100,000, neither more nor less.
2. He reduced greatly the amount which he had given to his widow and the Home for Aged Females, distributing the devise and legacies between them, however, in very different proportions from what it had been under the Will and codicils which have been admitted to probate; the reduction from these jointly being a large sum, and the provision in this draft of a Will being distributed between them as follows, namely: to the widow, the homestead, furniture, plate, carriages, etc., in fee, one half of \$85,000 for her life, and the other half also for life, but with full power on her part to take it to her own use upon her written order therefor, or to appoint it by gift, written declaration in her lifetime, or by her last will and testament, in such sums and for such purposes as she may choose; and

he further provided that of this sum to be paid to her for her own use, \$12,500 should be paid in shares of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company's stock at par, and of the sum to be given to her for life a like amount of \$12,500 in the same stock should be set apart at par, and the income and dividends paid to her.

The legacy to the Home for the Aged was reduced from \$92,500 to \$25,000, payable in money or stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company at its market value, and was made to depend upon the condition that it should not take effect at all unless there should be established within two years after the Testator's death, in the City of Worcester, by public or private donation, a suitable and respectable Home for the Aged, and unless his Executors should be satisfied that said Home would be a permanent establishment, with a safe and proper Board of Trustees, and that a suitable permanent provision had been made for the support, comfort, and maintenance of such females, in one or more dwelling-houses respectably and comfortably furnished and supplied with proper lodging and boarding accommodation for health or sickness, together with proper and suitable attendants. (None of these conditions is contained in the Will and codicils admitted to probate.) He also omitted the Home for the Aged from the residuary legatees.

3. He gave \$5,000 to the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, and substituted that Society in the place of the Home for the Aged among the residuary legatees.
4. If the Trustees of the Institute of Industrial Science should prefer to take any part of the legacy given

in the stock of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, they might do so at par if he should leave sufficient to meet that as well as the other legacies to be paid by stock.

With the exceptions which have thus been stated, the draft of a Will prepared by Governor Washburn was precisely similar to the Will and codicils admitted to probate.

It is evident that the principal object of the Testator in this projected new testamentary arrangement was, to reduce the amount given to his widow and the Home, and to make the legacy for the latter dependent upon the conditions which have been specified, and the increase of the provision for the widow and the legacy to the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society were to be taken entirely out of what he had in his Will given to the Home; and it is manifest that he intended that the legacies given to the other societies should not be diminished or any part taken from them to make up the legacies to the widow and the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society.

As to the intention of the Testator the Committee report :

I. That the Testator undoubtedly intended that the Will and codicils which have been admitted to probate should take effect and stand as his last Will unless he should before his death execute another Will; in other words, that, in the events which have actually happened they should constitute his last Will.

II. That this Will and codicils contain the only authentic evidence that exists of his intentions.

III. That, next to these, the draft of a will prepared by Governor Washburn contains evidence of his intentions a

few days before his death; and that it furnishes evidence that he meditated such a testamentary disposition of his property as is mentioned in that draft, and that he intended that this Society should receive the amount mentioned in the Will and codicils as well as in that draft, without any reduction, and should receive a larger share of the residuary estate.

IV. That he then intended that the increase of the provision to the widow, and the legacy for the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, should come out of the sum saved by the reduction of the legacy to the Home for the Aged.

V. That this draft of a will shows, conclusively, that at that time (very shortly before his death) the testator intended to give his property to no other persons or corporations, and for no other purposes, and in no other sums or proportions than those named in such draft, and consequently, that he then intended—

1. Not to give to the widow any part of his bank stock at par.
2. Not to give to Mr. Buckley, his gardener, any more than \$2,000.
3. Not to give to Mrs. Oxnard the house and lot in Portland.
4. Not to give to the widow, for any purpose whatever, his right and interest in the Tempering Patent or the Bedson Patent.
5. Not to take from this Society, in order to increase the provision for the widow, the legacy of \$5,000, or any part of the gift to it as residuary legatee.

From these considerations, it follows conclusively that

if the widow has an equitable claim for an increase of the legacy to her, it is a claim exclusively upon the Home for the Aged, who, under the Will and codicils, will receive more than four times as much as they would have got if the Testator had executed the draft of a Will prepared by Governor Washburn.

The conclusion is, that this Society, by declining to accede to the application of Mrs. Washburn, will carry out, so far as this Society is concerned, the Testator's intentions as evidenced in his Will and codicils, and as is inferable from the draft of a Will prepared by Governor Washburn.

The Testator's intentions to devote to the work of Bible distribution a certain part of his Estate, is unquestionable. The unsigned draft Will, if it had been executed, would have made the portion so devoted larger than it is under the probated Will. Any act of this Society diminishing that portion below the lesser amount so devoted by the probated Will, would be a clear breach of his charitable intentions, and an equally clear breach of trust by the Board.

The intimation that the Estate is likely to go into litigation and be wasted, if the petitioner's demand is not complied with, appears to the Committee to be wholly unfounded. There is no apparent cause for any litigation, nor is there any disposition or purpose on the part of this Society to promote any controversy whatsoever. By the laws of Massachusetts, any question which may arise under the Will can be submitted to the Probate Court, with little delay or expense; and the Committee have heard of nothing which should involve even that easy resort.

Dr. Cheever speaks of "astounding claims of the Bible

"Society to the endowment of the Home and the Hospital." ("Document," pp. 30, 81.) That representation is groundless. The Society has made no such claims. This Committee has claimed nothing and demanded nothing; it has merely considered and reported upon claims and proposals advocated by Dr. Cheever.

It being obvious that the Testator when giving instructions for a new Will, shortly before his death, intended to give the Home much less than it gets by the probated Will, the Trustees of the Home nevertheless say, "We appeal to the Board of Managers of the Bible Society for equity and justice, that the codicil in said Will, conveying said bequest, may be protected and fulfilled in behalf of the Home, according to the Will and known intentions of the Testator." This claim or appeal of the Trustees is made for the purpose of obtaining what they treat as an enlargement of the portion of the Home by a substitution of a more valuable stock for a less valuable stock. Dr. Cheever entitles it: "APPLICATION OF THE HOME FOR JUSTICE." The Committee do not discover any equity or justice in the demand.

The Committee therefore recommend that the application of the petitioner be declined.

All which is respectfully submitted,

CHARLES TRACY,
JAMES SUYDAM,
A. VAN RENSSELAER,
MARSHALL S. BIDWELL,
HENRY DICKINSON,
JAS. M. FULLER,

Committee.

NEW YORK, May 30, 1870.





Prof. Jay's Address
Hopkins' sermon before the King
Dedication of Divinity Hall (Gate)
Chinese Recorder
Trial of Gen. O. O. Howard
Appeal of an Armenian
Papal Imperial Power
Dr. Schumacher's Lecture
Gov. Chamberlain's Address
Voluntary Principle in Missions
Dr. Loomis' Letter
Memorandum of Mr. G.
Memorial of Dr. Burgess
Washington's Will &c.

